

THE FACTS ON UGANDA



IDI AMIN

***How Amin Rose From
Colonialist Corporal
to 'Mad Dictator'***

The Struggle for 'Human Rights'

**Carter's Game in 'Defending' Soviet Dissidents
Hot Debate at Bukovsky Rally in New York**

Hot Debate at Bukovsky Meeting in New York

By George Saunders

Some 3,000 persons filled the auditorium of Stuyvesant High School in New York March 5 to hear a panel of speakers in defense of Soviet and East European political prisoners. This was the first public appearance in New York of the Russian civil-rights fighter Vladimir Bukovsky.

The meeting was sponsored by the New York Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners (CDSPP), a grouping made up mainly of young Ukrainian-Americans which has actively defended Soviet and East European dissidents since 1972. The advertised speakers, besides Bukovsky, were former Soviet dissidents Pavel Litvinov and Andrei Grigorenko, son of former Soviet Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, and the American journalist I.F. Stone.

Additional speakers were Mariya Mikolenko, for the CDSPP; Gesya Penson, mother of Soviet Jewish political prisoner Boris Penson; and Ralph Schoenman, for the Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee. I.F. Stone, unable to attend, was replaced by Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

Mikolenko expressed the view of the CDSPP that the leaders of all states had been forced by public pressure to "confront the issue of human rights," that Carter's support for dissidents was a "welcome development," and that Carter should also oppose violations of human rights in dictatorships on friendly terms with Washington. She stressed the importance of the Charter 77 movement in Czechoslovakia and the Polish workers' struggle, and urged support for the right to strike.

Michael Harrington, speaking second, said, "We must be for the rights of everyone, despite disagreements." For example, he disagreed with Solzhenitsyn but defended his right to express his views. He stressed that he was speaking as a democratic socialist. What exists in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, he said, is not a socialist society but one armed against the working people. "Precisely as a socialist I solidarize with the struggle for democracy, because it leads to socialism." At this point a roar went up from the older Russian and Ukrainian émigré section of the audience.

Harrington continued with a denunciation of Washington's role behind the coup in Chile that crushed the Allende government. The shouting was renewed. Many of the older émigrés obviously did not want to

hear criticism of the White House and were incensed at the idea that there could be a connection between socialism and democracy. Despite support from between a third and a half of the audience, Harrington was unable to complete his remarks without interruption.

The organizers of the meeting were not prepared for such systematic disruption. There was not a body of marshals, and the sentiment in the audience in favor of Harrington's right to speak could not be effective by itself without active intervention from the platform.

Heard without disruption, after Harrington, were the mother of Boris Penson, who appealed to the Soviet authorities to review the unjust sentence in her son's case, and Andrei Grigorenko, who discussed the evolution of the thinking of his post-Stalin generation.

Grigorenko referred to his participation in a revolutionary communist group in the 1960s, the Union of Struggle for the Revival of Leninism, and his realization that the official slogan "the community of nations" concealed official Great Russian chauvinism.

Progressive people, he said, pay insufficient attention to problems of ethnic and national minorities in the USSR, including the scandalous racism displayed toward Jews, Volga Germans, and Crimean Tatars. As an example he cited the treatment of Mustafa Dzhemilev, a brave defender of the national rights of the Crimean Tatars, whom the authorities continue to hold in a remote prison camp in the Soviet Far East, near the Chinese border.

Ralph Schoenman was then introduced as a person with a long and distinguished career in the fight for social justice and human rights. An organizer of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal against the Pentagon's intervention in Vietnam, and of a similar tribunal in Sweden in 1969 against the Kremlin's occupation of Czechoslovakia, Schoenman spoke not only to urge support for Mustafa Dzhemilev but also to express his opposition, as a revolutionary socialist, to the general suppression of human rights by the Stalinist regimes.

Behind Stalinist authoritarianism, Schoenman said, there is a privileged oligarchy. Workers are denied their own unions and the right to strike. Although repression is no longer on the same scale as under Stalin, through whose camps passed more than 20 million persons, a vast system of informers, surveillance,

wiretapping, and internal passports is still maintained. This reality, he said, has devastated the age-old dream of socialism, of liberty and justice, for which Marx, Engels, Luxemburg, and Lenin stood.

At that, cries of "Communist! Shut up! Go back to Russia!" arose. This shouting was countered with a chant, "Let him speak!" Schoenman pointed to the contradiction that the meeting had been called in defense of democratic rights, yet a section of the audience was denying him the right to speak. In surrendering the microphone, Schoenman challenged the antidemocratic element in the audience to extend more consideration to the remaining speakers than they had to him.

Pavel Litvinov, the next speaker, was one of those who demonstrated in Red Square against the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia. Today he is the Western representative of the Soviet human-rights journal *Chronicle of Current Events*.

Litvinov stated that he is not a socialist and that for him political beliefs come second and human rights first. He carefully presented a position clearly opposed to the shouting down of speakers. March 5 is a great day, said Litvinov, the anniversary of the death of the most disgusting tyrant in world history, Joseph Stalin. But Stalin's legacy is still alive. It includes the denial of national rights, of the right to live in one's homeland—a right denied to the Crimean Tatars—and the right to one's own language, infringing on in the case of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Georgians, to name but a few.

Stalinism is still strong, he said, and the Soviet and East European opposition currents are often disunited. Different groups approach the problem in different ways, but a common ground must be found. And the way to do that is for *all persons to have the right to state their views*. That is well understood in the democratic movement in the USSR, he said. But it is distressing that supporters of the dissidents abroad are still disunited. Stalin's influence survives here, too, in a different way. Socialists should have the right to speak, he said. "Don't put a gag in their mouths when they are speaking for human rights."

Many prisoners in the Soviet Union are socialists, he pointed out, reminding the audience that Trotskyists as well as Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks had been persecuted by the regime, just as much as non-Russian nationalists.

In regard to Carter's statements on human rights, Litvinov's view was that they resulted from the activity of many groups. Some say it does not matter what small groups do, he concluded, but this is the source of pressure for change. "Please continue your work."

When Bukovsky was introduced as the final speaker, a young American in the audience called out, "You may be a good guy, Mr. Bukovsky, but I believe you are being used." After an uproar, Bukovsky

replied that he felt he was the user and not the one being used.

Speaking only briefly, because of his fatigue, Bukovsky stated, "All who speak here are welcomed by me." The bulk of his remarks were on the theme that too little is known in the West about the reality of life in the USSR, "even after sixty years of tyranny." Among the myths he had encountered were that the Russian people had an ingrained love of slavery as part of their national character. But he emphasized that millions had resisted the regime. Some Western leftists told him, he said, that here there was no slave mentality and here there would be a good socialism. But he pointed out that slavery was abolished in America only two years after the end of serfdom in Russia.

Bukovsky presented his opinion that totalitarianism is the direct consequence of "the Communist idea." (Many in the audience of course disagreed with this remark, but there were no rude or infantile outbursts about it.)

I am asked, he said, about "Euro-Communism." What the Italian and French Communists favor is not so important, he argued, since in the end the Soviet Communists will decide. His pessimistic prediction was that, if necessary, the Kremlin would "save" socialism in France or Italy the way it had in Czechoslovakia.

In conclusion, Bukovsky expressed support for human rights throughout the world. We are not from the conservative camp, he said, nor the revolutionary camp. We are from the concentration camp. There it does not matter if you are left, right, or center; you all get the same gruel.

He urged unity among all who struggle for human rights.

Several different committees for democratic rights had literature tables at the meeting and socialist literature was sold.

The city's major daily, the *New York Times*, gave the meeting prominent attention in its March 6 issue, focusing on the point "Pro-Socialists Are Jeered." Its account did not report Litvinov's remarks, nor did it make clear that Harrington's and Schoenman's right to speak had been infringed. □

In This Issue

Closing News Date: March 7, 1977

FEATURES	258	Sharpening Tug of War Between Kremlin and Western CPs—by Gerry Foley
USA	252	Carter's Game in "Defending" Soviet Dissidents—by George Saunders
	255	Secret White House Effort to Suppress CIA Disclosures—by Steve Wattenmaker
UGANDA	256	How Amin Rose From Colonialist Corporal to "Mad Dictator"—by Ernest Harsch
INDIA	260	The Economy on the Eve of the Elections —by Pankaj Roy
ISRAEL	261	Rabin Narrowly Re-elected Labor Party Chief —by David Frankel
PANAMA	262	Trotskyists Demand: "No U.S. Bases!"
ARGENTINA	263	Leader of Light and Power Workers Kidnapped
SOUTH AFRICA	264	Interview With Khotso Seatholo
FRANCE	266	Demonstrators Greet Giscard in Brittany
SIERRA LEONE	266	State of Emergency Imposed
CHINA	267	The Purge and the Issues that Touched It Off
NEW ZEALAND	271	Trotskyists Hold Fourth National Conference
PORTUGAL	280	Soares Receives High Marks in Washington
NEWS ANALYSIS	250	Hot Debate at Bukovsky Rally in New York —by George Saunders
AROUND THE WORLD	273	
CAPITALISM		
FOULS THINGS UP	274	50,000 in West Germany Protest Atom Power Plant
SELECTIONS		
FROM THE LEFT	276	
DOCUMENTS	278	Election Manifesto of the Communist League of India
DRAWINGS	249	Idi Amin; 253, Vladimir Bukovsky; 259 Santiago Carrillo; 261, Yitzhak Rabin; 262, Omar Torrijos; 267, Chiang Ch'ing; 269, Hua Kuo-feng; 270, Mao Tsetung; 273, Kim Il Sung; 280, Mário Soares—by Copain
	255	Jimmy Carter—by Ivan

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

Editor: Joseph Hansen.

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

Editorial Staff: Michael Baumann, Gerry Foley, Ernest Harsch, Susan Wald, Steve Wattenmaker, Judy White.

Business Manager: Pat Galligan.

Copy Editors: Jon Britton, Fred Murphy, Sally Rhett.

Technical Staff: Paul Deveze, Ellen Fischer, Larry Ingram, Arthur Lobman, James M. Morgan.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

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

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

Intercontinental Press is published by the Intercontinental Press Publishing Association. Copyright © 1977 by Intercontinental Press.

Copies Missing?

Keep your files of Intercontinental Press complete and up-to-date. Missing issues for the current year may be ordered by sending 75¢ per copy. Write for information about previous years.

Intercontinental Press

P.O. Box 116

Varick Street Station

New York, N.Y. 10014

Carter's Game in 'Defending' Soviet Dissidents

By George Saunders

The White House reception granted March 1 to Vladimir Bukovsky, the Soviet dissident who recently gained political asylum in the West, points up a problem facing the Soviet and East European dissidents as a whole. In their search for support in the struggle for democratic rights, a section of them orient heavily toward capitalist governments in countries where democracy still exists—if only in an attenuated way. This is a gravely mistaken orientation.

The Western governments do not stand above classes. They are organs of the private owners of the means of production, who derive their wealth through the exploitation of wage workers. The drive for profits forces every capitalist, and the propertied classes as a whole, to seek markets and, above all, areas of investment on an international scale. One expression of this, especially since 1972, is the avid interest and even rivalry shown by the various Western and Japanese components of world capitalism in seeking détente-style economic deals, enabling them to reach into the Soviet and East European economies.

The capitalist rulers are not interested in helping the East European and Soviet masses in their struggle for democratic rights. They are interested in the profits that can be squeezed out of more extensive commercial ties with this part of the world.

The privileged social layers that rule over the nationalized planned economies in the USSR and Eastern Europe, do not, as some assert, represent just another type of capitalism. They are analogous to the conservative labor bureaucracies that dominate the trade-union movements, including the Communist and Social Democratic trade unions, in Western Europe, Japan, the United States, and Canada—with the important difference that they hold state power. But the economic system they depend on is non-capitalist; it is not motivated by a drive for profits; it is under no economic compulsion to expand territorially; it is governed in the final analysis by the need to advance the productive forces by means of planning.

For all the apparent similarity in some respects between the privileged castes in the postcapitalist countries and the owners of capital in the central strongholds of the profit system, each is based on a different economic system. The giant arsenals aimed at each other, with nuclear weapons enough to destroy the world several times over, are sufficiently striking evidence of

the deep-rooted hostility between the two systems.

Despite the fundamental antagonism between the economic systems they are based on, the bureaucratic castes and the capitalist classes find a common political interest in their mutual opposition to revolutionary struggles. This is one of the motivations for détente. The Stalinist bureaucracies fear the spread of revolution for their own reasons. The victory of a mass upsurge in a capitalist country would set an example for the masses in the Stalinized countries and would encourage them to throw off their own privileged officialdom. In return for certain concessions in the economic, military, and diplomatic sphere, the Stalinist bureaucracies use their influence in the capitalist world to control or divert revolutionary upsurges (as they have done and are doing now in Portugal, Italy, and Spain, to mention some examples).

Long-Standing Imperialist Policy

Ever since the Bolshevik revolution laid the basis for a publicly owned, planned economy, the capitalist classes have sought to intervene in those areas where the new system has been initiated. They unsuccessfully tried to restore capitalism by direct military intervention in the civil war of 1918-20. They have supported in less flagrant ways whatever trends in Soviet society (and later in Eastern Europe as well) stood in opposition to the Bolshevik program *from the right*.

In 1923-27 in the struggle within the ruling Bolshevik party between the rising privileged caste, led by Stalin, and the adherents of the revolutionary traditions of internationalism and workers democracy, led by Trotsky, the imperialists openly sided with the bureaucratic trend.

For example, the British foreign minister in 1928 said that full diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union would be possible the day after Trotsky "had been placed against a wall."

Earlier a top adviser to President Coolidge described the Left Opposition in a confidential memo as more dangerous to American interests, and the Stalin faction as more reasonable. Likewise, at the height of Stalin's bloody purges, the American ambassador to Moscow, Joseph E. Davies, openly apologized for Stalin's frame-ups and lent credence to the cooked-up charges under which top former leaders of the October revolution were shot.

The Western "democracies" understood that the Stalinist caste had abandoned revolutionary internationalism. Stalin himself and those who used his regime as a model have demonstrated many times over their willingness to support capitalist states at the expense of revolutionary struggles, as in China in 1925-27, Germany in 1930-33, and Spain and France in 1936-38.

But over the years the imperialist governments have supported not only the bureaucratic castes. They have also supported forces standing further to the right. In the 1920s they backed avowedly procapitalist forces—for example, those whose aims were voiced by Ustryalov, a professor who favored the bureaucratic wing against the Left Opposition as a step toward restoring the capitalist system.

Also, of course, the capitalist powers have always supported various émigré groups that oppose the bureaucracy from the right.

The Hitler government—which blocked with the Stalinist caste for a time—also championed the cause of elements in the USSR to the right of the bureaucracy. Some elements in Soviet society imagined that this support was "benevolent." The reality of the Nazi occupation from 1941 to 1944 compelled them to correct this view. German imperialism enforced direct, naked exploitation of the conquered territory. Far from bringing "Western civilization," or "human rights," or an end to national oppression, the German government demonstrated what capitalism had to offer the peoples of the USSR.

Today Carter, the head of the mightiest capitalist state, claims to support the dissidents of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in their struggle for human rights. His eyes are on the forces to the right of the ruling caste. He hopes to help them politically exploit the dissatisfaction and unrest created by bureaucratic misrule. To see that, it is sufficient to ask whether Carter would agree to the restoration of proletarian democracy as it functioned under Lenin and Trotsky.

The capitalist media do not say much about the prosocialist wing of the dissident movement. For example, the tour by the Ukrainian Marxist oppositionist Leonid Plyushch in the United States and Canada in 1976 was virtually blacked out. On the other hand, Sakharov, who has openly stated that he is no longer a socialist and favors some form of "convergence" between capitalism and the bureaucratized

planned economies, was granted top publicity through an exchange of messages with Carter.

It is safer for the capitalist media to publicize someone proclaiming such views, although to the extent that Sakharov remains a consistent democrat, he will lose popularity in the capitalist media. This would happen, for example, if he were to speak out in behalf of South African political prisoners or the Wilmington Ten and Charlotte Three in the United States, as he did earlier with such good effect in the case of the Black Puerto Rican prisoner Martin Sostre.

What Motivates Carter?

Carter came to office in the wake of the highly unpopular intervention in Vietnam, the Watergate scandals, the revelations of FBI and CIA crimes, and mounting distrust in the two-party system. Lack of confidence in the government reached unheard-of proportions. Unless confidence in the White House can be restored, a new wave of radicalization is certain.

An effort to overcome the "credibility gap" has thus marked all of Carter's first moves. In foreign policy he is seeking to change the governmental image—back to basic American "values." Of course the tradition of "humanitarian" packaging for imperialist policies is the standard in American history. Woodrow Wilson broke his campaign pledge to keep America out of World War I and joined in the imperialist carnage under the slogan "make the world safe for democracy."

Franklin Delano Roosevelt repeated the performance in World War II. After pledging not to send "American boys" to die in foreign wars, he engineered the country into the bloodletting. His excuse was to assure the "Four Freedoms" for humanity.

There is another historical episode worth recalling. Under the pious Woodrow Wilson, American expeditionary forces landed at Murmansk and Vladivostok to help prop up White counterrevolutionary regimes of the most barbarous kind.

Proclaiming his support for Soviet and Czechoslovak dissidents accomplishes several things for Carter.

1. It scores a propaganda point for "democratic" capitalism and against authoritarian "socialism."

2. It helps him divert attention from new scandals now coming to light, such as the CIA's payrolling a star-studded international cast from King Hussein to Willy Brandt.

3. It disarms Carter's right-wing capitalist political rivals (figures like Reagan and Jackson) who have made much of the crimes of the Stalinist regimes while calling for more military spending and a bigger American war machine.

4. It helps Carter make political capital out of a natural sympathy felt by democratic-minded Americans for the dissidents. Thus Carter hopes to add to his

popularity and help consolidate his administration.

5. Like everything such a politician does, it is intended to help lay the basis for his reelection in 1980.

Is Carter's 'Human Rights' Demagoguery Helpful?

There is a dangerous logic in the orientation some dissidents have taken



VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY

toward seeking the support of capitalist governments and capitalist politicians. If forceful statements by figures like Carter are good, isn't a course of forceful action in the same direction better? In what way should the imperialist governments follow up their words? Should they break diplomatic relations? Cut off trade? Renew the Cold War?

It is hard to believe that politically minded dissidents would want that. Pressure from the capitalist world on the Soviet Union and countries having similar planned economies does not help the dissident movement but increases the difficulties it faces. This is one of the main lessons of the nightmare period of Stalin's rule.

In the capitalist media much is made of the fact that Ford declined to see Solzhenitsyn (although the Pentagon brass was not at all reluctant to discuss "human rights" with him). But would it have been better for the dissident movement if Ford had granted an audience to Solzhenitsyn?

What about the late Senator Joseph McCarthy and John Foster Dulles? Did it help the dissident movement when they

denounced "totalitarianism" in the Soviet bloc under Stalin during the heyday of "containment," when the American colossus still dreamed of "rolling back the Iron Curtain"?

Solzhenitsyn in his third volume of *The Gulag Archipelago* claims that the prisoners in Stalin's camps during the Korean War hoped the United States would launch World War III. That way they had a chance of escaping the horrors of Gulag. But Roy Medvedev has answered that none of the hundreds of former inmates he has interviewed has reported such bizarre hopes. And it is hard to believe that many dissidents today would advocate that the capitalist governments launch a war in support of the dissidents' human rights, even a "conventional," nonnuclear war.

But to count on capitalist governments and capitalist politicians points logically in such a direction. It plays into the hands of the American advocates of a bigger, more powerful capitalist military machine. Even Bukovsky in the wake of his meeting with Carter seemed aware of this possibility, for he tried to reassure the world that this meeting would not heighten the military danger. He remarked, according to the March 3 *New York Times*, that he "did not expect the Carter Administration's emphasis on rights to hinder arms control agreements with the Soviet Union."

Moreover, to appeal to the capitalists to intervene in behalf of "human rights" means, in the final analysis, to accede to their judgment on what human rights consist of and how they are to be defended or advanced. It is a mistake to start down this road, for it can signify buckling to imperialist pressures. Of course, the capitalist politicians and media and their Social Democratic appendages, as well as the Stalinists themselves, are happy to see the dissident movement caught in such a trap.

The way to avoid the trap is to turn away from the capitalist political demagogues. Support should be sought from labor organizations, civil-liberties and consistent human-rights groups (such as Amnesty International and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation); and from every kind of movement or individual with a clear record of opposition to dictatorial governments and oppressive social and political systems.

Appeals for help should likewise be addressed to Communist parties and other organizations that list themselves as friends of the Soviet Union or of the people's democracies. The open actions taken by some of the West European Communist parties in the past several years illustrate the favorable results that can be obtained in this area.

It is ironic but not accidental that just when large-scale support for the dissidents was beginning to grow in the trade unions, in the Socialist and Communist parties, among the centrists, and among the

groups proclaiming adherence to revolutionary Marxism—all of which was dramatically expressed in the broad sponsorship of the Mutualité meeting held in Paris in October 1976—the Sakharov-Carter exchange and the Carter-Bukovsky meeting introduced a dangerous deviation.

A massive campaign for Bukovsky was clearly gathering headway in October. The Kremlin decided it had to free him to dampen the growing effort. Washington helped disguise the real source of pressure. The Corvalán-Bukovsky exchange was arranged through the good offices of the State Department during the six-week period following the Mutualité meeting. Collusion between the two oppressive social layers, the capitalist classes and the bureaucratic castes, was clearly evident.

Also little noticed, at least in the American press, was the release of another long-term political prisoner, Jiri Müller, the former student leader in Czechoslovakia, in the wake of the Mutualité meeting (even though the Czech press denounced the Mutualité meeting and justified the imprisonment of Müller along the same lines followed by the Soviet press in regard to Bukovsky).

The bureaucratic ruling castes bend to pressure exerted by the big capitalist powers. But they also bend to pressure exerted by a powerful, independent labor movement, or other mass movement. During the mass movements in defense of the Vietnamese people, for instance, the bureaucracy adopted a conciliatory stance in some respects toward that social force. Today the Kremlin has little choice but to make at least some concessions in view of the rise of new militant currents that are creating problems for the leaderships of the Communist parties in Western Europe.

But Carter's moves help the Kremlin to counteract the effect of this largely proletarian pressure.

The Immediate Consequences

The Kremlin's first response to Carter's moves may well be a fresh activation of the police apparatus. Perhaps with so much publicity on Sakharov and the four members of the Helsinki groups—Ginzburg, Orlov, Rudenko, and Tikhi—the Kremlin may refrain from harsh reprisals on them. But it might hit all the harder at lesser-known dissenters and establish a "cordon sanitaire" around the prominent ones.

However, Brezhnev may calculate that it is shrewder to put Sakharov and the others on trial. An article in the February 23 *New York Times* by Public Prosecutor Sergei I. Gusev is of special interest in this respect. He quoted the anticommunist Smith Act, one of the witch-hunt acts passed in the days of McCarthy, to show that even the United States would not permit subversive actions against its system.

The editors of the *New York Times*

obligingly ran Gusev's article without comment, not explaining to its readers what "law" the Soviet prosecutor was quoting from. The editors also neglected to point out that under pressure from a long civil-liberties fight in the United States, the particular clause quoted so approvingly by Gusev was overturned by the Supreme Court as a violation of the Bill of Rights. The knocking down of that provision of the Smith Act was one of the victories that enabled the American people to bring the McCarthy witch-hunt era to an end.

By his pointed reference, Gusev was reserving the right to "call Sakharov to account," while simultaneously granting the right to the American government to put away any troublemakers.

Gusev's article indicates that the Kremlin is inclined to respond to Carter's moves by mounting more vigorous measures to stamp out the dissident movement. The excuse is defense of a workers state against pressure from imperialism. Hence the lying charge that the dissident movement is one of the fruits of CIA intervention in Soviet internal affairs.

Thus it will not become easier but more difficult to circulate samizdat materials, to make contacts, to try to organize and develop the movement for democratic rights. (Fortunately, the continued support from the left, as with the Italian Communist party in relation to Roy Medvedev and Robert Havemann, will help counteract that negative effect. But with this apparent tie-in between leading dissidents and official Washington, many of the left, who might have been considering support to the dissidents, will pull back.)

Another negative consequence flows from the illusory hope that help may come from the capitalist powers; that is, reliance is placed on a "savior" from outside. But the struggle for democracy is the task of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, oppressed nationalities, women, and young people within the noncapitalist countries. "Not Uncle Sam but we ourselves" must win our freedom, a line of a poem by Yevtushenko rightly said way back in 1962. It is correct, even indispensable, to seek international ties and trustworthy allies, and to avoid the capitalist statesmen and their compromising agents, but that cannot substitute for building the movement in one's own country.

The present upsurge and spread of struggles for democratic rights throughout the Kremlin-dominated part of the world—and in China—is not a chance development. It reflects growing unrest among the populations, ultimately reflecting the way the world capitalist economic crisis has affected the workers states. The economic situation in Poland, which drove the workers there to revolt for the second time this decade against attempted price hikes, is the clearest example.

To solve the mounting problems of the bureaucratically distorted economies, proletarian democracy must be established. This means the constitution of councils in which the workers themselves can freely discuss the problems facing the country and exercise control over the planned economy. Powerful pressures building up in this direction within the populations as a whole are reflected in the mood of the intellectual protesters, giving them the courage to fight on. They feel, even without seeing the full political implications, that it is not hopeless and useless for them to act.

They are bound to make mistakes. It is harder to become a revolutionary Marxist under a pseudo-Marxist regime marked by extreme caste privileges than anywhere else in the world. They must overcome extraordinary difficulties in finding their way to genuine revolutionary Marxism as the best guide to effective action.

Because of objective circumstances, the struggle for democratic rights is bound to grow, despite ups and downs. A key element is the forging of a revolutionary leadership. In this process, it would be a big mistake for any fighter for democratic rights and for the abolition of capitalism to lose patience because of errors committed by the dissidents. These antibureaucratic fighters must be defended. Political differences must be patiently discussed. Even if some leading representatives of the dissident movement go astray or drop away, others will come to the fore. The task of revolutionary socialists is to advance a correct political understanding of the tasks and how best to achieve them. At the moment it is essential to help the dissidents reach a better appreciation of the capitalist world and the real aims of such imperialist leaders as Carter. □

280,000 Behind Bars in U.S.

There were 283,268 persons locked up in American state and federal prisons as of January 1, a 13 percent increase over the previous record of 250,042 last year.

The figures, compiled by *Corrections* magazine, included 7,690 persons being held in county facilities because state penitentiaries were too full. Not included, however, were prisoners sentenced to terms in city and county jails.

Forty-four states reported increases in their prison populations last year, and prison administrators in forty states reported overcrowding as a result of the influx. Many prisons are forcing two persons into cells designed for one. Others are using corridors and basements for bed space.

The dramatic rise in prisoners was attributed to more frequent—and longer—prison sentences meted out by the courts as a "deterrence to crime."

Secret White House Attempt to Suppress CIA Disclosures

By Steve Wattenmaker

The secret millions slipped to foreign officials by the Central Intelligence Agency went for "legitimate" spy work, not bribes, according to Washington's latest version of the CIA payoff scandal.

Initially the Carter administration attempted to suppress the original *Washington Post* story that the CIA had been passing money to Jordan's King Hussein for twenty years.

The Associated Press reported that on February 22 Carter secretly summoned *Washington Post* executive editor Benjamin Bradlee and *Post* reporter Bob Woodward to the White House. The president had learned that Woodward was working on a story about CIA payoffs, the AP said, and unsuccessfully pressured Bradlee not to print it.

According to White House Press Secretary Jody Powell, the president not only regretted that he wasn't able to squash the *Post* article, but was miffed that he was unable to even keep his meeting with Bradlee and Woodward a secret.

After the story appeared, Carter refused to comment on any of the specific charges. At a February 23 news conference he confined himself to assuring reporters he had "not found anything illegal or improper" after studying CIA activities.

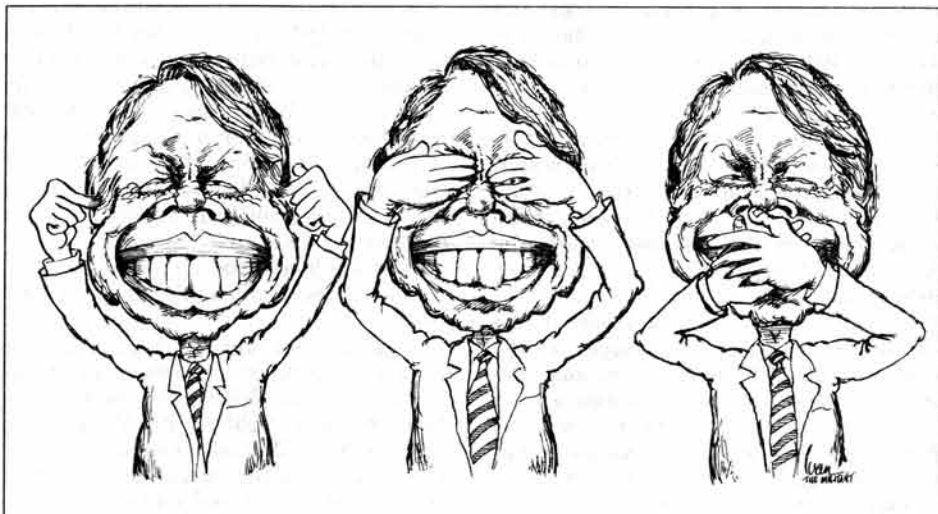
On February 27, however, *Newsweek* magazine made public an interview in which Hussein admitted the payments, but asserted the money was for "security and intelligence assistance." The king dismissed as "ridiculous and insulting" the charges that he had pocketed the up to \$2 million a year for personal use.

Appearing on the CBS-TV program "Face the Nation" the same day as Hussein's disclosure, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance called the channeling of funds through the CIA "appropriate."

In answer to a question whether covert payments, such as those to Jordan, were "permissible in this age," Vance said:

Let me answer by saying yes, and then explain why. Throughout the world, we have cooperative arrangements leading toward common objectives with many countries. In connection with the achievement of those common objectives, various kinds of assistance are from time to time given to the countries with which we are working.

In the case of intelligence activities, that assistance is given through the channels of the Central Intelligence Agency. The purposes are common purposes. The actions taken are in the interests of the country involved as well as the United States. In these cases that have been referred to, to the best of my knowledge, there was nothing improper or illegal, as the President



Ivan/Militant

has pointed out. These kinds of things cannot be done in the glare of public publicity. . . .

Washington's rationale that "legitimate national interest" was involved in the secret payments encouraged some American corporations to try the same ploy.

The March 1 *Wall Street Journal* reported that "government investigators" were assembling evidence that the CIA knew about and probably encouraged the flow of cash from American companies to foreign government officials that first came to light in 1975.

The millions of dollars paid out by Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, Boeing, and other U.S. firms was not all "commercial bribery," according to the report. ". . . as one investigator suggests, certain corporations making seemingly corrupt payments to foreign officials were actually acting in the U.S. government's interest, though not necessarily."

Carter's handling of the CIA affair has so far won editorial praise in the United States. The *Wall Street Journal* complimented the president for a "creditable performance" (February 28) and the *Christian Science Monitor* urged Watergate-wary Americans to "place their trust in a President who expresses deep commitment to a morally imbued foreign policy" (February 25).

Carter's success at defusing his first major scandal in office may be more apparent than real, however. Deflecting criticism that the CIA hands out bribes by

admitting that the secret funds go toward "common intelligence objectives" may be climbing out of the frying pan into the fire.

Earlier revelations that the CIA's own operations routinely involved assassinations, overthrowing elected governments, and financing secret armies make it reasonable to ask whether the secret payments could have gone for the same or similar operations.

Did the CIA cash delivered to Hussein represent Washington's contribution to the king's 1970 massacre of Palestinians living in Jordan?

Were the reported payments to former Mexican President Luis Echeverría, made while he as minister of the interior, connected with the bloody suppression of Mexico's student movement in 1968?

Whether the suitcases of CIA cash to Hussein and Washington's other clients around the globe were just customary bribes or went to finance the repressive apparatuses of those states—one way or the other the payoffs furthered American imperialism's interests abroad, as Secretary of State Vance truthfully told the world. □

Documents discussed at 1974 Tenth World Congress of Fourth International. 128 pages, 8½ x 11, \$2.50

Intercontinental Press

P.O. Box 116

Varick Street Station

New York, N.Y. 10014

How Amin Rose From Colonialist Corporal to 'Mad Dictator'

By Ernest Harsch

Since mid-February, there have been a growing number of reports by Ugandan refugees in neighboring Kenya that the military dictatorship of Idi Amin is conducting a campaign of terror against the Ugandan population.

In a typical item, *New York Times* correspondent Michael T. Kaufman reported in a March 2 dispatch from Nairobi, Kenya: "A few thousand [persons] have disappeared in the last two weeks, the refugees said, and they are thought to be dead. Thousands more are reported in flight and hiding." Almost all of the victims were said to be members of the predominantly Christian Acholi and Langi nationalities of northern Uganda.

The reports of atrocities may well be true. Amin is a brutal capitalist dictator, whose rule is based on forcible suppression of even the mildest dissent.

However, unlike comparable reports of the use of terror in Iran, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and other bastions of the "free world," these accounts of rule by terror in Uganda have received sustained and prominent coverage in the major capitalist dailies of the West. The obvious aim is to prepare world public opinion for imperialist intervention to topple Amin and replace him with a figurehead better suited to maintaining stable, neocolonial rule in Uganda.

In these circumstances, professing humanitarian concern, Washington, London, and other imperialist powers have denounced Amin as a "mad dictator." President Carter condemned him in racist terms, declaring that Amin's actions "have disgusted the entire civilized world."

After Amin announced February 25 that all Americans were barred from leaving the country, the Carter administration intimated that it was considering direct military intervention against Uganda. The White House let it be known that it was prepared to issue orders to the U.S. nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, which is stationed in the Indian Ocean. Amin's prohibition against Americans leaving Uganda was later lifted.

The imperialists' real concern in Uganda has nothing to do with human rights. To prove that, let us go back to Amin's origin as a political figure. He came to power under the sponsorship of London, Tel Aviv, and Washington. And they knew him very well.

Idi Amin is a direct product of British colonialism, which ruled Uganda from the late nineteenth century until 1962.

As in other British colonies, the authori-

ties employed troops from the colonial peoples themselves to help maintain the empire. In 1946, Amin, a Muslim Kakwa from the West Nile district of northern Uganda, joined the King's African Rifles as a private. Within seven years he was promoted to lance-corporal. According to a biography of Amin published in the October 29, 1972, *London Sunday Times Magazine*, he displayed "the qualities that so endeared him to his British superiors— instant obedience, fierce regimental pride, reverence towards Britain and the British. . . ."

In 1953, Amin proved his willingness to protect imperialist interests when he fought with the British against the Mau Mau freedom fighters in Kenya. The massive Mau Mau rebellion in the early 1950s posed a major challenge to Britain's control over Kenya and was crushed only after the British conducted large-scale counterinsurgency actions and murdered thousands of rebels. According to official figures, more than 11,000 Kikuyus, who led the uprising, were killed by the end of 1956.

"There is some evidence," Kaufman reported in the July 10, 1976, *New York Times*, "that during the Mau Mau emergency in Kenya . . . Sergeant Major Amin distinguished himself by leading attacks on the terrorists and reportedly torturing and killing men suspected of Mau Mau sympathies."

As London moved toward formal decolonization of its African empire, it carefully prepared the ground for the installation of Black neocolonial regimes willing and able to safeguard its continued economic interests. The colonial authorities in Uganda viewed Amin as a suitable candidate for the job.

Since the top layers of the officer corps in the colonial army were white, London began to train Black officers to take their place. Amin was promoted to the newly created rank of effendi in 1959 and was later sent to Britain to take an officer's training course at the School of Infantry in Wiltshire. After Uganda gained its formal independence in 1962, he assumed command of one of the two battalions in the new Ugandan army. In 1966 he was promoted to army chief of staff by Prime Minister Milton Obote.

The Israeli Connection

During the early 1960s, Britain's direct military support to the Ugandan regime was phased out and Israel took on the

main role of training the new army.

In his book on Uganda, Mahmood Mamdani describes these Israeli ties:

Relations between Israel and Uganda began as early as 1963, when Obote visited Israel. Following his visit, various important Israeli leaders— Golda Meir (foreign minister) in 1963, Levi Eshkol (prime minister) in 1966, and Abba Eban (foreign minister) in 1969—visited Uganda and cemented relations between the two countries. The Israelis did not simply have economic "aid" projects in Uganda; their officers also trained the police, the intelligence, and the army.¹

Amin himself received paratrooper training in Israel. In 1968, as army commander, he visited Israel to attend Tel Aviv's independence day celebrations and was given several Sherman tanks that the Israelis had captured from Egypt during the June 1967 Middle East war.

Amin was also reported to have cooperated closely with the Israelis in supplying aid to the Black Anya Nya guerrillas in the southern Sudan, who were fighting for independence from the Arab-dominated regime in Khartoum. Tel Aviv saw its aid to the secessionist struggle as a way to weaken the Sudanese regime. However, after Gen. Gaafar al-Nimeiry seized power in Khartoum in 1968, the relations between the Sudanese and Ugandan governments improved and Obote refused to give the Israelis refueling rights for their arms shipments to the Anya Nya rebels.

The ties between Obote and Tel Aviv deteriorated further, as did those with London. In 1970 Obote nationalized eighty-five companies operating in Uganda and pledged to take over more. The Obote regime also broke diplomatic relations with Britain over its complicity in the unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesian white supremacists in 1965 and opposed the sale of British arms to South Africa. The imperialists started to look for a replacement for Obote.

Since becoming chief of staff in 1966, Amin had built up a base of support within the army that posed a potential challenge to Obote's civilian regime. Israeli Col. Baruch Bar-Lev, who headed the Israeli mission in Uganda at the time, said in an interview in the July 16, 1976, issue of the Tel Aviv daily *Yediot Aharonot* that Amin had told him that Obote planned Amin's ouster. Bar-Lev said that he backed Amin against Obote, who was planning to expel

1. *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976), p. 292.

the Israeli forces from Uganda. He advised Amin to station paratroop and tank brigades that were loyal to him in Kampala to thwart Obote's forces.

On January 25, 1971, General Amin seized power while Obote was out of the country. Amin relied on Israeli-trained troops and Israeli-supplied tanks to carry out the coup. During the takeover, Bar-Lev said, Amin called him to inform him that it was under way.

British newspapers greeted the coup with delight, and London became the first government in the world to recognize Amin's new military regime.

Washington in the Wings

Washington, too, had helped to strengthen Amin's position through its Israeli client-state.

According to a report by Edward A. Behr in the February 22, 1977, *Wall Street Journal*, the Central Intelligence Agency made covert payments to Israel to help finance the Israeli aid programs in Africa.

"In past years—including at least the period from 1964 to 1968, and perhaps beyond—the CIA has paid Israel a total estimated in the millions of dollars," Behr reported. "In the late 1960s, checks for several hundred thousand dollars each were frequently delivered by U.S. government officials to the Israeli foreign ministry in Jerusalem. The money was then to be channeled to the African recipients."

Behr noted that one of the countries that received such assistance during the 1960s was Uganda.

A 1969 study by the Africa Research Group reported that nearly half of Israel's aid program in Africa was financed by non-Israeli sources, with Washington a major contributor. After noting the close collaboration between Tel Aviv and Washington in such countries as Ethiopia and the Congo (now Zaïre) and the Israeli emphasis on bolstering elite sections of African armies, the study asserted that "Israeli programs are tied into a larger CIA and Western intelligence operation."²

Besides funneling money through Israel, Washington also gave direct economic aid to the Ugandan regime. In the eleven years after Uganda's independence in 1962, the White House provided about \$45 million in aid, \$30 million of it in outright grants. This financing continued for more than two years after Amin seized power, ending only in 1973.

Amin's Reign of Terror

Within days of the January 1971 coup, Amin initiated a policy of massive repression that has continued throughout his six years in power.

2. *David and Goliath Collaborate in Africa* (Cambridge, Mass.: Africa Research Group, 1969), p. 14.

Parliament was abolished, all political parties and trade unions were banned, and almost all newspapers not controlled by the government were suppressed. But what characterized the Amin regime most was the institutionalization of political murder, both to eliminate all sources of real or potential opposition and to terrorize the population as a whole.

Immediately after the coup, extermination squads began to purge the military and civil administration of Acholis and Langis, who formed the major base of support for the Obote regime. Thousands were reportedly killed by the end of 1971 alone. Refugees and foreign observers reported seeing scores of bodies floating down the Nile River or dumped in the forests. In some cases, entire villages were thought to have been wiped out.

The massacres were extended to nearly all of Uganda's various nationalities, including some from Amin's own Kakwa people. The victims came from all levels of Ugandan society, including government officials, businessmen, professionals, and traders. Most of them, however, were workers, peasants, and students.

Amin has set up a number of terror squads. The most important are the Public Safety Unit, the Bureau of State Research, the Presidential Bodyguard, and the Military Police. Their victims are commonly arrested in broad daylight or simply "disappear." According to Amnesty International, torture is almost routine in some police and army detention centers, particularly in Naguru and Makindye prisons.

Because of the tight censorship and the elimination of all known dissidents, there are no precise estimates of the number of persons murdered under Amin. In 1975, the International Commission of Jurists estimated that anywhere from 25,000 to 250,000 Ugandans had disappeared or been killed. In early 1977, Amnesty International reported that the estimates ranged as high as 300,000. Thousands more are known to have fled into exile.

Most of Amin's base of support within the military is among troops from a few small nationalities from northern Uganda or from outside the country itself. According to Samuel Decalo, "Powerful recruitment drives were mounted among Uganda's Nubians, Southern Sudanese, Nilotics, and Zairien refugees, and by 1972 the Uganda armed forces—augmented to over 20,000 in the process—resembled a mercenary occupation force differentiated from much of the population in terms of ethnicity, language, customs, religion (many were Moslem), and regional origin."³

To ensure the continued support of this layer, Amin established a patronage system and continued a number of the policies

3. *Coups and Army Rule in Africa* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 213.

first begun by Obote. In 1973 he expropriated and expelled the country's Asian population, many of whom were small-scale businessmen and traders, and handed much of their property over to his military supporters. The same year, he took over thirty-six British firms, turning them likewise over to military officers, as well as to other Ugandans. He continued Obote's rapprochement with the Sudan and broke ties with Israel in 1972.

Despite these limited actions against British and Israeli interests, Amin continued to receive support from some imperialist powers. Paris in particular became an important arms supplier. In 1974 alone it delivered fourteen Mirage jet fighters and other arms.

The Stalinist regime in Moscow, in the interest of its narrow diplomatic aims in East Africa, has also become a major source of weapons, including Mig jets, to the Amin dictatorship. Praising the Soviet arms deliveries, Amin said that they "improved the balance of power in Africa."

While London and Tel Aviv played a key role in creating the Amin regime, Amin has not proved to be the reliable bulwark of order that they had counted on. Moreover, the massive military expenditures and the constant repression have greatly disrupted Uganda's economy. Foreign sales of coffee, cotton, and copper—all major export items—as well as industrial production, have declined appreciably.

John Saul, in an essay on Uganda in the January-April 1976 issue of the *London Review of African Political Economy*, noted that the disruption "has slowed the pace of economic activity, and hence of exploitation, to a crawl."

The imperialists also realize that Amin's regime is quite unstable. There have been a number of coup attempts against him already. And in March 1976 hundreds of students defied the regime by staging a protest march through Kampala. Antigovernment pamphlets raising economic demands and calling for Amin's overthrow have also been circulated.

The flood of denunciations of Amin from London, Washington, and Tel Aviv serve notice that the imperialists are considering replacing him with a regime that is better able to protect their interests. If the imperialists are successful in this move, it would represent no fundamental gain for the Ugandan masses and would simply reaffirm imperialist domination over the country.

The Ugandan peoples alone have the right to determine what kind of regime they want, not the imperialists who placed Amin in power in the first place. □

A subscription to *Intercontinental Press* is still a BEST BUY.
Check rates inside cover.

Sharpening Tug of War Between Kremlin and Western CPs

By Gerry Foley

On March 1-2, the general secretaries of the three largest West European Communist parties that have tried to disassociate themselves from Stalinist dictatorship met in Madrid.

The French Communist party was represented by Georges Marchais, the Spanish CP by Santiago Carrillo, and the Italian CP by Enrico Berlinguer.

In the weeks preceding the meeting, French CP representatives rejected speculation that it would be a "summit" of the "Euro-Communist" parties. In a news conference on French TV in mid-February, Marchais stressed that his party and the other participants were opposed to any kind of international Communist center and did not intend to try to build another one themselves.

The aim of the meeting, according to Marchais, was simply to show solidarity with the Spanish Communist party in its fight for legality and to support the "process of democratization" in Spain. He denied that Madrid would be used as a forum for extending the criticisms of bureaucratic repression in the Soviet bloc already made by the participating parties.

In fact, the statement adopted at the Madrid meeting called only for "full application" of the Helsinki accords. Since the USSR and other East European states are more on the defensive than the other signers for failing to observe the provisions on human rights, this implied criticism mainly of them.

But the Kremlin also accuses the West of not observing these provisions. So in form, the Madrid statement represented merely a reaffirmation of the détente, which the Kremlin could hardly object to.

However, the three CP chiefs separately made statements on the question of democratic rights in the USSR and the East European countries. Carrillo's was the strongest:

"In those countries—in the systems of those countries—what is missing is democracy."

The statements by Marchais and Berlinguer referred only to a lack of "perfection" or to "authoritarian traits" in the East European regimes.

The Spanish CP obviously was under the most immediate pressure to place distance between itself and the Stalinist regimes. Its chance to participate in the upcoming elections depends on the courts ruling that it does not fall under a ban on organizations that seek to impose "totalitarianism" in accordance with "international discipline."

However, the Spanish CP had already gone further in previous years than the other Euro-Communist parties in trying to rid itself of the taint of the Stalinist dictatorships. For one thing, the opportunist deals between Soviet bloc states and the Franco government were particularly scandalous in the eyes of the brutally oppressed Spanish workers. Moreover, since the Spanish CP was illegal and thus especially dependent on Soviet material support, the Kremlin brought cruder forms of pressure to bear on the Carrillo leadership to support unpopular Soviet policies, such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

At one point in the tug of war between the Spanish CP and the Kremlin in the early 1970s, an old-line Stalinist faction formed around Central Committee member Enrique Lister, apparently with Moscow's encouragement. This faction eventually led a split but failed to draw important forces behind it. Carrillo did not pull back from his independent stance toward the Kremlin, but went further in this direction.

In the March 1 issue of the Lisbon daily *Journal Novo*, a statement was quoted from Lister's Partido Comunista Obrero (Communist Workers party) denouncing the Madrid meeting as "another step in these parties' betrayal of Marxism-Leninism." This probably reflects the view of those in the forefront of the fight to defend Moscow's interests against the Euro-Communist leaderships.

Although the Madrid meeting was kept in a very defensive framework, it was clearly an important new step in a tug of war between Moscow and the big West European CPs that has been going on since the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. In particular, it strengthened the hand of the Spanish CP, the front-line Euro-Communist party.

The outlines of the conflict between the Kremlin and the Euro-Communist CPs were already clarified in open polemics between the Carrillo leadership and Moscow in late 1973 and early 1974. The Soviet position was laid down in an article in the February 4, 1974, issue of *Partiinaiia Zhizn*. It denounced the report given to the September 1973 Spanish Central Committee plenum by Manuel Azcárate, one of Carrillo's top team, which was summarized in the fall issue of the party's theoretical magazine *Nuestra Bandera*.

The Kremlin's fundamental objection was that Azcárate said there was a conflict between the political needs of the nonruling Communist parties and the policies

that the ruling parties followed in pursuance of their own state interests:

In his report, M. Azcárate grossly distorts the essence of the foreign policy of the USSR and the other socialist countries. He presents the lying thesis that there is some kind of contradiction between the state interests of the socialist countries and those of the revolutionary movement.

The main argument that the Soviet magazine put forward to defend its position that the policies of the Stalinized states were in the interest of the nonruling Stalinist parties was that the détente had actually opened the way for them to make big gains in their own countries:

The détente is creating an unquestionably better situation for the struggle for democratic freedoms, for cutting arms expenditures and improving the living conditions of the masses, for democratic and social transformations. It is no accident, for example, that the agreement on a common program between the CP and SP of France was reached within the context of the advance of relations between the French and Soviet states.

It was well known that Soviet flattery of de Gaulle was an acute embarrassment to the French CP. Perhaps for this reason, *Partiinaiia Zhizn* quoted Georges Marchais in support of its position:

Every advance in peaceful coexistence helps to limit the possibilities for imperialist intervention, helps to isolate the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie, to bring about a decline in anti-Communism and prejudices against socialism, to broaden the front for democratic and social struggle.

The Soviet magazine acknowledged, in its own way, that in order to take advantage of these opportunities, the Western CPs would have to make certain adjustments:

Of course, in the context of the détente, new problems have arisen for the revolutionary forces, including the Communist parties. The most important have to do with how to take the fullest and most effective advantage of these new conditions, which have been created by the reinforcement of peace. . . .

It is quite clear, and has been stated by Communists on several occasions, that deciding how to advance the class struggle in one or another country is the task of the people of that country and their revolutionary vanguard—the Communist and workers parties.

In fact, most CPs began to try to gain a more respectable parliamentary image by stressing their "patriotism" and doing away with the references to the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in their formal

programs. This has been done by both Euro-Communist CPs and old-line Stalinist parties, such as the the Portuguese CP.

Partiinaiia Zhizn argued, however, that in criticizing the ruling Communist parties for their international policies and for the lack of democracy in their states, Azcárate had violated this principle of the independence of the CPs and was "interfering in the internal affairs of sister parties." This was also the main line of the Kremlin's recent response to the criticisms by the Euro-Communist parties, printed in the February 12 issue of *Pravda* under the title "What Lies Hidden Behind the Ballyhoo About 'Human Rights.'"

That is, the Kremlin recognizes the need for the CPs to make all sorts of concessions to democratic public opinion and even nationalism and bourgeois parliamentarianism in their own countries, but this cannot go to the point of repeatedly attacking the bureaucracies' justification for denying democratic rights in the countries they rule.

The problem for both the Kremlin and the Western CPs is that these parties cannot avoid criticizing the Stalinist dictatorships if they are to take advantage of the present situation to increase their electoral strength and recruitment.

In his televised news conference, Marchais said:

... every party chooses its own road in full independence. We did this in our [February 1976] Twenty-Second Congress. We chose a democratic and peaceful road to a socialist society in the French national colors. This means independence of the parties and noninterference in their internal affairs.

However, socialism is the ideological common property of the workers parties throughout the world. Thus, we cannot remain indifferent to the image of socialist society presented to us, the society for which we are fighting and which we want to build in our country. We cannot let the image of socialism be blackened . . . by methods that are antithetical to our concept of socialist society.

The fact is that the big Western CPs have a vital stake in the image presented by countries where Communist parties are in power. This repellent picture is the biggest obstacle to their achieving their ambitions for more influence in their own countries.

The bureaucracies are also anxious to see the West European CPs grow. Their hopes for "consolidating the détente" are largely pinned on this.

However, the survival of these bureaucracies depends on suppressing all democratic rights in the societies they rule. The position of these parasitic castes in societies based on collective property is too weak for them to allow the workers the slightest chance to organize independently or express themselves politically. The Hungarian revolution and the Prague Spring show what happens the minute their grip loosens. So, the Western CPs'

criticism of the denial of democratic rights in the USSR and East Europe strikes at the vital interests of the ruling bureaucracies.

Because of this conflict of interest, a



SANTIAGO CARRILLO

factional war has been escalating between the bureaucracies and the nonruling CPs, despite their common general political framework.

A new stage in this pushing and shoving seems to be heralded by the Italian CP's moves to ally itself openly with what it describes as reform forces in the Soviet bloc. This line is shown by an interview with Lucio Lombardo-Radice in the February 28 issue of the West German weekly magazine *Der Spiegel*.

Lombardo-Radice, a prominent mathematician as well as a member of the Italian CP Central Committee, reported on his visit to Robert Havemann, who is also a leading scientist. Havemann is the best-known dissident in East Germany. The Italian CP leader invited him to lecture in Italy. Lombardo-Radice said:

Robert Havemann's answer was that he would very much like to come to Italy but wanted absolute assurances from the authorities of the German Democratic Republic that he would be allowed to return and that there would be no second Biermann case. Since he is no enemy of the GDR, it would be very good for the development of that country if Havemann could come to Italy to discuss cultural questions and Marxism. And it would be very important for the cause of the détente.

Asked if he felt when he was talking with Havemann that he was in the presence of a counterrevolutionary, Lombardo-Radice replied:

Absolutely not. Havemann is a very loyal Communist, a revolutionary. I have met many such loyal and stalwart comrades, for example Eduard Goldstücker [president of the Czechoslovak writers union during the Prague Spring, now living in exile in England]. He was imprisoned during the Stalin period and remained a Communist. Another is Comrade Slanska [wife of Rudolf Slansky, the best-known defendant in the purge trials that marked the consolidation of Stalinism in East Europe]. After the murder of her husband, she wrote a very beautiful book; she is still a militant Communist. In Czechoslovakia, she has signed Charter 77. And in the same way, Robert Havemann remains inside our movement, not outside.

The Italian CP leader said that Havemann hoped there would be changes for the better in East Europe, and that he and his party shared these hopes. Asked how he saw such changes coming about, Lombardo-Radice suggested that he is looking to the technocratic layer in the bureaucracies, which has generally favored reforming the rigid Stalinist system of government and economic management:

In the Soviet Union and the GDR, there has been a vast development of science and technology. . . . I believe that the old political structures should also be changed now. They no longer correspond to this new reality.

Repeatedly, Lombardo-Radice pointed out that his views were those of his party, although "of course, the Italian CP is not an army." That is, presumably, not everything he said or did could be considered an official move. But he clearly identified his party with opposition forces.

Asked if he felt closer to Havemann than to the East German leadership, Lombardo-Radice replied: "Of course." Asked if this was also his party's attitude, he said:

The Italian CP calls Havemann a comrade. He is a good comrade and he is making very important contributions to the further development of socialism.

Lombardo-Radice said his party had a similar attitude toward Medvedev in the USSR and toward Dubcek. "But you can't just go to Prague and demand that Dubcek be made party secretary again."

The Italian CP leader obviously meant to give the impression that his party is waging a behind-the-scenes struggle for democratic reform in the Stalinized states. What more, he implied, could anyone skeptical of the Italian CP's dedication to democratic principles ask? In fact, perhaps this could transform this party's association with the Stalinist dictatorships from an embarrassment to an attractive feature.

Regardless of the intentions of the Italian Stalinist leaders, however, such public support for opposition forces in East Europe undermines the political defenses of the ruling bureaucracies. The factional struggle fueled by this conflict of interest goes back a number of years and may have been more extensive than appeared publicly. It seems certain to continue to spread and sharpen. □

India's Economy on Eve of Elections

By Pankaj Roy

NEW DELHI—Nineteen seventy-six began with widespread hopes for a major revival of the Indian capitalist economy. The regime's 1976-77 budget granted generous tax concessions to the bourgeoisie and provided fiscal stimulants. The planned outlay in the public industrial sector was increased by more than 30%.

Thanks to two favourable monsoons in succession and record foreign aid, the regime enjoyed a sizable surplus in food grains and foreign exchange. These two factors along with continued price stability—regarded as signal achievements of the state of emergency—would, it was thought, help in ending a prolonged period of stagnation.

Various spokesmen for the regime began to talk of the Indian economy being poised for a "take-off" stage. Based on the performance achieved during the first year of emergency, the government projected a growth in industrial production of 8% to 10% for the next fiscal year (March 1976 through February 1977).

In contrast to the bourgeoisie's euphoric forecasts, the Central Secretariat of the Communist League (Indian section of the Fourth International), in its "Report on the Economic Situation," pointed out that the emergency measures decreed in June 1975 had failed to resolve the structural crisis of the Indian economy. Recent reports by bourgeois economists confirm that by and large the hopes for a noninflationary economic revival have not been met, and that all the major contradictions pinpointed by the Indian Trotskyists have begun to re-emerge.

The Return of Inflation

The first and foremost of these is inflation. According to a December 1976 report of the Reserve Bank of India, prices rose 10% between March and November, wiping out the gains of price stabilisation to a considerable extent.

There was also an alarming expansion of the money supply. According to the same Reserve Bank report, from March to November last year the money supply increased by 11.2%, compared with an increase of only 6.3% in the same period of 1975.

The dilemma for the regime is that it cannot ensure sustained economic growth with price stability within capitalist property relations.

Price stability during the earlier period of the emergency was achieved through a

series of traditional deflationary measures. While these measures temporarily curbed the inflationary strains on the economy, they gave rise to a host of new problems. They caused considerable shrinkage of employment opportunities, prevented the generation of new incomes, and greatly sapped the growth potential of the economy. Above all, they caused a drop in demand in many vital areas of economic activity.

Reviewing the Gandhi regime's traditional methods of curbing inflation, noted economist Balraj Mehta in his weekly column in the *Indian Express* of January 26 said:

The rampaging price inflation was controlled. But the price to be paid for holding the price line has turned out to be heavy. The development potential of the economy has further eroded. The domestic market has further shrunk and the miserably low levels of production of goods and services which are critical to development and to the satisfaction of the needs of the people are becoming in the mid-seventies surplus to purchasing power of the people and have to be exported, often at a net loss.

Despite tax concessions to the bourgeoisie, closures of unprofitable industrial units appear to be spreading. Available data indicate that 300 large and medium-sized units have closed, and many others are on the verge of closure. These units represent a huge amount of capital. The closures have vitally affected textiles, sugar, engineering units, and manufacturing industries. According to one estimate, 300,000 workers have been thrown on the street on account of the closures. Other estimates put the figure as high as 1.5 million.

The regime's first response was to take over the "sick" units. But with the relentless increase in the number of such units, this approach had to be abandoned and instead generous financial assistance was provided. But this remedy also has built-in limitations. Rough estimates of the Industry Ministry indicate that the total cost of such rescue operations may run as high as Rs. 1,000 crores.* But such a fiscal measure is at best a palliative, because it cannot effect a fundamental change in the industrial structure, which rests on a thin base of upper-class consumption.

*One crore equals 10 million units, so Rs. 1,000 crores is 10 billion rupees, or about US\$1.15 billion.—JP

Is Industrial Production Really Increasing?

This is the question implicitly raised by the data contained in an editorial in the January 28 *Economic Times*.

The editors place the rate of growth of industrial production at 11.1% for the first seven months of the current fiscal year. But they warn against complacency, pointing out that large-scale industry grew at a much lower rate than small industries, and that the outlook for many sectors is clouded. A number of industries, such as cotton textiles, motor cars and jeeps, radios, electric fans, dry-cell batteries, and plastics, have recorded actual declines in production compared to 1974-75.

The *Economic Times* editorial also pointed out that savings and investment in the corporate sector are probably static or declining. The paper's research bureau analysis of December 16, 1976, showed that capital formation in the private industrial sector declined in 1975-76 from Rs. 1,834 crores to Rs. 946 crores. The rate of capital formation for the entire private industrial sector was very low—a mere 4.3% for 1975-76 as against 18.2% the previous year. The net savings of this sector showed a steep fall to Rs. 249 crores compared with Rs. 558 crores the previous year.

In essence, the private sector—that is, the bourgeoisie at large—has failed to mobilise savings and invest them in production despite the large fiscal, monetary, tax, and other concessions given to it in the 1976-77 budget. Of course, it is the mass of people in the lower-income brackets who have suffered the most deprivation from this failure. Their share in consumption has actually fallen during the emergency.

Workers Begin to Stir

Despite massive efforts to create the impression of tranquility on the labor front, news of rising labor discontent filters out through the heavy censorship. The Gandhi regime's attack on the practice of paying bonuses, for example, became a focal point of discontent. (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 31, p. 73.) In fact, workers became so agitated over this issue, carrying out struggles despite the restrictions of the emergency, that Gandhi at a December 11 public rally in Bombay had to promise a new look at the whole bonus policy.

The textile workers of Bombay staged a strike in October, involving over two-thirds of the 180,000-member work force. Workers of the government-owned National Textile Corporation, which takes over unprofitable mills in the private sector, staged a work stoppage in December. The action was planned and organised by committees of workers in the mills, independently of the unions controlled by the ruling Congress party and the pro-Moscow Communist party.

Broad-based factory committees have begun to be formed, posing a serious threat, however temporary, to the established unions. Balraj Mehta, in his weekly Economic Notes column in the *Indian Express* of January 6, reported that there recently had been many actions on the bonus issue under the leadership of such committees.

The regime was forced to relent as a

result of these struggles. On January 17 it liberalised the Bonus Act, so that companies making a net profit will have to pay bonuses at a flat rate of Rs. 100 per employee for the accounting year beginning in 1976. Tribunals will be empowered to check the propriety of company accounts.

January 31, 1977

As Former Crony Heads for Jail

Rabin Narrowly Reelected Labor Party Chief

By David Frankel

After a bitter fight, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was reconfirmed February 23 as head of the Israeli Labor party. It was the first time that a ruling prime minister had been openly challenged for the party leadership.

Rabin edged out Defense Minister Shimon Peres by only 41 votes of nearly 3,000 cast. He will now have to lead his divided party into the national election scheduled for May 17. In this fight as well, Rabin faces stiff opposition.

Labor party prime ministers have ruled Israel since the state was founded in 1948. But the party's plurality underwent a significant erosion after the October 1973 war. Since then, Israel's growing international isolation has resulted in further dissatisfaction with the party's performance.

At the same time, the Israeli economy is in deep trouble. The inflation rate in 1976 was 35%, and the government admits that the rate this year is likely to be at least 25%. The gross national product for 1977 is expected to remain virtually stagnant, expanding by only 1.2%—the fourth year in a row of slow growth. Moreover, analysts are predicting a balance of payments deficit of \$3.3 billion in 1977, adding to an already staggering foreign debt.

Like capitalist governments everywhere, the Israeli regime has responded to the economic slump by telling the workers to sacrifice. This has resulted in an upsurge of economic struggles.

Finally, the Labor party has been rocked by scandal. Only a few hours before the congress opened, Asher Yadin, a former top Labor official, was sentenced to five years in jail and a \$28,000 fine for receiving bribes and kickbacks.

Yadin was the general secretary of a holding company that owns industries and businesses accounting for about one quarter of Israel's entire economy. He was also general manager of the health insurance plan covering almost half of Israel's

population. Both of these huge economic enterprises are controlled by the Histadrut (General Organization of Jewish Workers), which also claims to be a trade-union federation and to represent the interests of the workers it employs.

But the Histadrut itself is controlled by the Labor party, and Yadin insisted during his sentencing that he had channeled bribes and kickbacks into the party coffers. He also implicated two cabinet ministers in the scheme.

All this has encouraged politicians to cash in on the widespread dissatisfaction in Israel. Yigael Yadin, a former army

chief of staff turned archeologist, has founded what he calls the Democratic Movement for Change. *Washington Post* correspondent H.D.S. Greenway said in a February 24 dispatch from Jerusalem:

"Dissatisfaction with old political customs and scandals has become endemic in Israel. Hardly a week goes by without some well-known public figure announcing that he has quit his former party and is throwing in with Yadin."

A less sympathetic observer, quoted by *New York Times* correspondent William E. Farrell February 23, called Yadin's movement "a 'supermarket of generals and freelancers,' representing the loose ends of the establishment."

The point is that neither Peres, Rabin, Yadin, nor Menachem Begin of the right-wing Likud bloc can solve the problems facing Israel. The economic burden sharpened by huge military expenditures, the country's international isolation, the insecurity resulting from being on a constant war footing—all these ills have the same objective origin. Like South Africa, Israel cannot escape the fact that it was established at the expense of a dispossessed people. □

Embellishing the 'Big Lie'

West European Communist parties with significant influence in the working class want to get out of the political ghettos in which they have been confined by echoing the Kremlin's "big lies." That is one of the reasons they are being forced to admit more and more about the real conditions in the Soviet Union and other East European countries.

However, there are a number of small, isolated CPs that still repeat everything the Kremlin says, no matter how obviously and grossly false. Sometimes, they even try to embellish the "big lie" with their own imagination. One such party is the American CP; another is the West German.

A notable example of this technique was provided in the January 14 issue of the West German CP paper *Unsere Zeit*, commenting on the "humane" character of the Kremlin's prescription of psychiatric confinement to cure Leonid Plyushch of his dissident political views.

"Soviet doctors were able to bring about an improvement in Plyushch's condition. But all their work was brought to nothing by the inhuman exploitation of this mentally ill person by Western politicians. . . .

"L. Plyushch, a former patient at the Dnepropetrovsk insane asylum, had hardly reached the West before Ukrainian nationalists, Trotskyists, liberal democrats, and democratic liberals tried to win him over. . . . Plyushch was certainly treated in a more humane way in the Soviet Union."



YITZHAK RABIN

Panamanian Trotskyists Demand: 'No U.S. Bases!'

[The following is a resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Socialist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Panama. It was published in issue No. 12 of *Revolución Socialista* (November 1976). The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The struggle for the recovery of the canal is a key task for all revolutionists in Panama. For this reason it is important to look at how this struggle has developed and how it is being carried out today. Historically, the struggle for the Canal Zone has been seen as part of the fight for national liberation, and not linked up with a program for social revolution. This is still the case today. But for revolutionists, the struggle for national self-determination has to be combined with the task of social liberation. The two are dialectically combined; we cannot overlook this when defining our program for struggle within Panama.

Although the fight around the canal is a struggle of the Panamanian people for the recovery of our main national resource, and thus an economic question, we should not leave aside the fundamental aspect that has a direct impact not only on Panamanian revolutionists, but also on those in Latin America and all parts of the world. This is without a doubt the question of the military bases.

The Panamanian people ought to struggle for the removal of the military bases and not simply for the "expulsion" of the American imperialists from the administration of the Canal Zone. The Torrijos government wants us to believe that without touching the bases, "full sovereignty" over our territory can be achieved. But we are convinced that in the negotiations of the bourgeois-bonapartist regime with imperialism, the most that will be obtained will be special privileges for the local rulers, and nothing for the Panamanian people. What is more, the negotiations will contribute to strengthening the Panamanian bourgeoisie.

We revolutionary socialists don't think that imperialism and its allies, the local capitalists, are agreeable to giving up their main bodyguard—the military bases. The bases not only protect the international finance center¹ and American investments

1. Since 1970 official government policy has been



OMAR TORRIJOS

in Panama; they also guarantee the maintenance of the capitalist system in Latin America.

The local bourgeoisies of Latin America are incapable of containing the workers movement with formal democracy, so they have adopted a general policy of governing through very repressive military dictatorships. The imperialists know this, but they lack confidence even in the repressive bourgeois governments existing today, and therefore insist on maintaining the military bases in Panama. The imperialists have to keep these regimes in line—even for repression the Latin American bourgeoisie is dependent! That's why it has such an antinational character; that's why Latin American revolutionists struggle for the Socialist States of Latin America.

Besides the economic benefit that control over the canal undoubtedly means for the

directed at creating and maintaining an international financial center in Panama. The 1970 banking law and the 1972 constitutional reform banning the issuance of Panamanian currency have resulted in a situation that has attracted international banking to the country on a large scale. Of the approximately seventy banks in Panama, for example, only seven are controlled by local capitalists.

imperialists, it also has a political aspect. Control over the military bases guarantees the preservation of their interests in Latin America and elsewhere.

The Panamanian people have always struggled against this military presence in Panama, but it must be pointed out that they have lacked the leadership that would have made the struggle more than a spontaneous, sporadic one. As a revolutionary organization, together with all the Panamanian people, we must take up that tradition and carry it to its ultimate consequences. But to do this, we have to make clear the road to follow to reach our goal, which is the goal of the entire Panamanian people.

In the first place we must keep in mind that the question of the military bases affects all Latin American revolutionists, and, in the last analysis, revolutionists all over the world. It is therefore a problem that all revolutionists must grapple with. The illegal imperialist military intervention on Panamanian soil affects all people and hence is a barrier on the road to socialism, to a society of the workers. This explains the cozy arrangements between imperialism and the Latin American bourgeoisies (through their governments). They are seeking to *legalize the military bases*, to "reduce" the fourteen illegal bases to three legal ones, in a new treaty. What is most important about this situation is that it would deprive us of our principal weapon against imperialism, one we use even in bourgeois organizations like the United Nations. We would not be able to protest against something that has supposedly been accepted by all Panamanians.

This is the trap that is being set, and sectors of the reformist left are helping to set it. This is why all the bourgeois governments of Latin America are supporting the Panamanian government in the negotiations. How else can it be explained that Somoza, Pinochet, Geisel, and the rest of that gang are supporting the Panamanian government "against" imperialism?

Legalization of the military bases is what imperialism demands of the Panamanian and Latin American bourgeoisies in exchange for economic crumbs. This has been the case ever since independence was gained from Colombia and the Panamanian bourgeoisie signed the onerous Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty,² thus selling itself to imperialism. Besides the economic crumbs, the local capitalists also get a guarantee of their continued existence as the ruling class through the presence of the military bases.

2. Treaty signed between the Panamanian and United States governments in 1903 granting the imperialists control, "in perpetuity," over the canal itself and a zone five miles wide on either side, with "as complete authority as if it were under the sovereignty of the United States."

In this situation, we speak for the Panamanian people when we say: "No bases!"

But at the same time we want to single out the road that will objectively bring us closer to recovering the canal and driving the bases off Panamanian territory. Our answer must deal with all aspects of the problem, that is, it must include all those affected. This requires the *internationalization of the problem of the imperialist presence on our soil*. This is the *only* solution possible today. The problem of the bases cannot be resolved at the negotiating table, nor with the help of bourgeois governments, because the *existence of the military bases guarantees the existence of bourgeois governments, of capitalism, in our Latin American countries and elsewhere*.

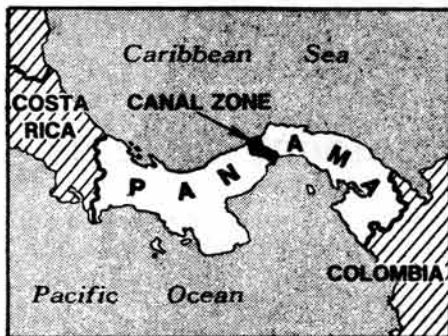
Internationalization of the struggle has an objective basis. If the imperialist military installations function to maintain the capitalist system in Latin America, then all Latin American and other revolutionists who struggle for an end to this unjust system have to unite against the military outposts in Panama.

But all those fighting against capitalism have spoken out against bourgeois governments and against the "progressive" bourgeois allies of imperialism. "No bases!" is not some "ultraleft" slogan, as the reformist allies of the bonapartist bourgeois government claim. It will be the cry of all anti-imperialist and anticapitalist revolutionists around the world, including those in the United States itself, who have already begun to form committees in various states and who have the experience of international solidarity with the Vietnamese, which was so important in defeating Yankee imperialism in Vietnam.

This isn't idealism, as the epigones and other bootlickers of the bonaparte Torrijos will no doubt tell us. It flows from the concrete reality: the murder of Che in Bolivia; the invasion of Santo Domingo; the interventions in Chile, other Latin American countries, and around the world—were all organized from Panama. In each of these situations, the local bourgeoisie was incapable of suppressing the workers movement.

Right here in Panama we have had many bitter experiences with imperialist intervention, such as in the Inquilinario movement in 1925.³ And there are many examples of international solidarity with struggles that affected revolutionists and people in general throughout the world: Vietnam and Cambodia, which gave imperialism problems at home; the enormous loss of prestige suffered from the imperialist intervention in Chile; the

3. In October 1925, at the request of the Panamanian government, the American army put down a mass movement led by the Liga Inquilinaria y de Subsistencia (League of Tenants for Survival).



Los Angeles Times

movements in defense of Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and so forth.

In conclusion, we say that the struggle of the Panamanian people for the total expulsion of imperialism from the Panama Canal and all their military bases cannot be simply a struggle of the Panamanian people. It is one that objectively affects other peoples and the development of the revolution in Latin America and around

the world. As such, it should be carried out internationally by all revolutionists.

The Liga Socialista Revolucionaria calls on the vanguard all over the world, in Latin America, and in particular in the United States and Panama, to struggle in a united front against the imperialist military presence on the isthmus. This will surely contribute to weakening the local bourgeoisie—revealing its antinational character and concretely exposing the main bodyguard that keeps it in power.

Let us denounce the imperialist bases and their repercussions on all peoples. Let us struggle for the expulsion of the bases as an immediate step in the development of the socialist revolution in Latin America.

For the recovery of the Canal by the people!

For the total expulsion of American imperialism from our soil!

Socialist revolution, not a phony revolution! □

'Trabajo a Tristeza' Spreads in Argentina

Leader of Light and Power Workers Kidnapped

Oscar Smith, general secretary of the Light and Power Workers Union in Argentina, was kidnapped February 11 as he left his home. Union members in the country's major power stations responded with a protest strike, despite the fact that the Videla dictatorship deployed helmeted police with rifles to keep watch over the buildings following the kidnapping.

Members of the 100,000-member Light and Power Workers Union have been staging a work slowdown—known as *trabajo a tristeza* (working with sadness)—since mid-January to protest junta attempts to cut the standard of living of public workers. Fringe benefits were eliminated and the military tried to impose a longer workweek.

Videla initially tried to blame the kidnapping of Smith on the Montoneros, a Peronist guerrilla group. But *New York Times* reporter Juan de Onis, in a February 20 dispatch from Buenos Aires, said, "Not one of the guerrilla groups has claimed responsibility for Mr. Smith's disappearance, and political opinion is that he was seized by hard-line rightists who operate without fear of control by the security forces."

Economic sanctions threatened by the junta had failed to end the slowdown, and finally Labor Minister Horacio Tomás Liendo announced he would begin arrest-

ing the leaders of the slowdown if functioning did not return to normal starting February 10.

Another source of concern for the junta is the reaction of rail workers to a wave of layoffs expected to affect several thousand jobs. Rail workers have formed a coordinating committee encompassing all the trades in the industry, and the junta fears a united response.

Roberto García, writing in the February 5 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, described the sentiment among Argentine rulers as one of "concern over the extension of labor conflicts, which up to the beginning of this week had been focused in one union, which was using a passive form of protest. The economic sanction—reducing wages for fewer hours of work—did not seem to intimidate light and power workers. That means firings may be possible, in accordance with the law. In such a case, there would be the risk of spreading discontent among state workers."

Such discontent is already being registered. The February 12 issue of *The Economist*, referring to the slowdowns, said, "Sadness is now creeping into other state enterprises where people of retirement age have been told to take their pensions and go." □

The Role of the Black Student Movement in South Africa

[Khotso Seatlholo was the president of the Soweto Students Representative Council from late August 1976 until he was forced to flee South Africa in January 1977. Together with Tsietsi Mashinini, another leader of the mass student protests who is also living in exile, Seatlholo is currently on a speaking tour of the United States. The tour is being cosponsored by the National Student Coalition Against Racism and the International Defense Aid Fund.]

[The following interview with Seatlholo was obtained in New York City February 24.]

* * *

Question. How was the Students Representative Council formed and around what issues has it mobilized students?

Answer. According to the constitution of the Black Consciousness movement, the organizations of that movement are not supposed to organize strikes and demonstrations. But there had to be a direct body to organize strikes and demonstrations. So the SRC came into being. The main organizer was Tsietsi Mashinini, and I assisted him. The students in each high school and in each junior secondary school sent two representatives. Tsietsi Mashinini was elected the first president of the SRC on August 2, 1976, the same day that we called a demonstration for August 4.

The main demands that we raised were for the release of all detainees and for the scrapping of Bantu Education. The first demonstration in June was against the use of the Afrikaans language as a medium of instruction. The authorities gave in and dropped Afrikaans, saying that it would be optional. The fact that they dropped Afrikaans showed that the demonstration was justified. But why, if the demonstration was justified, do the people still have to be detained? So we started to organize ourselves to fight for their release because they were right.

Q. How did the SRC organize these demonstrations?

A. The demonstrations were not publicized. We would just inform reporters the day before that there would be a demonstration. We would also tell the students the day before the demonstration. We would approve the demonstrations about a week or ten days before the actual date.

Q. During the first stay-at-home strike in August of last year, the police were able to provoke some of the Zulu migrant

workers to attack the students. But during the second strike in September we heard that the Zulu migrants joined in. How were they won over to the struggle?

A. The migrant workers are brought specifically to Soweto just to serve as laborers. The system capitalized on the fact that we were asking people not to go to work. They told the migrants, "These people are stopping you from going to work. Now what are you going to eat?" I personally saw a white policeman addressing them.

We later managed to cool the situation off by issuing another pamphlet in Zulu, in South Sotho, and in English. Also, the man that they regard as their leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, came and addressed them. It's not that he assisted a lot, but that the pamphlets we circulated around helped in calming the situation. The workers understood clearly what the motives were behind the stay-aways. They then supported the stay-aways and made sure that nobody went to work.

Q. How successful were the strikes?

A. The first strike was about 70 percent successful in Soweto. And then the second one in Soweto again was about 80 percent and in Cape Town about 70 percent.

Q. One reporter here has described the SRC as being "almost a shadow government" in Soweto. How much influence does it have over the population as a whole?

A. It is true that the Soweto Students Representative Council has become the shadow government. Most of the people, if they want to do something that has to do with politics, consult with the SRC members. The people want guidance and the Black students can give them guidance. In that way the SRC has become the "government."

The SRC has also spread to other cities. It is on a countrywide basis. But there is some difficulty in the Orange Free State, where the people are extremely poor and are predominantly rural. They are so suppressed that they can do very little. It is the only part of the country where the SRC doesn't have influence.

Q. We understand that you were in South Africa as recently as January. What's the political situation there now? Have the protests that began last June continued?

A. The protests have continued since I went out of the country. Recently, the students have again demonstrated and burned their books, because they do not want to write Bantu Education examinations. The main demands that we raised were that we don't want Bantu Education and that we want the release of all the detainees. Since some of the detainees have not been released, we feel we must continue our demonstrations. Since Bantu Education has not been dropped, we can't do otherwise than to continue demonstrating and protesting.

Q. Could you describe the government's Bantu Education policy?

A. Bantu Education is a type of education that is designed to domesticate Blacks. When it was introduced by Verwoerd, who was then minister of Bantu affairs, he said something along the line that "I am going to introduce the type of education that will make the Black man a better slave for the white man." This type of education tries to domesticate us and make us ignorant of the outside world. Fortunately, we managed to see through this very same Bantu Education. There is a saying that when it is dark enough, you can see the stars. We managed to see that it was a poison and we are now fighting it.

Q. There has recently been a controversy between the Catholic church and the government in South Africa over allowing Blacks to go to private Catholic schools. Do you see that as a threat to the government's apartheid policies?

A. According to the stipulations of the Bantu affairs minister and the prime minister, Blacks have got to live in their areas and attend schools in their areas and whites must attend in their areas. Now this is a threat to the government because it is some sort of desegregation and the government doesn't want to see that. It is a real threat to them. That is why they are fighting it.

Q. What is the repression now like in South Africa?

A. The kind of suppression that is always used is with guns—automatic rifles or Sten guns. They use very heavy bullets. I knew a person who was blown off. A bullet entered his forehead and when it went outside it made a hole that was about six centimeters in radius.

The police move around like mercenaries, shooting anybody that they feel like.

It serves to intimidate people, who have to keep indoors to avoid getting shot. They also detain a lot of people and kill some in detention. Once you are taken into detention, you get beaten up until perhaps you die, or if you are lucky you come out crippled.

It has been realized by the government that students are really powerful. If we are not in school, and move about freely, we can be a real threat to them. So what they have now decided is to make sure that during certain prescribed hours everyone of school age must be in school. So if you are not at school, you get arrested and beaten up. You are an "agitator," whether you are a student or not. If you are not a student you must stay indoors at home, or you can be shot or arrested and beaten up.

Q. How has the repression hit the SRC itself?

A. The repression has not affected the SRC in a major way. But they have arrested some executive members of the SRC and some have been shot or are not in a position to operate. Otherwise the SRC is strong. It has resumed its activities and has gained more strength. It will continue all the way.

Q. Besides the specific demands that the SRC has raised in relation to detainees and Bantu Education, what are the general aims that Black students in South Africa are fighting for?

A. Personally, I realize that the people who are detained will never be released unless the government is overthrown. Bantu Education will not be scrapped unless the government is overthrown.

The actual idea that the students now have is not to dethrone the government, but to fight for their rights. It's just like the civil rights movement here in America. They don't aim to overthrow the government, but the government calls them "terrorists" and "communists" anyway.

The living conditions in South Africa are very bad. You can find a family of thirteen living in a four-room house. The father gets paid wages of about 16 rand [about US\$20] a week and that is not enough for him to keep the family alive. You find many youths becoming thugs, pickpocketing and the like. The economic situation causes the violence and juvenile delinquency. They do not steal because they like to steal, but if they want something there is no other way to get it.

Unemployment has grown very high and it is still rising.

Q. Do you think that the regime's Bantustan policy will be successful in dividing the struggle?

A. From my point of view, the people know that they belong to South Africa and not to any Bantustan that the white man

prescribes for them. The government has gone to great lengths to divide the people. But the people know one thing: that even though they are separated, they are one. Unfortunately for the system, it won't succeed.



Susan Ellis/Militant

KHOTSO SEATLHOLO

Q. Have the recent struggles also had an impact on the Indian and Coloured populations?

A. They had an effect, because in Cape Town Africans demonstrated along with Coloureds. The Indians didn't participate much, but Coloureds have participated a lot in organizing stay-away strikes and mass demonstrations with Africans, as well as on their own. Coloureds are considered Blacks. According to Black Consciousness, Black is a state of mind, the condition under which we live. We regard Coloureds, Africans, and Indians as Blacks.

Q. Do the students who participated in the protests generally look to the Black Consciousness movement for inspiration?

A. They look to the SRC, and the SRC is the product of the Black Consciousness movement. That would mean that they are looking upward to the Black Consciousness movement.

Q. Could you describe the origins of the Black Consciousness movement?

A. The Black Consciousness movement came about in 1968. And it was formed in this way:

I know very little of the African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress. All I know is that they did a lot of work before they were banned in the 1960s. After they were banned, there was almost a political vacuum. Some other types of methods had to be used, because you couldn't identify yourself as ANC, because ANC was banned. So in 1968, SASO, the South African Students Organisation, was formed on the university level. Then there was also the Black People's Convention among the parents' community and the South African Student Movement on the high-school level. And also the Black Women's Federation among women.

Black Consciousness preaches awareness among people. You ask yourself, "Why am I not allowed to enter into that cafe with a white man, although I have the same appetite?" Black Consciousness shows you how much you are discriminated against. As you start realizing this, you become conscious of your Black color—whether you are African, Coloured, or Indian—and the state in which you live.

Q. Has the Black struggle in the United States had an influence in South Africa?

A. The South Africans know very little of the struggle in America, because of the censorship in South Africa. But at least to an extent we have been able to get books such as those written by Martin Luther King and Malcolm X and others. But only a very few people get a chance to read such books.

Q. How many students have been forced to flee into exile?

A. The total number that I estimate since June 16 of last year could be about 2,000. Most of them have passed through Botswana and Swaziland to other countries. At the present moment there are about 500 students in Botswana and about 300 in Swaziland.

All of those students are just idling about, doing nothing except to read and move around the streets. There is very little life there. Their living conditions are poor. They must share clothes, food, and the lofts in which they sleep. They get only about \$20 a month. And that's very little for them to live on. They need a lot of help. Some of them want to go to school, but there are no scholarships.

Q. Are the exiles harassed by South African agents, the BOSS—the Bureau of State Security?

A. They have specific people they are looking for and are trying to kidnap. I have already heard about two kidnap attempts. The BOSS agents tried to kidnap them at night, but failed. There are specific people they want to kidnap, who they know have information or who they think

they can use effectively as state witnesses against our parents.

Q. Is there much organization among the exiled students?

A. There is organization to a certain extent. There are those who identify themselves with the SRC at home, with the BPC at home, with SASO at home. But all in all, it is just the Black Consciousness movement. The Black Consciousness movement is a sort of federation of the SRC, SASO, and BPC. They come together and are one. There is organization to that extent.

Q. In November, Jimmy Carter said in an interview published in Johannesburg that he favored more U.S. investments in South Africa, claiming that American businessmen could be a "constructive force achieving racial justice." What do you think of the role of foreign investments in South Africa?

A. I remember one American industrialist who said, "There are more profits in South Africa because apartheid provides us with cheap labor." I don't think this type of setup can help the Black people of

South Africa. It exploits them more and more and they are ill paid. If they fight for their rights, America tries to protect its interests in South Africa. And by protecting them it is fighting against the Black people.

The information that we get is that Washington supports the South African regime by giving them arms. It also has some economic interests. But the main thing that we are concerned about is the military aid that they are giving to South Africa. Because by giving South Africa military aid, they are destroying us indirectly.

Q. What do you hope to accomplish during the speaking tour you are making in the United States?

A. What I hope to achieve by the tour that I am embarking on is to let the people of America know what is actually happening and what their government is doing to kill us at home. They must organize in such a way that the American government will not do what it is doing. They must organize demonstrations against the aid that is being given to the South African regime. □

State of Emergency Imposed in Sierra Leone

President Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone declared a state of emergency throughout the West African country February 1. A strict curfew was imposed and all schools and colleges were shut down.

The crackdown followed a wave of protests and demonstrations in Freetown and other cities. On January 29, students at the University of Sierra Leone in Freetown demonstrated during a ceremony attended by Stevens. They carried placards demanding, "Siaka Stevens Resign" and "We want economic reforms." Stevens was jeered as he left the campus.

Following the protest, the Central Committee of the ruling All People's Congress (APC) met and planned a counteraction against the students. APC supporters marched to the campus January 31 and clashed with about 500 students, resulting in some injuries. Using the confrontation as an excuse, police moved in and arrested a number of students.

Despite the police action, the unrest began to spread. Shops and offices in various parts of the capital were closed down and secondary school pupils joined the protests, some of them setting up roadblocks. Police dispersed the protesters, and after the state of emergency was declared, forces of the Internal Security Unit (ISU), equipped with tear gas, began to patrol Freetown. One retired railway worker was shot to death in his home by a group of armed men claiming to be members of the ISU.

Three weeks after the protest in Freetown, unrest continued to spread to other parts of the country. According to a report from Freetown in the February 19 *Ceylon Daily News*, "in Moyamba, 80 miles south east of here, rampaging school children attacked the President's property known as 'Stevens compound' during the week. . . ."

"In Pujehun, 125 miles south east of here, youngsters backed by sympathisers sprayed petrol and set fire to houses belonging to the Foreign Minister and Alhaji Dr. Jaia Kai Kai, a paramount chief and member of parliament."

During the same week, protests were also reported in the provincial capitals of Bo, Makeni, and Kenema. Security forces were sent to the areas affected by the unrest in an attempt to halt the protests. □

Bagpipers Stay Home

Demonstrations Greet Giscard in Brittany

French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's visit to Brittany on February 7 and 8 turned out to be anything but a public relations triumph.

None of the 1,000 traditional Breton bagpipers asked to provide entertainment for the 20,000 persons expected to attend Giscard's major public address accepted the invitation. The Socialist and Communist party members of the regional council boycotted the luncheon held in his honor. And hundreds of Bretons took advantage of the opportunity to demonstrate their opposition to Giscard's austerity policies and to the linguistic and cultural oppression they face.

The trip itself was an exercise in what the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* called "the art of avoiding the real problems." Giscard's itinerary was carefully planned to skirt all the major cities in the region, perhaps in the hope of foiling demonstrators.

However, on Giscard's first stop, in Dinan (a town with 16,000 inhabitants, northwest of Rennes), he was greeted by a demonstration initiated by the two major union federations, the Communist and Socialist parties, and the National Educa-

tion Federation. This demonstration was broken up by the police, according to *Rouge*.

Brittany is one of the poorest and least developed regions in France. Unemployment is chronic and has quadrupled in the last ten years.

On the eve of Giscard's visit, a "Rally Against Repression" was held in Guingamp (near the northern coast of Brittany) February 6 by the Committee Against Emergency Regulations and Tribunals. Supporters of the action included several Breton autonomist groups, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League), the Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs (Communist Workers Organization), and the Parti Socialiste Unifié (United Socialist party).

The rally was called to protest the permanent state of emergency established in Brittany on the pretext of a rise in "terrorist" actions, and the use of the special State Security Court to handle cases of "subversion." It also demanded freedom for Jean-Charles Denis, who has been in prison for fifteen months without trial. □

When You Move . . .

Don't count on the post office forwarding your Intercontinental Press! It's against their rules.

Send us your new address. And in plenty of time, please.

The Purge and the Issues That Touched It Off

[The following article appeared in the December 28, 1976, issue of *October Review*, a Trotskyist monthly published in Hong Kong. The translation is by Jane Tam and Joseph Miller. The subheadings appeared in the original.]

At the moment of their arrest, Wang [Hung-wen], Chang [Ch'un-ch'iao], Chiang [Ch'ing], and Yao [Wen-yuan], Mao Tse-tung's lieutenants, were instantly transformed from central leaders and main spokespersons for the party into an "anti-party clique" and "counterrevolutionary elements."

In disclosing the alleged misdeeds and inconsistencies in theory and practice of the "gang of four," the victorious faction also exposes the incorrect policies of the CCP under Mao. Once again we see the CCP's leading representatives, who had claimed to have been correct in purging past leaders in the party hierarchy, themselves purged in turn by another faction. In addition, the methods and accusations used in every purge are similar or even identical.

As the purge unfolds, the stereotyped political lines that were formerly published in the newspapers and journals as correct are now denounced by the same publications as incorrect and false. A switch is made to propagandize the new political line.

The formerly praised "leaders of the party and the country" are now accused of being antiparty and traitors. The result of these successive replacements is the disgrace and downfall of leader after leader, which finally destroys the myth that the CCP and Mao represented a "great, glorious, and perfect" leadership. This, then, expresses the deepening crisis of leadership.

The crimes of the "gang of four" are alleged to be innumerable and towering. Some of their crimes are well known: they enjoyed unlimited political privilege for the past ten years, arbitrarily making false charges against dissenters; they controlled state and party propaganda organs and other public opinion tools; they monopolized culture and the arts, choking off creative freedom and forcing the people to "enjoy" a few monotonous and dull plays, movies, and operas while Chiang Ch'ing herself enjoyed watching traditional operas, along with movies from capitalist countries.

Chiang Ch'ing is also charged with luxurious, extravagant living, and reckless spending. Wang Hung-wen is accused of being a worker-aristocrat because he "squandered more than \$10,000 in a three-



CHIANG CH'ING

month period while staying in Shanghai last year. . . . This is the equivalent of thirty years' pay for an ordinary worker."

Granting that some of these allegations are exaggerated, most of them are basically credible. Thus, the slogan "restrict bourgeois rights" [i.e., special privileges] promulgated in the past by the "gang of four" is only an empty phrase. In fact, their private lives were not different from those of the "capitalist-roaders" they denounced, although the private lives of Chang Ch'un-ch'iao and Yao Wen-yuan have yet to be disclosed.

In short, today the victorious faction hurls back the same old charges against the "gang of four." They are accused of having been the real "bourgeoisie in the party" and the "capitalist-roaders." But what financial assets do they have? This is not mentioned in the so-called 'thorough disclosure.' We are told that Chiang Ch'ing used \$4,000 of Mao's royalties to entertain her guests. This tells us little about Chiang Ch'ing's financial assets, but it does reveal that Mao Tse-tung was receiving an income under the rubric of "royalties." Apparently, then, the more than \$30,000 spent by Chiang Ch'ing in little more than a month at Tientsin, and the large amount squandered by Wang Hung-wen (if true), must have been "state funds." That is, this money came out of the "public funds" in the national treasury. This reflects the special privileges available to leaders throughout the whole state

system. All of these bureaucratic privileges are lost when those bureaucrats fall from power; they are not passed on to successors as is done with private property by the bourgeoisie. Once again we have evidence to show that the CCP uses the term "bourgeoisie" in place of "privileged bureaucrats." This merely reflects another change in faces among the ruling group.

Mao's Policy Under Attack

The Mass Criticism Group of the Educational Bureau declared in the November 23 *Kuang Ming Daily* [published in Peking] that the "gang of four" had revised Mao's educational policy and made false charges against its opponents. The "gang" accused all those who wanted to study academic subjects of "giving first place to intellectual development." In fact, this is the accusation the CCP commonly made against all its opponents who disagreed with Mao's educational policy after the Cultural Revolution, especially during the "great debate on the educational revolution" of last year. Now, however, the Criticism Group insists that "within the framework of proletarian 'politics in command' the student youth should learn cultural and scientific knowledge". At the same time, they have still not dared to directly challenge the erroneous educational policy applied over the last ten years. Instead they blame this policy on the "gang of four," who are said to have "distorted Chairman Mao's line on education." All their quotations from Mao's directives on education to prove this assertion date back to 1957 or come from his "On New Democracy" (January 19, 1940). They do not bring up any of the many "directives" issued by Mao over the last ten years concerning the line on education.

On the development of production, the Mass Criticism Group of the State Construction Bureau blames the "gang of four" for "creating confusion over the relationship between revolution and production, and indiscriminately accusing others of promoting the 'theory of productive forces.'" They write further in the November 11, 1976, *People's Daily*:

They [the "gang of four"] considered the common knowledge that communism must have a material base as heresy and used all their efforts to denounce it. . . . They never mentioned that an important task of the proletarian dictatorship is to develop socialist production.

These are the same epithets used not long ago against Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and before him, against Liu Shao-ch'i, and

against Ch'en Po-ta and Lin Piao.

When the "gang of four" carried out Mao's directives to criticize Teng and "repulse the right-deviationist wind," the leaders at every level in the party and the media (including those of the CCP and its supporters in Hongkong) all sang in unison with them, and no one expressed disagreement.

Thus, while these attacks by the "Mass Criticism Groups," and even more, the attacks by the masses themselves, are directed at Mao's faithful followers, Wang, Chang, Chiang, and Yao, objectively they are also aimed at Mao himself, and the other CCP leaders. Chiang Ch'ing is accused of extravagant living, but this implies an accusation toward the privileged bureaucracy as well.

The November 25, 1976, Hsinhua press agency described the false charges leveled by the "gang of four" against their opponents:

If you wanted to develop socialist production you were accused of "productionism"; if you wanted to strengthen administration in industry you were accused of "administrative oppression"; if you wanted to maintain principles of economic accounting, you were accused of putting "profits in command"; if you were concerned about the people's living standards, you were said to want to "bribe the people" and accused of advocating "material incentives"; if you wanted to study technology, you were labeled a "white expert"; and so on. In a word, there was no end to their false charges. As a result, no one knew where to turn or what to do, and no one did anything, so nothing was accomplished.

This kind of report exposes quite clearly the facts of bureaucratic CCP control through the "general line," and especially in some of the concrete policies of the past ten years. It also presents a rather vivid expression of the spirit and attitudes of the working masses and lower-level cadres who have been repressed by this bureaucratism. This situation was not attributable only to the "gang of four," but was the policy of Chairman Mao and the whole CCP Central Committee.

The harmful effects of such a line are being disclosed today in a piecemeal and distorted fashion. The Hsinhua press agency reported on November 25:

Since the middle of October, in the whole country, from south to north and from east to west, the united demand of the workers can be heard: "We must make up for the losses in time and material wealth caused by the 'gang of four'!" . . . The factories in which production was disrupted are now working at full blast. . . . The Loyang Bolt factory, because of the disruptions by the "gang of four," has only finished 11 percent of its production quota between January and September of this year. . . . Upon hearing the news of the victorious crushing of the "gang of four," 99 percent of the workers and cadres at the Kiangsi Tractor Factory, where work had been halted for eight months, happily went back to work.

At the Hangchow silk printing and dyeing complex, Wang Hung-wen "created

splits among its cadres and workers and thus brought its production to a complete or partial stop on many occasions. This caused grave losses to the party and the state" (November 11, 1976, Hsinhua dispatch). Also, at the Hangchow linen weaving factory "the factory party organization put forth six decisions over the past year, but revolutionary production was never implemented at all" (November 24 Hsinhua dispatch).

The Mass Criticism Group of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry reported in the November 21, 1976, *People's Daily*: "In some places where they interfered . . . some party committees at various levels were paralyzed, production lagged, the people had difficulties and capitalism was being restored to a certain extent in the countryside."

The Mass Criticism Group of the National General Supply and Consumer Cooperative Association reported in the *People's Daily* November 30: "Because of the interference and sabotage of the 'gang of four,' some of our secondary agricultural products have been slowed down, and some have decreased."

The reports of work stoppages and decreases in production of all kinds are too numerous to list them all. Today, however, the faction in power uses the same methods as the "gang of four," placing total blame for work slowdowns and active resistance by workers and peasants on the heads of the "gang of four." At the same time, it is claimed that these four individuals are "totally isolated from the masses"! (Of course, it is possible that some of these activities over the past year up to today might have been initiated by sympathizers or supporters of the "gang of four.")

At present, the victorious faction in the CCP accuses the "gang of four" of "obstructing, repudiating, and rewording Chairman Mao's directives"; of "opposing the basic line of the party laid down by Chairman Mao"; and of "disrupting the Cultural Revolution, the campaign against Lin Piao and Confucius, and the struggle to repulse the right-deviationist wind" (November 28 *People's Daily* editorial). However, no concrete facts have been adduced to prove these accusations. If these charges are true, why didn't Mao and the faction now in power oppose the four and struggle against them? (In the past, both Mao and the present leading group administered the country in collaboration with the "gang of four.") Why did they permit the "gang of four" to develop its power and to act like emperors and empresses? Did the "gang of four" have such enormous power that even Mao Tsetung, Hua Kuo-feng, and the other leaders were afraid of them?

It is well known that the "helicopter" elevation of Wang, Chang, Chiang, and Yao was a result of Mao's patronage, a reward for their faithfully carrying out his various policies. In the long period before their downfall, no one could deny (not even Mao or Hua) that they were the interpre-

ters and expounders of Mao's directives. In the first two months after they were disgraced, the official press continued to cite many of Mao's "directives" as the four had interpreted them. At that time they were accused of rewriting only a single sentence of Mao's: changing "act in line with the past principles" to "act according to the principles laid down." This rewording occurred after Mao's death.

Today we are told that Mao had already criticized the intrigues of Wang, Chang, Chiang, and Yao more than two years ago. For instance, in a Politburo meeting on May 3, 1975, Mao reiterated the principle of the "three dos and three don'ts."¹ He reputedly said at the same time: "Don't function as a gang of four, don't do it any more, why do you keep doing it?" On the same day Mao is supposed to have proposed the following solution to this problem: "If this is not settled in the first half of this year, it should be settled in the second half; if not this year, then next year; if not next, then the year after" (from the joint editorial in the *People's Daily*, *Red Flag*, and *Liberation Army Daily* [October 24, 1976]).

If their ambition to usurp power was discovered that early, and was admonished by Mao, how could they still go on with business as usual, and rise above Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee? Why did Mao tolerate them? Was that the exception to Mao's monolithic rule?

In attempting to answer these questions, *A Collection of Extracts*, no. 14, a magazine published by Hongkong University, stated that when Mao was alive this factional squabble was considered to be "a nonantagonistic contradiction among the people" which could be resolved through the method of "unity-criticism-unity." After Mao's death, it is argued, the "gang of four" began to "engage in intrigues and attempted to usurp the leading power of the state," transforming the conflict into a "contradiction between the enemy and the people," requiring that the four be crushed.

This kind of rationalization is far from the truth, since it is claimed that their conspiracy to usurp power was "discovered" while Mao was alive.

The "gang of four" are alleged to have "opposed and persecuted our great leader, Chairman Mao" (*Liberation Army Daily*, special editorial, November 22, 1976). This is inconceivable: The "gang of four" knew that they owed their existence—the ability to defeat their factional opponents—to Mao. Why would they be so stupid as to "persecute" Mao so as to precipitate their own downfall? This false charge against

¹ The slogan known as the "three dos and three don'ts" was first issued in 1971 at the time of the purge of Lin Piao. The full slogan runs as follows: "Practice Marxism-Leninism, and not revisionism; unite and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."

—IP

them is a violation of common sense.

This attempt to separate Mao from the "gang of four" amounts to rewriting the history of the last decade. The purpose of such an attempt is to utilize Mao's prestige to denounce his lieutenants.

The Rise of New Leaders

The methods used to "deal" with the "gang of four" plainly belong to the Stalinist school. The divergences in ideology and policy of the various factions are not resolved in open debate, but through the arrest of their leading opponents by the faction temporarily in power.

The members of the defeated faction are charged with heinous crimes, both real and imaginary, and are deprived of the right to defend themselves. Further, the struggle for power among the factions is not decided by the judgment of the public or by democratic decision by the members of the party. It is settled by behind-the-scenes maneuvering in the top echelons of the party, until a certain faction wins a victory, even if a temporary one. Unproved allegations are presented as fact to the public and members of the party, who are then urged to endorse and praise the victorious faction.

According to the now-victorious faction, the reason for the final showdown was Chiang Ch'ing's attempt to usurp the post of party chairman. This led Hua to "personally decide" to "take the resolute measure" of arresting Wang, Chang, Chiang, and Yao, etc. The day after the arrests (October 7, 1976), Hua convened a Politburo meeting in which a resolution was passed appointing him chairman of the party.

This shows that one group of Politburo members stealthily arrested another group of Politburo members, and then had their sinister act approved by the section of the Politburo under their control. The Politburo was also asked to appoint one of its members as party chairman. Granted that Wang, Chang, Chiang, and Yao had committed crimes in the past; such an arrest and self-appointment of leadership are still illegal and cannot be condoned.

According to the Chinese constitution, each citizen has personal freedom and the right to defend his own political ideology. Based on the CCP charter, the party chairman as well as the Politburo members should be elected by a plenary session of the Central Committee. The premier must be elected by the National People's Congress. At present, the constitution and the party charter have become scraps of paper that can be arbitrarily violated by the faction in power.

Since the arrests two months have passed. There has not been any sign that the CCP leadership intends to convene the long-overdue plenary session of the Central Committee to deal with the many important and pressing problems that are stipulated by the CCP charter to be the

responsibility of the CC plenary session.

These pressing problems include the election of a chairman and three additional vice-chairmen (there are supposed to be five, not two), ten new members of the Politburo (to make the required twenty-



HUA KUO-FENG

one), and two additional members of the Politburo Standing Committee (to make the required nine). Since the party leadership is in such bad shape, why the delay in convening the plenary session of the Central Committee? (As a matter of fact, a party congress should be convened.)

This shows that a few CCP leaders have discarded the party charter, ignored the aspirations of all its members, and the rights of the more than 200 members of the Central Committee. In addition, it shows that the faction in power has no confidence that the majority of the members of the Central Committee will be on its side. Thus it also shows that the factional fights in the top hierarchy of the party are still very serious.

Chiang Ch'ing is charged with having tried to "usurp party power" and of being "antiparty and counterrevolutionary" because she wanted to become party chairman. (It has not yet been proved that Chiang really had that ambition.) Granting that both she and Hua competed for the chairmanship, there is no crime involved in that for the side that is defeated. And why was there no charge [against Hua Kuo-feng] for usurping power and being illegally appointed chairman in violation of the party charter?

We are told that Hua was "personally appointed by Chairman Mao." Suppose we grant that this is true. But this position is the chairmanship of a party with more than thirty million members. It is not a

throne in a feudal kingdom, in which the king decides who will succeed him after his death. Further, we are told that Mao only "suggested" that Hua be the first vice-chairman and did not assign him to be the "chairman." The new leadership reports that Mao did write Hua a note saying, "With you in charge, I am at ease." But being "in charge" is not the same as being "chairman."²

We are also told that Hua was elected by the Politburo. If the Politburo can substitute for the Central Committee, which consists of more than 200 members, then why was the Central Committee elected in the first place? And what is its function? This shows that the leadership of the CCP can no longer hide its monolithic character. Of course, any leader from the present party hierarchy who becomes chairman, whether elected by the Central Committee plenum or not, will make no significant difference for the people. But a ruling party that violates its own charter cannot be defended. This violation signifies that there is neither socialist democracy nor constitutional rights in China.

It is unprecedented in Chinese history for one person to hold simultaneously the top military and political posts: party chairman and head of the Military Commission, premier and minister of public security. (It has not been announced whether or not Hua has resigned from his post as party secretary for Hunan Province and from the post of first political commissar of the Canton and Hunan military districts.) It is no surprise that the media quickly changed its formula for referring to Hua, from its initial "the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua," to "Chairman Hua and the Central Committee." This implies that "Chairman Hua's" power does not derive from being the "head" of the Central Committee but that he is "above the Central Committee."

A special editorial in the November 22, 1976, *Liberation Army Daily* reveals the beginnings of a new personality cult: "Do

² For two months the Peking press continually cited this one-line quotation from Mao as the main "proof" of the legitimacy of Hua's appointment, without revealing just what it was Mao had put him "in charge" of. On December 17, shortly after the above article was written, the *People's Daily* published an attack on the "gang of four" for tampering with Mao's quote about "past principles." This provided the first hint of the context of these two cryptic remarks, which, it turned out, came from the same brief note. The *People's Daily* wrote:

"On April 30 [1976], at the end of Chairman Mao's meeting with foreign guests, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng reported to Chairman Mao that the situation in the country was generally good but things were not going so well in a few provinces. Chairman Mao wrote to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng in his presence: 'Take your time, don't be anxious; 'Act in line with the past principles'; 'With you in charge, I'm at ease.'" Clearly Mao is talking about the handling of specific provincial problems, not the succession in party leadership.—IP

we love our party? Do we love our country? Do we love our army? Do we love our people? If so, we should love our leader." This "leader" is the personification of the party, country, army, and people! To "represent" now means "to be equal to." This is a new version of an old saying: "I am the state!"

In order to create an image of a "great leader," this same editorial tried to utilize the prestige of Lenin to anoint Hua by revising Lenin's works. [First it offered an actual quote from Lenin:] "The leader of a proletarian party is recognized by the people in the struggle and cannot be self-appointed." Unfortunately this does not fit today's reality. Then it went on to reword Lenin's sayings:

"Without this kind of leader, 'the proletarian dictatorship' and the 'unity of purpose' become empty phrases" (Lenin, *Collected Works* [Chinese edition], vol. 32, p. 505). However, the original text by Lenin reads: "To cultivate a group of experienced leaders of high prestige is a long and difficult task. Yet without this kind of cultivation of leadership, the 'proletarian dictatorship' and proletarian 'unity of purpose' will become empty phrases." Whereas Lenin thought that a leader was not easy to produce, today's victorious faction thinks otherwise: a leader appointed by a few is satisfactory and they wait on this kind of leader as if waiting on a deity.

The same editorial also reworded another quotation from Lenin's works: "To deny the leading role of the party and leader is to completely disarm the proletariat in the interests of the bourgeoisie. . . . As a result, any proletarian revolution will be defeated." However, the original text reads: "To deny the nature of the party and the discipline of the party is to completely disarm the proletariat in the interests of the bourgeoisie. . . . As a result, any proletarian revolution will be defeated" (Lenin, *Selected Works* [Chinese edition], vol. 4, p. 200).

This change from the original text does not reflect the organizational principles of Lenin's democratic centralism; rather it expresses the bureaucratic (individual) centralism of Stalin. If the new leaders put forth such a principle, isn't this the same as advocating a continuation of the practice which existed under both "head of state Liu Shao-ch'i" and "Vice-chairman Lin Piao," or even "Vice-chairman Wang Hung-wen"? (After all, each of these men were the same type of party leader!)

If one wants to become the kind of leader Lenin described, "experienced" and of "high prestige," then one must show in practice, not in words, an earnest striving to meet the material and spiritual needs of the people. Such a person must break with the erroneous policies and misdeeds of past leaders. Such a leader must prove that they practice proletarian dictatorship—not one-party dictatorship—based on the principles of Marxism and Leninism. Such a

leader must practice socialist democracy and the "rectification of past errors," in order to pursue an internal and foreign policy beneficial to a worker-peasant coalition and socialist development.

The Possible Development

Can today's CCP leadership become a



MAO TSETUNG

genuine proletarian leadership, then? Past experience and recent events give us a clear answer.

The CCP's demagogic "mass mobilization" is restricted by the formula that "each unit must be supervised by the leadership of its party committee; there is to be no unification among units, and no formation of any fighting groups" (*People's Daily* editorial, November 28, 1976).

This shows that the leadership wants to fully control mass action in the interests of the ruling group, although on some issues it will oppose the extreme incorrect practices and theories of the "gang of four." It may also place more emphasis on economic development, and may encourage foreign trade, as in the importation of advanced technologies and equipment from abroad. In addition, it may rectify the "radical" policies in education (such as the policy in college admissions) to stress the training of scientific and technical personnel. It may also adjust the lopsided relation between "politics in command" and "material incentives" so as to improve the people's living standards.

Further, they may ease the rigid control of literature and art, movies, plays, and so on. However, while these gradual (still limited) reforms will be welcomed by the

people, the leadership will basically hold to Mao's line despite the relaxation.

We have to especially point out that the CCP will be very sensitive and alert in the suppression of political and economic demands by the radical youth and the worker-peasant masses. At the first sign of such demands they will crush them by all the means at their disposal. (An example we have already seen is the execution of a person who defaced Hua's name on a wall poster.)

Of course, they will continue to purge the supporters of the "gang of four." But they will equally suppress the spontaneous, independent struggle of the masses for democratic rights and better living conditions. And they will do this in the name of purging the followers of the "gang of four." These uses of administrative methods or military force instead of ideological debate to convince opponents must be condemned and will certainly meet with opposition from the masses.

As of late, despite the official blockade of news, we continue to hear of many disturbances all over the country directed at the CCP leadership. For example, Hsinhua reported on December 3, 1976, that 12,000 troops were sent to factories and villages in Fukien Province for use against "elements who sabotage and disrupt production" and "spread rumors against the unity of the soldiers and the people." This shows that the unstable situation in Fukien Province has reached a serious stage. The *People's Daily* also reported on December 2 that "some factories in Honan have halted production . . . which has resulted in serious losses."

The November 28, 1976, *People's Daily* abruptly cited a quote from Mao calling for working-class unity: "There is no reason to have two large, extremely hostile factions within the working class." This is an indication that there have been resistance and struggle by the workers.

This kind of struggle by the workers will increase. Many reports yet to come will verify this trend. The CCP is incapable of stifling or eliminating this resistance. The masses are fully aware of the harmful effects of the bureaucracy's rule as well as of its instability. Now hatred of the bureaucracy is growing among the masses who are, at the same time, gaining confidence in their struggle. It appears that the pace of the proletarian political revolution against bureaucratic domination is quickening its tempo.

December 5, 1976

Intercontinental Press will give you a week by week analysis of the most important world events.

Subscribe now!

New Zealand Trotskyists Hold Fourth National Conference

By Barry Nonweiler and George Fyson

[The February 11 issue of *Socialist Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Wellington, New Zealand, reported on the Fourth National Conference of the Socialist Action League, from which the following has been excerpted.]

* * *

"Increasingly, working people are realising that they either must accept a sharply deteriorating standard of living, and growing restrictions on their rights, or they must take matters into their own hands and fight collectively for what is theirs. They are taking the first steps in the development of their consciousness towards understanding the real choice they are faced with: further decline into capitalist barbarism, or working people applying their own solution: socialism." (From "New Zealand Capitalism in Crisis: A Socialist Perspective for Working People"—the major conference document.)

These words set the tone for the Fourth National Conference of the Socialist Action League, held in Otaki between Christmas and New Year. One hundred delegates and observers at the conference spent six days discussing the local and international political scene, the spreading struggles of women, of Maoris, and of working people in general against the oppression they face. They discussed how socialists can best publicise their solutions to these problems, help organise the fight back, and build the Socialist Action League in the new situation.

The main resolution adopted, "New Zealand Capitalism in Crisis", looks at the new stage of New Zealand politics—"a stage of deepening social polarisation and class confrontation" brought about by the depth of capitalism's economic and social problems, combined with a new militancy of working people.

Russell Johnson presented a report on this resolution, on behalf of the League's National Executive.

"This resolution is an ambitious affair," he said of the document, which runs to 55 typed pages. "It is prompted by the recognition that the radicalisation has progressed to a stage beyond that analysed in 'The New Wave of Protest', a stage where the radicalisation of the working class is an increasingly central factor."

"The resolution disposes of what's left of the myth that New Zealand can be insulated from major international dislocations. The impact of the international economic crisis is, in fact, compounded by

the specific problems of New Zealand capitalism: its dependence on exports of primary produce, the declining terms of trade, and the decline in its major market, Britain."

This means that the capitalist rulers, in order to maintain their competitiveness and their position, "must take more out of the hides of New Zealand workers and the Pacific colonies of New Zealand."

"The Muldoon¹ offensive is not just the whim of a nasty man," said Johnson. "The Rowling government, if re-elected, would have attempted to carry out the same basic policy as Muldoon: a drastic adjustment against working people's interests in favour of profits."

Johnson suggested that even small concessions, such as amnesty for immigrant "overstayers", will become harder to wring out of the government, which is scared of encouraging any sector to fight for more substantial gains. Heaping the cost of retrenchment on the backs of working people will become a permanent part of ruling class strategy. Cutbacks in social spending, wage controls, and unemployment will continue. Racism and sexism will be fostered to keep working people divided.

"The resolution especially highlights the importance of oppressed national minorities and women in the coming New Zealand revolution," Johnson said. "They will play a central role both as increasingly important sections of the working class, and as independent social movements—as allies of the working class."

"The national struggle of Maoris and Pacific Islanders is not a 'diversion' from the workers' struggle, it is itself a working-class struggle. Similarly, the 400,000 working women, who the union bureaucrats continue to ignore at their peril, will become the heart of the women's liberation struggle."

Johnson concluded his report by emphasising the opportunities and obligations the new situation gave to socialists. They have a twofold task, he said. Firstly, "to carry out systematic work in the mass organisations of the working class, that is, in the unions and in the Labour Party, and to advance class struggle policies against the reformist leaders, based on the guiding

theme 'Turn the unions into a fighting social movement, which champions the demands of workers and of all the oppressed'."

This should be done, not under the illusion that Rowling and Co. can be made to fight on the side of the workers, but in a way that establishes a bridge to the revolutionary-socialist alternative for the masses of working people who now have faith in the Labour Party.

"Secondly, this means building a party which is itself based among the working class, most especially among the most oppressed sectors—women, Maoris, Pacific Islanders, young people—among those who most truly have nothing to lose but their chains."

The second resolution adopted by the conference was "The Struggle for Maori Liberation", reported on by George Fyson, on behalf of the National Executive. "Adoption of this document will be an important step for the Socialist Action League," he said. "It is the first time we have taken such a substantial and rounded position on the question of the oppression of Maori people and the struggle against it, and its relationship to the coming New Zealand socialist revolution."

The resolution traces the history of the Maori struggle, explaining the role of racism from the very beginning of pakeha² settlement: "Pakeha New Zealand was founded on racism, on the conscious and systematic use of racial prejudice by an oppressor people. Racist views, regarding the Maoris as inferior 'savages' and 'niggers', provided the rationalisation for the injustices and brutality that was used to deprive them of their land."

The resolution then looks at the revival of the Maori population in recent decades, together with its concentration in Auckland and Wellington and in key sections of the working class. "This means that Maoris are going to play an exceptionally important role in any revolution in this country. In fact, no revolution can occur without them, and this also means that no revolution will occur without *their needs and demands* being a part of that revolution," said Fyson.

Racism is not just a hangover from the conflict of the last century but is maintained today by the needs of the economic and social system, which cannot do away with racial oppression: "Capitalism, a dog-

1. Prime Minister Robert Muldoon heads the conservative National party government of New Zealand, which defeated the Labour government headed by Wallace E. Rowling in elections held in November 1975.—IP

2. "Pakeha" is the commonly used Maori word for New Zealanders of European descent.—IP

eat-dog system of robbery of the majority—working people—by the ruling minority, has too much at stake in the unequal status of Maoris to let this happen,” Fyson said. “Holding a section of the population like the Maoris and the Pacific Islanders in the position of pariahs, economically depressed and educationally disadvantaged, is too potent a means of blocking solidarity among the working people as a whole for this country’s rulers to give up.”

The resolution includes a contribution towards a programme for Maori liberation. Fyson explained that these ideas derived from two sources: the history of the Maori movement itself, and the experiences of revolutionary and national struggles over the past 150 and more years throughout the world, as summarised in the programme of the revolutionary Marxist movement.

The League plans to publish and widely distribute the resolution in the near future. As Fyson concluded his report: “The adoption of this document, and taking its ideas out as widely as possible, will play a central part in winning Maori activists to our movement in the period ahead.”

The Conference also adopted a report outlining the specific activities the League needs to concentrate on. This report, presented by Lew Stribling, proposed a shift in the League’s attention, towards the working class—the unions, working class communities, Maori and Pacific Island communities, and working women’s struggles. This “turn” logically followed from the stepped-up radicalisation of working people, examined in the “NZ Capitalism in Crisis” resolution already adopted at the conference, explained Stribling.

The turn is an extension of what the League has been doing up to the present, he said. The biggest change will involve the sinking of roots in several key working-class areas in the cities where the League is established, with the perspective of setting up new branches in those areas able to participate more directly in the political struggles of those communities.

Changed emphasis in sales of Socialist Action will be one step in this direction. The conference approved a target of 1,000 new subscriptions to Socialist Action, to be gained right at the start of this year. The subscription campaign will include concentrated work in working class communities, as well as a special subscription team travelling through the central North Island industrial towns, selling to workers at the factories and at home.

Stribling also projected stepped-up and more systematic work in trade unions, from where more and more potential League members are to be found.

Stribling also outlined proposals for a new category of membership in the League, as an aid or a bridge to people joining. “Provisional membership” will mean that those who want to join can have a three-month period with the right

to participate in League activities and attend branch meetings, before deciding whether to take the step of becoming a full member.

Seventeen people asked at the conference itself to become provisional members.

Stribling also announced the League’s decision to run in the Mangere by-election, and a special rally later in the conference, which approved Brigid Mulrennan as the League’s candidate, was one of the conference’s high points.

The guidelines of the Tasks and Perspectives report were discussed out after its adoption in 13 workshop sessions. These covered the abortion campaign, education, reporting for Socialist Action, selling socialist literature, anti-racist work, finances, trade union work, work among Asian students in New Zealand, selling Socialist Action, work among teachers, recruitment to the League, the Working Women’s Council, and defence of political prisoners around the world.

Brigid Mulrennan presented a report on the women’s liberation movement. She gave examples of the continuing spread of feminist ideas, such as the huge attendance at the United Women’s Conventions, the opinion polls showing that a majority now support a woman’s right to abortion, and the widely-backed and successful protests against the “Gill Bill” last year, which sought to require abortions to be approved by public hospital boards—and thus to restrict the numbers performed.

Mulrennan said the Socialist Action League should continue to be actively involved in the Women’s National Abortion Action Campaign (WONAAC), and in the Working Women’s Council—an organisation of union women, set up to fight for women’s rights in the workplace and within the union movement in general.

The conference also heard a talk by Margot Roth on New Zealand women activists of the past.

An informational report was heard from Gillian Goodger of the Young Socialists, the independently organised youth movement which works in solidarity with the Socialist Action League, chiefly among students at university and high school. The YS is now planning for its third national conference, to be held in Wellington in April.

The conference discussed three reports on international questions, reflecting the League’s view that a world-wide outlook is basic to socialism.

Tony Lane presented an analysis of the world-shaking events in Southern Africa during the past year, and outlined the ways supporters of justice for Black people in that area could work productively to aid those struggles. The League will actively support the campaign to isolate the racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, through a total economic, cultural and sporting boycott, and the campaign for release of political prisoners in South Africa.

Keith Locke gave two reports on the debate currently taking place in the Fourth International, the worldwide socialist organisation of which the Socialist Action League is the New Zealand section. He discussed the International’s prospects for growth, particularly in Western Europe where working-class struggles are on the rise everywhere.

The conference’s internationalism was demonstrated in another way: by the greetings received from Fourth International groups in France, Britain, Portugal, the United States, and Canada. Present at the conference were seven members of the Socialist Workers Party of Australia, and John Percy presented greetings on the SWP’s behalf. Four of them spoke at a special panel discussion on Australia and the Pacific.

Goh Siong Hoe, representing the new magazine *Malaysian Socialist Review* (published in Australia) described the development of the MSR and its prospects for building a socialist movement among Malaysian students in Australia and New Zealand.

Looking at a further aspect of the world scene, Hugh Fyson gave a talk on the crisis of the policies and the regimes in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European workers states. These governments and their supporters around the world claim to represent socialism, but in reality they stand for conservative and undemocratic policies which only hold back the establishment of a socialist society, in all countries.

In his report on the political resolution Russell Johnson stressed that socialists have to learn from the past, if they want to get some idea of what the developing labour radicalisation holds in store. In this spirit, a panel discussion was held at the conference, looking at the previous wave of working class radicalism in this country: the post-World War II upsurge which culminated in the defeat of the massive watersiders struggle in 1951.

On the panel were Bert Roth, well-known labour historian and author of “Trade Unions in New Zealand”; John Colquhoun, who was in the Communist Party during the 1940s and early 50s; and Peter Rotherham of the Socialist Action League.

The conference concluded with the election of the national leadership, to guide the work of the League until the next conference. A National Committee consisting of thirteen members—nine full members and four alternates—was chosen, a feature of the new Committee being the presence of three new women members—Brigid Mulrennan, Kay McVey and Pat Starkey.

This conference was the largest ever held by the Socialist Action League: it was almost twice the size of the previous one held two years before. Moreover, it showed the consolidation of a growing layer of experienced and capable activists in the organisation. □

AROUND THE WORLD



Gandhi Booped at Election Rally

Tens of thousands of government workers booped, jeered, and walked out of a rally for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in New Delhi March 1. Indian reporters said it was the first time in history that a prime minister had been booped in the capital.

An estimated three times as many Indians turned out later to cheer several of Gandhi's opponents at a rally in the same spot, about a mile from the prime minister's office.

North Korean Stalinists Name Kim's Son as 'Successor'

The North Korean Workers party Politburo has ratified President Kim Il Sung's decision to name his eldest son, Kim Jung Ell, as his successor, according to a February 23 dispatch from the Kyodo news agency of Japan. The North Korean leader announced in February 1976 that he intended to have Kim Jr. take over when he died.

To justify such regal action, the North

Korean CP cooked up yet another Stalinist version of Soviet history:

"Lenin appointed Stalin his successor, but Stalin did not name his successor," said a North Korean document quoted by Kyodo. "As a result, revolution and construction fell into revisionism and the people are undergoing suffering."

Some dissent may have been registered. According to a source quoted by Kyodo, "anti-party [elements] and divisionists who had long been hiding within the party to block establishment of sole leadership by Comrade Kim Jung Ell have been completely crushed."

Soviet Jews Stage Sit-in

Some 150 Jews in twelve Soviet cities staged sit-in demonstrations at their local legislatures on February 21. The protesters were demanding written explanations of why they have been refused permission to emigrate.

At the Ukrainian legislature in Kiev, officials promised demonstrators they would receive the documents they sought.

In Moscow, sixty-two Jews delivered a letter with their demands to the offices of the Supreme Soviet. After waiting all day for a response, the group was told that no explanation of the visa denials would be provided.

French Cops Stop Roman Hijack Plot

The following was reported in the February 27 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*:

Acting on the basis of a crudely drawn map received anonymously, France's secret police, the Direction de la Surveillance Territoriale (DST—Bureau of Internal Security) moved quickly to foil an apparent plot to hijack one of the tactical nuclear missiles Paris has planted on the West German border.

After obtaining a warrant from the state security court, DST agents and Dijon cops swooped down at dawn on what they thought was a nest of dangerous terrorists in the village of Audincourt. They nabbed four teachers and a student, all members of far-left parties.

A confession was soon extracted from one of the prisoners, Jean Berriau, who admitted drawing up the map. But the DST's case against the five nevertheless fell apart. The map depicted, not a terrorists' rendezvous, but the plan of march of

Julius Caesar's armies in the campaign against the Gauls in 60 B.C.

A student had apparently sent the map to the DST.

Natural Gas 'Shortage' Brings Consumers to Low Boil

Congressional investigators have charged that Texaco Oil Company withheld natural gas vitally needed by American consumers this winter in an effort to boost profits.

Investigators for the House subcommittee on oversight and investigations reported February 22 that Texaco had refused to tap an estimated 500 billion cubic feet of natural gas from its known reservoirs in the Gulf of Mexico.

The charges against Texaco came several days after an Interior Department report revealed that ten major producers in the Gulf of Mexico had also cut gas production.

A poll conducted by the New York *Daily News* and reported in its February 28 issue showed that 66 percent of those questioned believed the natural gas "shortage" to be a fake and a fraud.

Lolita Lebrón Given Hero's Welcome in Puerto Rico

Lolita Lebrón, one of the five Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned for more than two decades, was greeted as a national hero when she briefly returned to Puerto Rico on March 3. President Carter ordered federal prison officials to allow the fifty-seven-year-old Nationalist party leader to attend services for her only daughter, who was killed in an automobile accident.

Five hundred supporters waited hours at the San Juan airport to greet Lebrón, who was whisked away by federal marshals immediately after landing. At the funeral in Barceloneta, Lebrón was greeted by hundreds of other Puerto Rican supporters. Cries of "free Lolita, free the others," rang through the crowd. Throughout the services Lebrón carried a small Puerto Rican flag given her by one of the mourners.

A movement with wide support is under way in the United States to secure the release of all five nationalist prisoners. The fact that Lebrón was permitted to visit Puerto Rico to attend the funeral is an indication of the mounting pressure for government action in the case.



KIM IL SUNG: Begins dynasty.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



50,000 in West Germany Protest Atom Power Plant

In protest against unsafe development of atomic power plants, between 50,000 and 60,000 persons demonstrated February 19 at two sites in the area where an atomic reactor is being built in Brokdorf, West Germany.

Roughly twice as many persons participated in these recent rallies as in the country's first mass protest against atomic power plants, which was held in Brokdorf on November 13, 1976.

Thus, in three months the movement against atomic power has grown significantly, despite a witch-hunt campaign in the capitalist press against the demonstrators and severe police intimidation.

The February 19 demonstration would probably have been even larger if several Maoist groups had not forced a split by insisting on a rally right next to the heavily defended plant site, and by refusing to give assurances that they would not try to break through police lines to occupy the grounds.

As a result of the Maoists' operation, two separate demonstrations occurred. The Maoist groups organized a rally in Wilster, within sight of Brokdorf. The groups determined to avoid a confrontation with the police demonstrated in Itzehoe, further from the building site. These included the Communist party, the local Socialist party

organization, the Young Socialists, the Socialist Student League, and the Liberal Student League.

The Trotskyists of the GIM (Gruppe Internationale Marxisten—International Marxist Group) participated in the Itzehoe demonstration, stressing the importance of uniting and broadening the movement.

In its February 24 issue, the GIM's paper *Was Tun* reported:

By far the largest part of the Itzehoe demonstration consisted of forces that had not previously participated in mobilizations against the atomic plants. For the movement against the Brokdorf plant, and especially for those who demonstrated in Brokdorf [Wilster] on February 19, it is a vital task not to lose these forces.

The Itzehoe demonstration marked the beginning of participation by sections of the trade-union movement. *Was Tun* reported:

By far the best speech was given by Heinz Brandt, former editor of the magazine *Metall* [of the steelworkers union]. The massive applause that frequently interrupted him showed that he was able to give conscious expression to the political tendencies hidden in the assembled crowd. He tried to show the real social and economic context of pollution. And he aroused the sympathy of the audience when he condemned the opportunism of the party and union bureaucrats both East and West. Only a few boos

could be heard, which showed strikingly the relationship of forces in the crowd. If the CP had really mobilized its forces and participated in a self-confident way, it would never have tolerated such "radical" speeches.

Despite the bluster of the Maoists, the organizers of the Wilster demonstration avoided confrontation with the police:

The authorities were hoping demonstrators would try to occupy the site so that they could carry out an exemplary action, breaking up the demonstration, staging a scene of violence so as to isolate the left as "wildmen," and thus break the back of the movement against the Brokdorf plant. They also wanted to show that the police attack on the November 13 demonstration was justified, because they discredited themselves by that operation and provoked a surge of support for the fight against the atomic power plants.

But the outcome was quite different. The demonstrators did not fall into the trap set by a provocative display of power. There was no battle in Brokdorf—to the profound disappointment of Springer, Boehnisch, and Co. [the gutter press]. Instead, there was a demonstration of the strength of the opposition to atomic power plants that far exceeded past performance. The effect . . . was such that the politicians and the capitalist press have been forced to start asking the question: "How can the Brokdorf plant be built in the face of such resistance?"

The authorities staged an unusual display of repressive power. The building site was turned into a fortress. Swarms of armored vehicles and helicopters were brought in. Behind the barricades stood about 10,000 police, border guards, and the special commando units supposedly developed to meet the "terrorist threat."

Was Tun noted that the February 19 operation marked the first application of the Emergency Powers Law (*Notstandsgesetz*) passed in 1968, which among other things permits the government to use "military force" to meet "domestic danger."

Parallel to the growth of the movement against atomic power plants, a mass movement has been developing against political repression, which is more extensive in West Germany than the other major advanced capitalist countries. After the February 19 rallies, it became clear that the two movements are reinforcing each other.

Successive West German governments developed their apparatus of repression on



Was Tun

Itzehoe, West Germany: Part of demonstration of 50,000 February 19.

the pretext that it was needed to defend the society against "terrorism" and "fanatical ultraleftists." The fact that they have tried to use this massive police power against a broadening social movement has highlighted its anti-democratic nature.

Furthermore, trying to develop atomic energy on a wide scale poses threats to democratic rights. The most obvious is that a few capitalists in blind pursuit of profit are endangering the whole society and future generations. But also, in view of the security complex around atomic energy, widening its use raises the danger of an extension of police surveillance.

Immediately after the February 19 actions, a scandal broke out over the illegal bugging of the home of Dr. Klaus Robert Traube, former top engineer at Interatom, a nuclear power company owned by the Siemens trust.

The first sixteen pages of the February 28 *Der Spiegel* were devoted to the Traube case, which the authoritative weekly magazine compared several times to Watergate.

Because he had chance personal contact with a few persons allegedly implicated in terrorist actions, a giant spy operation was launched against Traube. This cost him his job, although no evidence against him was ever produced.

Der Spiegel gave a detailed account of the operation, with police maps on which Traube's house was designated "radioactive waste." He was referred to as the "target person," and a hunting cabin from which his home was watched was called "Conspiratorial Center."

In an editorial raising an alarm about the threat posed to the constitution by such an illegal operation, publisher Rudolf Augstein began by quoting a speech at Itzehoe by Robert Jungk: "I am worried not just about the environment . . . but about democracy. We are already on the road to the atomic state. And the atomic state means surveillance of everyone." □

Another Gift From Allied Chemical

The state of Mississippi has been manufacturing an insecticide used to control fire ants that contains Mirex, a chlorinated hydrocarbon that has been shown to cause cancer in some laboratory test animals. The substance is very slow to decay, but when it does it degrades into Kepone, which was involved last year in one of the worst chemical pollution disasters in the United States (see *Intercontinental Press*, June 7, 1976, p. 917).

Mississippi got into the pollution business when the Allied Chemical Company, the former manufacturer of Kepone, "donated" its unprofitable fire ant bait factory in Aberdeen to the state. The state manufactured the bait and sold it for \$580 per ton until the supply of Mirex ran out. Then on February 28 Mississippi Commissioner of Agriculture Jim Buck Ross announced the purchase of 25,000 additional pounds of

Mirex powder from a supplier in New York. "We are back in business," said Ross.

Aerial spraying of fire ant bait has been conducted by federal and state agriculture departments since 1962. A total of 132 million acres in ten southern states have been treated. This has involved the use of half a million pounds of Mirex.

Mississippi hopes to produce and market enough bait to cover more than 18 million additional acres by December 31. That is the date set by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) for the termination of all aerial spraying of Mirex insecticides.

Tests conducted by the EPA have shown traces of Mirex in the fatty tissues of more than a third of the persons tested in the southeastern United States. The levels are highest in Mississippi and Louisiana.

A Little Goes a Long Way

We reported in our March 7 issue (p. 242) on the contamination of drinking water in communities along the Ohio River with carbon tetrachloride. The most likely culprit in the 70-ton chemical spill was the FMC Corporation of South Charleston, West Virginia.

While denying responsibility for the spill, Raymond Tower, FMC executive vice-president, announced on March 1 the results of some calculations carried out by the corporation. According to Tower, his mathematicians have determined that a person would have had to drink between 1,800 and 5,000 gallons at one sitting in order to be poisoned by water contaminated at the levels found in Cincinnati and other cities after the spill.

Unfortunately, the truth of these reassurances from the chemical combine are open to question. Richard Chlan of the Environmental Protection Agency said in response that the EPA was not worried about people experiencing the immediate toxic effects of carbon tetrachloride, but was "more concerned with the long-term chronic effects of carbon tet."

As previously reported in *IP*, Joseph Harrison of the EPA has said the chemical "has a detrimental effect on the liver. . . . If you drink it, you probably won't be acutely affected right away. There is a risk it could cause cancer eventually. It's a high risk."

New Ingredient in Coca-Cola?

For some time the manufacturers of Coca-Cola in the United States have been test marketing their popular soft drink in plastic bottles made of acrylonitrile. The product has been sold in New York, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Detroit, and other cities. Coca-Cola's use of the bottles had been approved by the Food and Drug Administration.

But on February 11 the FDA announced that it was withdrawing its previous approval. The agency based its new decision on studies showing that acrylonitrile may cause lesions and growths in test animals.



Herblock/Washington Post

The Monsanto Company, which makes the bottles for Coca-Cola, responded immediately, issuing a statement that "repeated tests have demonstrated that there is no detectable migration of acrylonitrile into the bottle's contents."

Nevertheless, Monsanto shut down all three of its plastic bottle plants and a Lepac resin production plant on February 18, citing "uncertainties" caused by the FDA decision.

Monsanto had been selling the acrylonitrile bottles under the name "Cycle-Safe."

Plastic Rapped as Cancer Cause

Three years ago, studies by Dr. Cesare Maltoni of Bologna, Italy, demonstrated that vinyl chloride causes cancer in rats and mice. Shortly afterward, the chemical was shown to be the cause of a fatal liver cancer affecting exposed workers.

At a news conference in New York City on February 22, Dr. Maltoni announced the results of similar studies involving vinylidene chloride. He has found that this chemical, too, causes cancer in mice.

Researchers employed by Dow Chemical Company, the leading manufacturer of vinylidene chloride, were quick to dispute Dr. Maltoni's findings. They noted that a two-year, \$1 million study—sponsored by American industries—had failed to show any cancer-inducing effects of the chemical on rats.

Besides vinylidene chloride itself, Dow produces Saran Wrap, a plastic product made by combining vinyl chloride with vinylidene chloride.

About one-third of the flexible plastic packaging used in U.S. food stores is manufactured through such a process. This represents an annual market of 150 to 200 million pounds of plastic.

Selections From the Left

Internationelen

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

The February 25 issue reports:

"This Saturday [February 26] in Lund [one of the main university towns] a demonstration has been called on East Europe. The principal slogan is 'Socialism and democracy—support democratic rights in East Europe.' Other slogans are 'Freedom to organize and to strike'; 'Free the Polish workers and give them back their jobs'; 'Let the Committee to Defend the Workers in Poland do its work'; 'Solidarity with the socialist opposition in East Europe.' . . .

"Participating in the demonstration are the Socialist East Europe Committee, the Communist Workers League, the Communist League [a semi-Maoist organization], but also the Social Democratic Youth League and the Lund Communist party.

"The Communist party members in Lund have turned their backs on their own party's line and are now giving unambiguous support to the groups of workers and oppositionist intellectuals fighting in East Europe. Finally, a CP district organization has taken the correct road. Its taking such a position is extremely important because it makes it possible to genuinely broaden active solidarity.

"Naturally these comrades' position has aroused a lot of complaining and gnashing of teeth by the *Norrskensflamman* editors [the faction that continues to support unconditional subordination to the Kremlin is grouped around this paper]. In an open letter to *Ny Dag* [the national CP paper], some members of the *Norrskensflamman* faction waxed indignant about this decision. These people seem to have a certain backing from the party leadership . . . , which is said to have advised the Lund CP not to take part in the demonstration. The national leadership of the Young Communist League forbade its Lund branch to take part.

"We hope that the members of the Lund CP will not yield to *Norrskensflamman's* complaints or the party leadership's non-political attempt to blur this question. We hope that they themselves will go on the offensive in the party on this question."

THE MILITANT

A socialist weekly published in the interests of the working people. Printed in New York City, New York.

An editorial in the March 4 issue reveals how Carter's proposed budget would

squander additional billions of dollars on the Pentagon, while further reducing federal spending for social-welfare programs.

"The trick is crude but simple," the editors explain. "Carter and the news media, rather than comparing his budget with the previous year's spending, are emphasizing the changes from Ford's lame-duck budget for fiscal 1978, which was submitted last month.

"Ford proposed boosting Pentagon spending authority by a whopping \$12.9 billion—from \$110.2 billion to \$123.1 billion. Carter proposes to increase it 'only' \$10.2 billion. In the headlines this becomes a 'cut' of \$2.7 billion—while the Democratic administration actually proposes the highest level of war spending in history. . . .

"What about Carter's 'increased' social service spending? The story here is that Ford had proposed budget cutbacks of \$13 billion, mostly in social services. Carter is restoring \$8 billion of Ford's proposed cutbacks. That is, Carter is cutting last year's programs by \$5 billion."

INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES 753

"Workers News," open forum for the class struggle. Published weekly in Paris.

The February 16-23 issue reports on a lecture given by Polish exile Edmund Baluka. Baluka was chairman of the strike committee at the Adolph Warski shipyards in Szczecin during the Polish port rebellions in December 1970-January 1971. His talk was given in the hall of the headquarters of the youth organization affiliated to the French section of the Organizing Committee to Reconstruct the Fourth International.

Baluka was introduced by Pierre Lambert, who explained the reasons why his current in France was organizing a series of meetings and seminars for the Polish workers leader:

"We fight unconditionally for democratic rights, for the release of all political prisoners. But for us, the main objective is freedom for all the workers to fight against the restoration of capitalism, freedom to strike, freedom for the working class to fight for the restoration of Soviet democracy, freedom to fight for the political revolution."

Informations Ouvrières reports: "A large part of Baluka's talk was devoted to recounting the twenty years of struggle by the Polish workers from October 1956 to June 1976. This history showed clearly enough the fundamental role of the working class in the fight against the bureaucratic regime and the price in blood that it has paid.

"From his impassioned account, it could be seen how all the struggles by the Polish workers to defend their living standards have produced a deepgoing and determined movement against the bureaucracy's political apparatus and an explosive development of workers democracy in the ranks of the working class, exemplified in assemblies and discussions. This has led the workers to seek ways to organize independently of the bureaucracy in strike committees and workers councils.

"The richness of this experience and the extent of the crisis of the bureaucracy, which is shown in the clashing of various factions, led Comrade Baluka to say: 'In Poland we are at the beginning of profound changes, which I would call revolution.'

"He reminded the audience that the bourgeoisie has done everything possible to prop up the bureaucracies, that the working class in the East European countries can expect no help from them: 'It is your fight alone that can help the Polish workers.'"

Informations Ouvrières noted that a discussion developed around Baluka's concept of "Soviet imperialism" and his characterization of the ruling bureaucracies as a new class. But it singled out two statements he made as particularly important: "The Polish working class and the workers in the USSR and the other East European countries do not want to go back toward what existed before. As for himself, he was for 'total destruction of the bureaucratic apparatus.' His program is struggle against the bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy and uniting the workers of the world to overthrow them.

"In conclusion, Baluka said: 'When we have overthrown the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie, we will meet in Szczecin to decide whether we have defeated a class or a caste, but we have the same objective.'

"That is the conviction that inspired the participants in this first Paris meeting and which gives value to the discussion that will continue in the context of action."

Magyar Nemzet

"Hungarian Nation," organ of the Patriotic People's Front, the official group of "nonparty mass organizations." Published daily in Budapest.

The February 13 issue reported the Tito government's response to a petition signed by sixty Yugoslav intellectuals protesting restrictions of the right to travel. The headline of the story was "Decisive Yugoslav Answer."

"Yugoslavia has rejected in the most decisive manner the anti-Yugoslav cam-

paign of the Western press and its intervention in the country's internal affairs, carried out under the pretext of 'defending human rights and freedom.' The pivot for this well-organized campaign was a 'petition' that a group of Yugoslav citizens addressed to the country's constitutional court, calling for 'review of the method for issuing passports and the right of Yugoslav citizens to travel abroad.'

"This petition, which the Yugoslav authorities answered in accordance with the regulations and laws in force, was 'supplemented' by the Western press with 'statements' by notorious anti-Yugoslav elements, slandering the country's social system, socialist self-management, and Yugoslavia's foreign policy of nonalignment.

"The statements of the Western press were sharply rejected by spokesmen of the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry and by a communiqué from the [official] news agency Tanjug published in Saturday's papers."

Socialist Action

Published twice monthly in Wellington, New Zealand.

Writing in the February 25 issue, Kay McVey reports on charges that hospitals in New Zealand have sterilized Pacific Island women against their will.

The charges were made in statements submitted to the Auckland Hospital Board by two antiracist groups. The groups cited cases of Polynesian women continuing to use contraception after having been sterilized. Other evidence suggests that hospital rules requiring that sterilizations be performed only at the patient's request and with prior consent are not always applied.

One member of the Hospital Board admitted that the claims were probably true, but this was challenged by other medical personnel.

"Dr Bruce Faris who was recently appointed to the Hospital Board, . . . opposes the suggestion that interpreters should be employed by hospitals," McVey reports.

"Faris said that he was disturbed to see 'emotional press reports' about the sterilization of Polynesian patients. In his experience every tubal ligation had been done in 'good faith'."

klasse-kampen

"Class Struggle," published fortnightly in Copenhagen by the Revolutionary Socialist League, Danish section of the Fourth International.

In its February 11 issue, the Danish Communist party paper *Land og Folk* published an attack on *Klassekampen*. It said: "This little Trotskyist paper with a

big name . . . waxes enthusiastic about Charter 77 and Sakharov's Committee to Defend Human Rights. This is on page 19 of the current issue. On page 22, a reader complains about the dreadful situation in the socialist countries as regards marriage: 'People are locked into a totally absurd framework.' And another makes still stronger complaints about 'the reactionary family and sexual code established in Stalin's time.'

"Article 16, Point 3, in the Declaration of Human Rights says that the family is the natural and fundamental unit of society and has a right to protection by the society and the state.

"It is not easy to defend Professor Sakharov's sensitive evocations of human rights when you are also a Trotskyist who sees provisions in this document as 'reactionary' and 'absurd.'"

One of *Klassekampen's* staff writers, Allan Baekholm wrote a letter to *Land og Folk* answering this article, but the CP paper refused to print it. So, it was published in the February 22 issue of *Klassekampen*. Baekholm said:

"Our reason for publishing Jiri Pelikan's comment on Charter 77 was that *Land og Folk's* collaborator Erik Nielsen wrote a vicious attack on him in the January 19 issue, . . . in which he accused Pelikan of 'anti-Communism, anti-Sovietism, and anti-Czechoslovakism,' as well as of being in the pay of the CIA.

"The truth about Jiri Pelikan is that he is a socialist and advocates respect for fundamental democratic rights in East Europe. *Land og Folk* came out for this too in its January 22 issue. So, why does it throw mud at those who do the same? Is it perhaps because *Land og Folk's* concern about democratic rights goes no deeper than what is necessary to get a good vote in the parliamentary elections? . . .

"*Land og Folk* thinks it is comical that one of our readers criticized the policy of maintaining the nuclear family and its oppression of women, when it says in the Declaration of Human Rights that the family has a right to protection by the society and the state. The implication according to *Land og Folk* is that you cannot both call for socialist democracy in East Europe and criticize the Soviet family and sexual code.

"What is comical is the attitude of *Land og Folk*. It does not understand the first thing about the Marxist position on human rights. As Marxists, we defend people's right to believe in, and worship, Buddha, Muhammed, or Satan, as they choose. But that does not mean that we think people should do that. To the contrary we try to convince them not to. We defend people's right to live in the nuclear family if they want to, but we oppose the oppression of women, and we oppose the fact that people are being forced . . . by reactionary laws to live that way, because they have no other alterna-

tive, either in the Soviet Union or in Denmark."



Libération

"The committee is so swamped, Madam, that your request for an abortion cannot be studied for nine months."

libération

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

In the March issue, Lyne Gauthier and Wendy Johnston report on activities planned by campus and trade-union women's liberation groups to commemorate International Women's Day, March 8.

Gauthier and Johnston point out that the recent decision by the Parti Québécois provincial government to drop all charges against Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Montréal physician convicted for having performed abortions, was a victory for women. Now is the time, they say, to launch a campaign to repeal the federal law prohibiting abortions.

A recently released study by a federal commission of inquiry reveals that the law is applied in a highly discriminatory way. "For example, in some parts of Québec, not a single hospital has a therapeutic committee, and the English-speaking hospitals are more likely to have one than the French-speaking hospitals," Gauthier and Johnston report.

The study's findings prompted one PQ minister to declare the provincial government's intention to set up therapeutic committees in all Québec hospitals. But Gauthier and Johnston explain that this is not the solution.

"Women must have the right to choose for themselves whether or not to have an abortion; they should not be forced to turn the decision over to a therapeutic committee. . . .

"The only way to give women the right to control their own bodies and to make abortion truly accessible to all is to repeal the law, making abortion a normal medical procedure that is covered by health insurance."

Election Manifesto of the Communist League of India

[The following is the program issued by the Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International, for the parliamentary elections that begin on March 16. Communist League candidate Thakor Shah is contesting a seat from Baroda, in the state of Gujarat (see accompanying box).]

* * *

Indian voters would once again exercise their democratic right in March 1977, for the sixth Lok Sabha election. The election has come after the 18 months of *emergency*, during which the working class was subjected to brutal repression. Hence the forthcoming election is a crucial event for the Indian polity in general and the working class and toiling masses in particular. We the *Trotskyists* of the Communist League, the Indian section of the Fourth International, view this election as a main battle of two *bourgeois* parties to sidetrack the consciousness and movement of the working class and the toiling masses.

We had already pointed out various factors that accounted for an ever-increasing trend to authoritarianism in the Indian polity. This was consolidated by the unprecedented brutal suppression of the railway workers strike of May 1974.

We had also stressed that the severe economic crisis confronting the Indian bourgeoisie must be regarded as the crucial reason for the imposition of the *State of Emergency* on June 26, 1975. However, it failed to achieve its main so-called objective, i.e., to revive the economic growth with price stability. Rising prices, unemployment, lockouts, closures, layoffs, sickness of industries, and demand recession in several basic industries have multiplied. For the regime there was absolutely no excuse left to explain these symptoms of deepening structural economic crisis of Indian capitalism.

Anti-working-class measures of the emergency, especially the amended Black Bonus Act, impelled the working class at the nerve centre of Indian capitalism—Bombay—to form factory-mill committees, and they launched a struggle bypassing the bureaucratic traditional trade-union leadership. The working-class struggles took various other forms at several industrial cities. We salute them for their fearless struggles despite the unprecedented odds.

The Emergency was increasingly becoming counter-productive politically. Relaxation of the Emergency and the holding of elections at this stage could as well

channelise the evergrowing discontent and disenchantment of the working class and toiling poor masses.

The bourgeois regime seeks to legitimize the institutionalisation of the antidemocratic gains such as the Press Objectionable Matters Act, anti-national activities and organisations in the 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act, etc., of the Emergency through the elections.

Elections are being held when the Emergency has not been completely withdrawn, hundreds of trade-union and political activists are not yet freed, and curbs on political and trade-union activities by repressive laws still continue.

All the bourgeois parties like the Congress, the Janata party, the Congress for Democracy party, etc., as well as Stalinists like the Communist party and the Communist party (Marxist), pose democracy versus dictatorship as the central issue of this election. But this is posed in abstract and non-class terms as if *parliamentary democracy* exists in a vacuum above the socio-economic forces based on class exploitation and class distinction. All three bourgeois parties try to woo the downtrodden Indian masses by giving slogans, lavish and vague promises. It may be recalled here that the Congress party in its 1971 election manifesto promised workers' participation in management. It has repeated the same promise, after having ruled for six years, in its 1977 manifesto. The Janata party and the CFD also promise the same. But the Indian workers and toilers know from their experiences that under the misleading slogans of workers' participation in management, the workers are further exploited with heavy work-loads "to produce more." The scheme of workers' participation in management was not at all aimed to allow workers' say in production, management of administration, in making decisions about prices and profit-sharing. It is only a strategy to lure a few trade-union leaders to serve the interests of the employers. We firmly believe that workers' participation in management in the real sense of the term cannot be materialised unless the means of production are socially owned and administered through workers' democratic control, i.e. workers' self-management.

Let workers, employers, oppressed middle class, landless labourers, and poor peasants realise that all three bourgeois parties will join hands to suppress their movements and their rightful demands against the exploiters after the election, in the name of law and order and saving

democracy. Anti-working-class measures will increase rather than decrease under any bourgeois party. It may be the Congress, the CFD or the Janata party.

The Janata party claims to fight for democracy against the dictatorship of the Congress. But democracy lies in taking decisions by people in management, production, and profit in their factories, mills, mines, and farms. This is not possible unless the exploitative capitalist system is eradicated. JP [Jaya Prakash Narayan] does not want to do this. The Janata party in its election manifesto, unlike the Congress, the CPI and the CPI (M), promises to delete the right to private property as the Fundamental Right and to include the right to work as the Fundamental Right. But the right to private property will still remain as a legal right if the Janata party wins. It is not a complete abolition of private property in the means of production and distribution. Moreover it is proposed more as a measure to take the wind out of the sails of the ruling Congress, which charges the Janata party as reactionary.

In these circumstances independent proletarian politics continues to be the need of the hour. Unfortunately, major tendencies in the Indian working-class movement such as the two Stalinist parties, the CPI, and CPI (M), and the centrist RSP [Revolutionary Socialist party] have deplorably failed to recognise the need of pursuing independent working-class politics based on revolutionary Marxism. They have opportunistically practised class collaboration with bourgeois parties. In this election, for example, the Stalinist CPI has at large aligned with the Congress, while the Stalinist CPI (M) has resolved to reach electoral adjustments with the Janata party.

The programme of the Communist League is premised around the central axis of absolutely independent working-class politics in India. The Indian working class and the toiling poor masses must be completely liberated from the ideological and political spell and influence of the bourgeoisie and its reformist tendencies in the working-class movement. Such politics must have the perspective of mobilising and uniting the working class, toiling, and poor masses against all the exploiting classes, their parties, and their system, around democratic and transitional demands for establishing a workers' and poor peasants' government, as well as for workers' democracy. Such a workers' democracy presupposes various working-class parties. It may include petty bour-

geois and even bourgeois parties provided they accept the framework of workers'-poor peasants' government backed by the oppressed middle class.

This cannot be achieved until the entire present bourgeois state apparatus and social structure are completely challenged, defeated, and destroyed. It is to be replaced by a workers' state by a militant mass and class struggle of the majority of the exploited and under-privileged masses, led by the working class and its party.

This can be achieved only by making a socialist revolution in India under the leadership of the Indian proletariat through proletarian methods of struggle and independent and militant class and mass mobilizations.

In such a strategic perspective, elections are one of the arenas for conducting class struggle where the masses could be educated on all these aspects through proletarian methods of propaganda and participation.

It is with this revolutionary-Marxist perspective that we are participating in this election with the following programme:

Political

1. Lift the Emergency.
2. Release all political prisoners and detainees, including Naxalites.
3. Remove the ban on all political parties and organisations including the extreme-left Naxalites and the extreme-right RSS [National Protection Union, a paramilitary group affiliated with the Hindu-chauvinist Jan Sangh], as they should be dealt with politically.
4. No constitution can automatically be socialist merely by using the term "socialism" in its preamble. The Indian constitution is a bourgeois constitution framed by the bourgeoisie and feudal class through limited franchise.

A socialist constitution can only be framed by the representatives of the Indian working masses, both urban and rural, whose allies will be the students, intellectuals, and various oppressed middle classes.

We therefore demand the convening of a Constitution Assembly of representatives elected on the basis of adult franchise through the constituencies delimited on the basis of professions—such as textile labourers, engineering workers, banking employees, landless labourers, rank and file of military and police establishments, teachers of primary, secondary, and higher education, etc.

We however emphasise that a socialist constitution is only possible after the socialist revolution led by the majority of the working classes and exploited masses whose allies will be students, intellectuals, and the oppressed middle classes.

Meanwhile we demand:

- a. Scrap all draconian measures like the MISA [Maintenance of Internal Security

Thakor Shah—Trotskyist Candidate for Parliament



THAKOR SHAH

Thakor Shah is the candidate of the Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International, in the general elections scheduled to begin March 16. He is running for a seat in the Lok Sabha (lower house of Parliament) from Baroda, Gujarat.

Shah, the son of a Baroda textile worker, was born in 1927. While still in

high school, he participated in the 1942 "Quit India Movement" against British imperialism and was detained four times during that period.

In 1946 he joined the Congress Seva Dal, an organization linked to the Congress party, and became one of its active organizers in Gujarat. He organized youth from various states through the Delhi office of the All-India Congress Committee and served as an area organizer of the Congress party in southern India for a while. He was also a delegate to the Gujarat State Congress Committee.

After the 1969 split in the Congress party, he became disillusioned with both Gandhi's Congress party and the Organisation Congress of Morarji Desai. Even while he was still a member of the Congress party, he criticized its procapitalist policies publicly through his Gujarati weekly *Prajasattak* (Republic).

In 1973 he came into contact with the Communist League. During the mass upsurge in Gujarat the following year, he participated in joint activities with the Communist League and with various mass organizations in the streets and slums and at the factory gates of Baroda. As a result of this experience, he joined the Communist League and converted his journal, *Prajasattak*, into an organ of the toilers and youth.

For the past three years, Shah has been in charge of the labour activities of the Communist League. He is also a member of the league's Central Committee.

Act], the DIR [Defence of India Rules], the Press Objectionable Matters Act, etc.

- b. Scrap the 42nd Amendment Act.
- c. Scrap Emergency provisions from the constitution of India.
- d. Abolition of private property not only as a Fundamental Right but also as a legal right in production, distribution, and exchange.
- e. Right to work and education as a Fundamental Right.
- f. Right of recall of elected representatives of the people from village panchayat [council] to parliament.
- g. Right to strike as the Fundamental Right of the working masses.

Basic Necessities

We firmly believe that the prices of the basic necessities of life should not be left to the vagaries of private profiteers. We therefore demand:

1. Basic necessities of life such as food, oil, milk, cloth, etc., should be distributed

through public distribution centres under consumers' control.

2. Prices should be fixed and should be the same throughout India.
3. All families residing in both rural and urban areas should get their requirements of the same quality and in equal quantity.
4. There should be no change in the prices of essential commodities for the coming ten years.
5. The distribution shops should be so arranged that the customers are not put to harassment for their purchases of basic requirements.

Education

All educational institutions from primary to university should be under social ownership and the standard of education should be the same throughout India.

The curriculum and the administration should be under the control and supervision of parents, teachers, and staff at the primary and secondary level. At the university level it should be under the

control and supervision of the students, teachers and the staff.

The target of 100 percent education should be achieved in five years.

Housing

The standard residential area should be provided to all families, having all facilities such as sanitation, light, fuel, etc., on the basis of the number of members of the family. The target should be achieved in 10 years. The surplus space possessed by a family having more than the standard area should be taken over by the workers and peasants government and should be placed under the control and supervision of the families for distribution to those families who have less than the standard area.

Medical Services

All medical services should be socialised and should be under the control and supervision of the citizens of the area. No private practice should be permitted.

Medical facilities should be planned and arranged so that all citizens of rural and urban areas get the same treatment and facilities without any delay.

The goal of the medical services should be the prevention of disease rather than only to cure.

Unemployment

Unemployment cannot be removed unless the means of production, distribution, and exchange are socially owned under the workers', technicians', employees', and customers' control.

The objective of production and distribution should be aimed at catering to the needs of the people and not profit-making. Investment should be planned so as to provide 100 percent employment.

Working-Class and Trade-Union Rights

1. Effective legislation and its implementation against layoffs, lockouts, and closures.

2. Reopening of sick mills under workers' control, to be financed by the state.

3. Opening of the books of accounts, including secret dealings, of the employers before the workers.

4. Right of workers to elect representatives of their choice in trade unions, other working-class councils, and committees through secret ballot.

5. Abolition of apex body and present discriminatory system of trade-union representation at the national level for bargaining and negotiations.

6. Restoration of minimum bonus of 8.33 percent as a "deferred wage."

7. Repeal of wage freeze and compulsory deposit scheme.

8. Nationalisation of all means of pro-

duction, transport, and communication without compensation under workers' control.

9. Guaranteed minimum wage, without giving up its present facilities, to agricultural and landless labourers through their own elected committees.

10. Speedy implementation of *land reforms* through and under the control of democratically elected poor peasants' committees.

Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of the workers' and poor peasants' government would be based on revolutionary proletarian internationa-

More Loans on the Way

Soares Receives High Marks in Washington



MARIO SOARES

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Testimony before a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee February 25 made clear that the Carter administration is preparing to play a bigger and more open role in Portugal.

The U.S. Treasury Department has already advanced \$300 million in short-term credits to the Portuguese government. The Carter administration is now proposing an additional \$30 million in military aid, and it has taken the lead in organizing a consortium of imperialist powers to raise \$1.5 billion in medium-term loans. The loans would be made available at a relatively low rate of interest to bolster the government of Prime Minister Mário Soares.

Frank C. Carlucci, the American ambassador to Portugal, and Richard N. Cooper, Carter's nominee for under secretary of state for economic affairs, were among those testifying before the subcommittee.

Cooper took note of the economic prob-

lem. Material support to all the struggles of oppressed nationalities and oppressed nations for independence; to the proletarian struggles for socialism in all imperialist countries and to the struggles for political revolution of the working masses of the bureaucratized workers' states against their bureaucratic misrule in order to usher in socialist democracy in Russia, China, Eastern Europe, etc.

Vote for the Communist League:

For a Workers' and Poor Peasants' Government in India!

For a socialist Revolution in India under the leadership of the Indian working class!

lems caused by the loss of Portugal's African colonies, the worldwide economic downturn, and the flight of capital following the overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship. According to Cooper:

Portugal is adopting politically difficult but necessary recovery measures. Prime Minister Soares himself told his Socialist Party congress last fall that without economic stabilization there can be no democracy. Acting on this premise Portugal has:

- enacted laws to restore private sector confidence;
- imposed tax surcharges and prior deposit arrangements on imports to save foreign exchange;
- increased prices charged for government services such as transportation and power;
- announced a limit of 15% on all private and public sector wage increases in 1977, a level well below the rate of inflation; and
- passed a 1977 budget which, by cutting real public expenditures and raising taxes, reduces the budget deficit by 20% in real terms compared with 1976.

Having made this progress report, Cooper warned the senators that "if substantial foreign loans do not materialize, the Portuguese Government will be faced with the extremely difficult task of trying to impose suddenly an even more severe austerity program, risking public protest, growing influence and agitation by the extreme left, and possible loss of public support for democratic institutions."

Carlucci, when asked about the impact of high inflation and unemployment, replied that the Soares regime is "sufficiently stable to move ahead with what I would call a phased economic program," with emphasis on increasing worker productivity.

"No austerity program is pleasant," he added. "Obviously there is going to be a certain amount of reaction, perhaps some unrest." □