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New Squeeze on Workers**

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BHUTTO: Architect of rigged election hit by nationwide protests.

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Italy—Crisis of System and Strategy to Meet It

Carter's Energy Program—New Squeeze on Workers

By Steve Wattenmaker

Summoning the American people to prepare for the "moral equivalent of war," President Carter presented his national energy policy to a joint session of Congress April 20. In what he termed a "sober and a difficult" message, Carter told the country that only significant cutbacks in energy consumption can avert "an impending catastrophe."

"The heart of our energy problem," he said, "is that we have too much demand for fuel, it keeps going up too quickly while production goes down. . . ."

Key proposals in the administration's plan include a number of steps designed to force working people to pay more for less:

- **Gasoline**—Ending all price controls on gasoline this fall and imposing a "standby" tax starting at five cents a gallon in 1979 and increasing an additional five cents each year if consumption exceeds certain stated targets. Large cars with poor fuel efficiency would be taxed to encourage a shift toward smaller vehicles.

- **Oil and natural gas**—Price of "newly discovered" domestic oil would be allowed to rise to the level of the world price over a three year period—an increase of at least 15 percent. Oil already being produced would remain controlled, but consumers would be taxed the difference between the federal price ceiling and the world price. The price of natural gas would be permitted to rise about 20 percent.

Some—but not all—taxes collected on oil, gasoline, and natural gas would allegedly be refunded to consumers through income tax credits. (Carter began backpedaling on this within two days of his speech.)

- **Coal and nuclear power**—Providing incentives for utilities and industries to convert from oil and natural gas to coal. Encouraging further development of the "light water" nuclear reactors now in use. Promising to maintain environmental and safety standards in development of coal and atomic power. (Don't bet on it. See "Capitalism Fouls Things Up," p. 488.)

Despite assurances in the speech that "none should reap an unfair benefit" from the energy program, an ABC News-Harris poll conducted after Carter's address found the nation "generally skeptical" about administration plans.

While 60 percent favored a stiff tax on "gas guzzling" luxury cars, a majority was opposed to the new gasoline tax. According to a report in the April 23 *New York Times*, the poll "suggested a wide belief that the program would tend to discrimi-

nate against the poor, the elderly, those on fixed incomes, farmers and rural residents and those who have to drive to work."

Not surprisingly, those who are in the best position to "reap an unfair benefit" were overwhelmingly pleased with the administration's performance. In fact, according to a report by Edward Cowan in the April 25 *New York Times*, the White House sent out word via the political grapevine for the big oil companies to curb their embarrassingly unrestrained praise.

Taking their cue, oil and gas producers began complaining that the energy program did not include immediate and total deregulation of prices. Strip-mine operators and utilities expressed concern that environmental restrictions would be burdensome.

"But little matter," the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* said April 22. "Yes, his package should have more stress on production incentives, but that can come later, will inevitably come later."

The point is, they said, "that Mr. Carter is reaching the public, is preparing the national mood. His calls for sacrifice make the point that something serious needs to



CARTER

be done, that there are real costs to be borne. Once the nation understands this, it can begin to sort out the true choice—which way the costs will be paid."

Through proposing that working people and the poor tighten their belts one more notch and shoulder the burden for new energy development, Carter has clearly made that choice already. □

American Politicos Mount Soapbox Against IRA

By Gerry Foley

A new campaign against the Irish movement in America was launched on the eve of St. Patrick's Day. New York Governor Hugh Carey, Senator Daniel Moynihan, Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy, and U.S. House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., issued a joint statement calling on Americans not to support in any way organizations fostering "continued violence" in Northern Ireland. Given the assumptions created by American capitalist politicians and media, this could only mean the Irish national liberation fighters.

In the past such politicians avoided direct attacks on the Irish liberation movement. Kennedy even made some demagogic gestures to maintain Irish support. Now they have moved from platitudes about the need for the Irish people to "forget the past" and cast off "old hatreds" to shrill red-baiting.

A salient example was the speech by New York Governor Hugh Carey in Ire-

land on April 22, which was given front-page coverage in the *New York Times* of the next day. This dismal stooge for the Rockefeller interests chose the Irish College of Surgeons in Dublin as a platform for his debut as a world statesman. At a news conference after his lecture there, he declared:

"If the provisionals were simply called 'the Irish killers' and the others [the "officials"] 'the Irish Marxists,' people would see what they stood for and they wouldn't receive a nickel's worth of support in the United States."

When he attempted a political argument during his lecture, Carey lapsed into incoherence:

"To what end did all of the violence and all of the deaths bring us? At the violent death of our President, commentators said that perhaps some good would flow for America—not so, we went to war.

"When Martin Luther King died, it was hoped that the cause of civil rights would

advance—not so, we still await the day for true equality for all races in America.

“When my friend Robert Kennedy died, we were told that American Presidential politics would forever be different—not so, for in his absence we had a Watergate and the first Presidential resignation in our history.”

And the Vietnam war, in which there were many deaths, had the unfortunate effect that “we have only a populace distrustful of Government acts abroad regardless of merit.”

In view perhaps of this distrust of “government acts abroad,” the governor assured his Irish audience he had no intention of interfering in their country’s affairs: “I come from across the sea and hold out one single human hand to the other gathered here [sic] who hate death.”

The Boston daily the *Christian Science Monitor* comments frequently on Irish affairs. In its March 14 issue it offered its readers not the arguments of some “Irish-American” capitalist politician but those of British Conservative party spokesman on Northern Ireland, John Biggs-Davison. In a guest column, the British politician wrote:

“Northern Ireland offers Britain some scope for dispersal in the event of nuclear exchange. In a war at sea lasting longer than 90 days, the airfields and harbors of Northern Ireland would be essential for the protection of North Atlantic convoys.

“The separation of the province from Great Britain would thus introduce an area of instability into the defenses of Western Europe. . . . Ulster might become even more of a magnet for subversives of every hue.”

Irish-Americans are not likely to be impressed by Carey’s fractured oratory or alarmed by the possibility that Britain’s losing Northern Ireland would deprive the London government of “some scope for dispersal in the event of nuclear exchange.”

What is serious about this grotesque propaganda barrage is that it is designed to prepare the way for repressive attacks on the Irish movement, and in the U.S. this movement has wasted too much time courting politicians of Carey’s stripe. The only effective way to counter the coming attacks is the one used by the civil-rights movement in Ireland—rely on no capitalist politician but mobilize as many people as possible to raise their demand for Irish freedom in the street. □

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Mass Upsurge Against Bhutto Regime

By Ernest Harsch

As antigovernment strikes and demonstrations continued to spread throughout Pakistan, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto assumed emergency powers April 21 and imposed martial law on the country's three largest cities. The stepped-up repression marked a new stage in Bhutto's efforts to contain a growing mass upsurge against his dictatorial rule.

The cities placed under martial law were Karachi—Pakistan's major port and industrial center—Hyderabad, and Lahore, whose populations together number about 10 million persons. Strict curfews were imposed and the government radio warned, "Anyone violating the curfew will be liable to be shot at." The next day, the curfew was extended to the industrial city of Lyallpur.

The army banned "all types of processions, public meetings and other activities, including announcements detrimental to law and order."

In the days that followed, more demonstrators were gunned down in Karachi, Hyderabad, and other cities, bringing the death toll since the protests began to more than 200. One report placed the number of persons killed so far at up to 300. In addition, censorship was imposed on the press, and in a series of predawn raids April 24, about forty persons, including virtually all top opposition leaders not already in jail, were arrested.

The imposition of martial law was accompanied by the declaration of a new state of emergency by President Chaudhry Fazal Elahi. (Pakistan was already under a state of emergency decreed in 1971 during the Bangladesh independence struggle.)

Elahi suspended some of the democratic rights guaranteed under the constitution on the grounds that "a grave emergency exists, and the security of Pakistan is threatened by internal disturbances."

The regime declared, "Unlawful and violent agitation has disrupted the public life. Trade, industry and communications have been seriously affected. A crippling blow has been dealt to the nation's economy."

The mass demonstrations against the regime began shortly after the March 7 elections, in which Bhutto's Pakistan People's party (PPP) claimed to have won 163 seats in the 200-seat National Assembly. The Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), a grouping of nine opposition parties, charged Bhutto with massive vote fraud and demanded new elections under

the supervision of the military and the courts. The PNA also called for Bhutto's resignation.

During the elections, the PNA, which is led by a number of Islamic religious figures and former military officers, campaigned on a generally rightist platform. But the PNA's demand for Bhutto's resignation and its call for an end to repressive rule has won wide support. The massive and frequent marches, rallies, and strikes demonstrate the depth of popular sentiment against the regime.

The central issue to emerge in the protests is the Bhutto regime's increasingly authoritarian rule. In an April 21 dispatch from Karachi, *Washington Post* correspondent Lewis M. Simons quoted a Pakistani journalist as saying, "We've had all we can stand of Mr. Bhutto and his dictatorial ways. The people of Pakistan have proven they are willing to die for democracy."

William Borders reported in the April 20 *New York Times*, "Pakistanis who care about civil liberties have been distressed by the summary arrests and long imprisonment of Government critics, by press censorship and by the bans on public meetings, generally in force until the election campaign began in January."

The Bhutto regime has a long record of repression. In 1971 Bhutto conducted a bloody war against the Bangladesh independence struggle that left more than a million Bengalis dead. Since Bangladesh gained its independence, Bhutto has also attempted to crush struggles for self-determination by the Baluchis and Pathans in Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province.

In November 1975, Amnesty International estimated that there were 38,000 political prisoners in Pakistan. Other sources put the figure much higher. The PNA has charged that an additional 24,000 persons have been arrested during the recent protests.

Bhutto has explained this repression by stating, "I don't allow speeches to be made to the extent where people may poison the already not very sophisticated minds of the peasantry." (Quoted in the April 19 *New York Times*.)

The fall of Indira Gandhi's dictatorial regime in neighboring India has bolstered the determination of the Pakistani demonstrators to topple Bhutto as well.

As the mass demonstrations continued and drew in broader sectors of the population, other grievances were also raised,

including opposition to the rampant corruption and the high rate of inflation. Workers of the Pakistan International Airlines struck to back their demands for higher pay and better working conditions.

The week preceding the declaration of the state of emergency saw some of the biggest protests since the elections. According to a report in the April 16 issue of the British daily *Guardian*, one protest march in Lahore drew several hundred thousand persons.

Popular chants among demonstrators included "Bhutto dictator!" and "Bhutto quit!" In some cities protesters attacked and burned down symbols of the regime, such as banks and homes of prominent members of the PPP.

Simons reported in an April 20 dispatch from Karachi:

The entire population is electrified with politics. As we walked through stinking, fly-swarming alleys and bazaars, everyone had words of hate or praise on their lips, depending on whether they were talking of the opposition or the government. . . .

Shabby shop and house walls were plastered with up-to-the-minute wall newspapers, on the Chinese model, reporting the latest alleged government atrocities.

"Regular newspapers have lost credence through years of government control," my colleague [a Pakistani journalist] said. "The people only believe their own news now."

Dozens of protest demonstrations, led by Moslem religious leaders, moved through streets littered with brickbats, smashed glass and bonfires. They carried banners and shouted slogans calling Bhutto "a dog" and saying "Bhutto's democracy is full of bullets."

The newly formed Pakistan Labor Alliance (PLA), a federation of twenty-six unions, organized a general strike in Karachi, Hyderabad, Multan, and Lyallpur April 20, bringing out 1.5 million workers in Karachi alone.

It also called a nationwide general strike for April 22 to protest against the police shooting of demonstrators and to back demands for Bhutto's ouster. "Union leaders have called the action a 'wheel-jam,'" Simons reported, "implying that the wheels of industry have been forced to a halt."

Despite the state of emergency and the imposition of martial law, the strike was a success, bringing business to a standstill in much of the country. PLA President Mohammed Sharif declared, "This strike proves beyond all doubt that the people of Pakistan do not support Mr. Bhutto. We will not call it off until he steps down and calls for fresh elections."

On the day of the strike, protesters continued to defy the ban on public demonstrations, as students and unionists led marches in a number of cities.

In the Liaquatabad section of Karachi, a march of about 2,000 persons was attacked by troops. "Without warning," a participant told Simons, "they suddenly turned their rifles on us and opened fire." The

government claimed that five demonstrators were killed, but unofficial reports put the figure at twenty-two.

Simons reported that as a truck filled with troops later drove past the site of the killings, "A roar went up from the crowd:

'Death to the Pakistan Army.'"

For the first time since the protests began, clashes also erupted in Peshawar, the capital of the Pathan-inhabited North-West Frontier Province. At least four persons were reported killed there when

police fired into a crowd of demonstrators April 22.

The same day, protests were also reported in Sargodha, Lyallpur, Multan, Bannu, Nawabshah, Sukkurjn Imirpur, Rawalpindi, Quetta, and Dera Ghazi Khan.

Massive Show of Force Fails to Crush Basque Day of Protest

Thousands Demand: 'Legalize the Basque People'

By Gerry Foley

Coming at the same time as the legalization of the Spanish Communist party, the government's ban on commemorations of the Basque national holiday April 9-10 revealed the claws hidden in Premier Suárez's velvet glove.

Even the conservative bourgeois foreign press expressed shock at the brutality of the Spanish authorities. For example, in its April 16-22 issue the *Economist*, one of the most authoritative magazines written directly for British big business, wrote:

Foreign journalists who went to Vitoria [where one of the main Basque rallies was to be held] described the conduct of the police as provocative and brutal. A Belgian television cameraman was seriously injured by a rubber bullet fired into his face at short range by a policeman who had beckoned him to approach. Colleagues who went to the cameraman's aid were fired on too. The police seemed, once again, to be doing their utmost to discredit Spain's reformist government.

Le Monde reported the lengths the government went to in order to prevent the demonstration scheduled to be held in Vitoria, where the police killed Basque demonstrators in March 1976, the first Basque martyrs of the post-Franco period.

Vitoria was literally sealed off by police blockades. . . .

In the town itself, several thousand police took up positions. They came from the barracks near Logroño, but also apparently from Valladolid [a town in north-central Spain, far from the Basque country], Madrid, and even from Andalusia [on the southern tip of the Iberian peninsula].

Even such police intimidation could not stem the flood of Basque nationalist demonstrations. It managed only to divide them. Writing in the April 12 issue of *Le Monde*, correspondent Bernard Brigouleix commented on the Vitoria rallies:

Despite this array of police—the largest undoubtedly that any Spanish Basque city has seen in quite a while—the demonstrations drew impressive crowds. This was quite far from the hundred thousand that was expected if the rally was authorized. But the presence of thousands of apparently peaceful Basques violating the official ban . . . was all the more spectacular.



SPANISH PREMIER SUAREZ

Furthermore, the Vitoria demonstration was given wider scope by the participation, reportedly for the first time in a major Basque action, of Catalan nationalist delegations.

In order to prevent a giant rally in Vitoria, the post-Francoist authorities had to remove police from other Basque cities. Brigouleix reported that the people took advantage of this to deck these towns with the Basque national colors.

The Basque demonstrators pointed up the contrast between Suárez's repressive moves against them and his granting legal status to the Communist party. They chanted "Legalize the Basque people."

This slogan reflected the fact that this small nationality, which suffered most from Francoist repression, continues to be treated as an outlaw nation by his successors. At the same time, on the French side of the border that runs through the Basque country, it is illegal even to say that a Basque nation exists.

The reason for the government's ban on the Basque demonstrations, according to

Brigouleix, was to try to drive a wedge between the Basque moderates and more combative forces.

Presumably Suárez's intent was to show the moderates that the government is determined not to relax its grip until a "responsible alternative" emerges in the Basque country. After the huge and enthusiastic crowds that gathered to welcome nationalist fighters released under the latest amnesty, the government may have thought that a show of force was necessary to prove that this upsurge had not broken its will to keep a hard grip on the rebellious Basque people.

It is, in fact, in the Basque country that Franco's heirs face their most difficult immediate political problems. So far, Suárez has been able to stave off explosions only with the help of the Communist and Social Democratic parties, which have been able to hold the masses back.

But in the Basque country, the hold of the traditional reformist parties is relatively weak. Their ambiguous attitude toward the Basque national struggle prevented them from gaining the same kind of influence they have in other working-class centers in the Spanish state. At the same time, there is widespread respect for the revolutionary nationalists and for the socialist groups that originated in this current.

The bourgeois Basque Nationalist party might be expected to collaborate with the regime, as similar formations have in Catalonia. But this party has been inactive in recent decades, and must now try to rebuild its mass base in competition with the revolutionary nationalists who have gained prestige in the fight.

Suárez seems, in fact, to have been more successful in buying off the All-Spanish reformist parties than the Basque nationalist forces and Basque socialists, as indicated by the softer tactics the government has used outside the Basque country.

The Communist party, for instance, interpreted its legalization as the result of its policy of collaborating with Suárez, and not as a victory won by the struggle of the

masses, who have forced the regime to retreat one step after another.

In its April 17 issue, *Auge*, the daily paper of the "interior" faction of the Greek CP, a close ally of the Spanish party, quoted Carrillo as saying: "This is a great victory for the policy of national reconciliation and the Pact for Freedom."

In its April 16-22 issue, *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, a Madrid weekly magazine close to the main Social Democratic party, wrote that Suárez had "regained his image as a champion of reform, while sources in the premier's office offer assurances that he has lost his enthusiasm for running in the elections. If he runs, he will do so only as an individual, since . . . he seemed to have rejected the temptation to create an official party."

Relations between Suárez and the principal Social Democratic formation, the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers party) had been particularly strained. The PSOE feared that the premier was maneuvering to limit the role they could play in parliament and the labor movement.

Since *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* had voiced the PSOE's apprehensions that Suárez might try to maintain a government-controlled union apparatus and an official party, its attitude now indicates that Social Democratic circles have been reassured by the legalization of the CP and other recent concessions.

If the CP had not been legalized, for instance, it would have been difficult for the PSOE to participate in the elections, now set for June 15, without compromising itself in the eyes of important sections of workers.

The view put forward by *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* is that Suárez has now decided that the main danger is the right: "Suárez fears that the Seven Magníficos [of Fraga Iribarne's Alianza Popular] will get a substantial minority in the next parliament, making it impossible to draw up a democratic constitution."

The implication was that the premier now looks once again to a "democratic alliance" for backing for his "reform," thereby offering appealing perspectives for the Social Democrats.

The post-Francoist rightists of the Alianza Popular did denounce the legalization of the CP in strong terms. Fraga Iribarne called it a "coup d'état." There was also audible grumbling in the military. Minister of the Navy Admiral Gabriel Pita da Veiga and Air Force Minister Lt. General Francisco Iribarnegaray reportedly resigned from the cabinet in protest. The Army High Council expressed its displeasure.

In fact, after gaining legal status, the CP leadership bent over backward to prove its loyalty to the monarchy, even accepting the royal standard, the banner of the fascist uprising, as the national flag of Spain. But at the same time, legalization

of the party dealt a severe blow to the anti-Communist doctrines of the traditional bourgeois forces and institutions and highlighted the historic failure of Francoism.

Most important, the decision to legalize the CP meant opening up a greater space for legal political activity than Franco's heirs intended.

In the context of a deepening economic crisis and with the bourgeois politicians discredited by their association with the Franco dictatorship, the rulers of Spain are taking a considerable risk by clearing the way even for (still limited) parliamentary politics. So, it is not surprising that some sections of the bourgeoisie and the Francoist apparatus are more reluctant to stake their fate on the collaboration of the Communist and Socialist parties.

On the other hand, in the game Suárez is playing, he needs a rightist bogeyman to push the reformist workers parties into closer alignment with his "reform" plans. The existence of a rightist specter is useful to the reformists themselves to convince the ranks of the need to bloc with the "moderates" to keep what they have gained. The fact that the CP and SP have taken such an attitude enables the bourgeoisie to use a rightist club against them, while using the allure of reforms as bait.

New Round of Arrests in South Korea

South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee has begun a new wave of arrests against dissident religious figures, students, teachers, and writers. The current crackdown started April 13, one day after the departure of a U.S. congressional delegation that had visited South Korea to investigate restrictions on human rights there.

Forty persons were known to have been taken into custody as of April 21. One woman was abducted at a bus stop by plainclothes police. Since the authorities provide no details of their actions, others may also have been seized. Those picked up are in addition to more than 100 others serving jail sentences or awaiting trial for criticizing the Park regime.

According to an April 21 dispatch from Seoul by *New York Times* correspondent Andrew H. Malcolm, "At least five college students have been charged under the strict anti-Communist law, which in South Korea carries a possible death penalty." In April 1975, eight persons accused of belonging to the outlawed People's Revolutionary party were hanged for opposing the Park regime.

Malcolm also reported that the authorities appeared to be seeking "evidence" to build up a court case of "Communist conspiracy." "Those who have been released," he reported, "say that agents of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency

However, after the masses have been encouraged by many concessions and been promised free elections, the Communist and Socialist parties are going to be obliged to push Suárez to grant further gains.

For example, in his speech hailing the legalization of the CP, Carrillo said: "Many things still must be done before we can consider this society genuinely democratic. There is no trade-union freedom. The nationalities' demands for autonomy have not been met. An antistrike law has been passed."

In its editorial April 16, *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* wrote: "The legitimate happiness of all democratic forces is not yet complete, because many parties have not yet been legalized." Among others, it mentioned the Revolutionary Communist League, Spanish sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

Suárez has no intention of legalizing the Trotskyists, who denounce the reformist parties' class-collaborationist deals with the government. But, as the Social Democratic magazine pointed out, he has no legal argument not to grant the Trotskyists the same rights as the Communist party. And after the workers movement has wrested so many concessions from Suárez, it is not likely to let him exclude any workers party from legal political life.

conduct intensive interrogations in which the questions, frequently shouted, center on political beliefs and actions and possible Communist affiliations."

Some of the arrests appear to have been designed to prevent the holding of protest actions on April 19, the seventeenth anniversary of the 1960 student uprising that overthrew the dictatorship of Syngman Rhee. In the weeks preceding the anniversary, there had been a rise in dissident activity.

On March 28, a "Declaration for Democratic National Salvation" was announced at a rally of 600 students at Seoul National University. Three days later, the Student Association for the Restoration of Democracy at the university issued a declaration calling for Park's resignation. And on April 12, about fifty students at the same university distributed leaflets condemning the Park regime, calling for his resignation, and criticizing the "selective human rights foreign policy" of the Carter administration. Leaflets were also distributed at other schools, including Hankook Theological Seminary, where five students were arrested.

Despite the arrests, Malcolm reported April 19, "There were, however, a number of large and emotional memorial meetings to commemorate the 1960 student uprising and the killing of more than 100 young South Koreans by the police." □

Mounting Protest Over Treatment of Irish Political Prisoners

By Gerry Foley

Following the scandal touched off on February 15 by the *Irish Times* revelations about widespread use of torture in police stations, an outcry is now developing in Ireland over the treatment of political prisoners in Port Laoise jail, where most such prisoners in the formally independent part of the country are held.

On Saturday, April 16, more than 5,000 demonstrators marched through the center of Dublin in support of eighteen militant nationalist prisoners who had been on a hunger strike for more than a month. The prisoners have been protesting harassment, humiliation, and the denial of basic rights such as the right to study or practice crafts in order to learn skills. One of their demands was for the right to study the Irish language, which three generations of nationalists, including many of those who have done most to create a modern literature and culture in Irish, learned in prison. The extension of the use of Irish is officially "The National Aim" of the Irish state.

On April 3, a demonstration of about 1,000 persons outside Port Laoise prison was attacked by large contingents of police. The pretext for the charge was that some persons in the crowd had thrown stones at the police barricades in front of the prison and that others had tried to force their way through the barriers. However, the account of the incidents by Martin Cowley in the April 4 issue of the *Irish Times*, a paper by no means sympathetic to the hunger strikers or to militant nationalism in general, showed clearly that the organizers of the rally had tried to prevent violence. At the same time, it showed that the police did everything possible to escalate the clashes:

... a van with a loudspeaker on top came down from the direction of the original confrontation and was trying to catch up with the rioters. The man speaking on the loudspeaker said: "We didn't come here for a confrontation. We came here to hold a peaceful protest in Port-laoise." Urging the rioters to stop their throwing and return for the meeting, he said: "It is no service to our prisoners to have this sort of thing taking place."

As the van caught up with the gardai [police], several turned around and stopped it, telling the driver to go back. One young garda went to the back of the van and started trying to rip the wires from the loudspeaker. He took out a man, Mr. Michael Hegarty, from Clare, who was in the van and as they exchanged words, the garda then hit Mr. Hegarty on the head with his baton. He staggered to the roadside and collapsed with blood coming from a wound above his right eye.



Der Spiegel

DUBLIN, April 16: Part of protest of more than 5,000.

As the clashes continued, Cowley reported, the police removed their numbers from their overcoats. Obviously they knew they were breaking the law and wanted to avoid being brought before a court.

One of the demonstrators most badly beaten was a sixty-eight-year-old man. Sixty of the protesters had to be taken to a hospital for treatment, including a youth in a coma.

The hunger strikers explained their demands in a statement published March 22 in *An Phoblacht*, a Dublin weekly that reflects the views of the Provisional republican movement:

1. The right to free association: The restrictions imposed last July must be removed. These restrictions were inflicted as punishment, this must now end. The punishment is so bad that brothers in the same jail cannot meet or speak to one another.

2. An end to degrading and humiliating strip searches: Men have been prostrated on floors to have their privates examined. Stripped going to and coming from legal visits and from hospital.

3. An end to solitary confinement: Solitary is imposed for trivial matters, turning on a light switch, refusing to bend over for anus searches, talking at Mass, etc. The Governor [warden] is judge, jury, and executioner. Prisoners have no defence. We demand legal representation before a tribunal.

4. Open and respectable visits: ... Restrictions must be lifted from relatives and friends ...

5. The right to engage in craft work. We demand the right to do craft work without the indignity of being stripped naked.

6. The right to educational facilities. Ever

since prisoners went to Port Laoise, this right has been denied. Quote of Mr. Harkins, the Chief Warden—"You will do no education here." Prison Rules state—"Governor must do his utmost to promote education." This has been treated with contempt.

7. Adequate recreational and exercise facilities: We demand the same outdoor exercise that we had before July last. Situation now is—men are locked in their cells 22¹/₂ hours a day for the last 5 weeks. No radios, newspapers, cigarettes, etc.

8. The right to communicate with legal advisor of choice: All correspondence to Mr. Myles Shevlin, the solicitor who acts for most prisoners here, is handed back to us.

Speakers at a March 29 meeting in Dublin, including independent member of parliament Neil Blaney and internationally famous actress Siobhain Mac Kenna, described the strip searches and the sort of restrictions applied on visits. An Irish correspondent of *Intercontinental Press* reported:

These searches involve seven or eight warders entering the cell and forcibly tearing the clothes from the prisoner. When completely naked, the prisoner is physically searched and his private parts explored by warders who are not medically trained. Such strip searches, ostensibly to discover explosives, are carried out before and after visits to the hospital. But they are also carried out at any time at the whim of the warders. Some prisoners have had strip searches up to six times in twenty-four hours and some as often as three times in forty minutes.

At a protest meeting April 5 sponsored by University College Dublin students,

Provisional Sinn Féin Director of Publicity Seán O Brádaigh said that not only the press and lawyers were barred from the prison but all sorts of leading personalities who could appeal to public opinion.

Among those denied entry, O Brádaigh said, were the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, in whose diocese the prison is located; the Bishop of Derry, from whose diocese many of the prisoners come; Siobhain Mac Kenna, who is also a member of the Council of State (advisers to the president); and Michael Mullen, a member of the Irish Senate and general secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, the country's biggest union.

On the question of visits to the prisoners, *Intercontinental Press's* correspondent wrote:

Visiting conditions are degrading for the prisoners and their families. The number of visitors permitted into the jail each day has been greatly curtailed. Application for a visit must be submitted in writing to the prison governor. Then the Special Branch visit the applicant. Next follows a long wait before permission comes through. Families often must travel long distances to the prison and there wait outside in the wind and rain with no guarantee even then of getting in.

When the visitor does get into the jail there are two searches to be gone through before entering the visitors' room. This room, equipped with a double-layered wire grill up to the ceiling and a layer of perspex eighteen inches above table level, allows no physical contact between the prisoner and his visitor. Besides, two warders, one of them constantly taking notes, are close by at all times.

Permission to visit is not automatic. Recently, the wife of one prisoner, Eamonn Sullivan, serving seven years, was given an order preventing her from ever visiting him again.

The demand for a public inquiry into conditions at Port Laoise prison has been raised by a number of organizations and prominent individuals, such as the Gaelic League and Nora Connolly-O'Brien, the daughter of James Connolly, the founder of Irish socialism and one of the leaders of the 1916 uprising in Dublin against British rule.

The April 16 march indicated the possibilities for the growth of a mass movement against the neocolonial repression of the Dublin government. After its embarrassing failure to halt the banned Provisional-sponsored Easter march in 1976, the government did not attempt to prohibit the demonstration. The march included a broader spectrum of anti-imperialist groups than previous such actions.

One of the main speakers was Séamus Costello, president of the Irish Republican Socialist party, and his remarks were featured in the *Irish People*, a weekly published in New York that reflects the views of the Provisionals. In all, the April 16 march seemed to mark another in a number of recent steps toward broad anti-imperialist unity. □

The Rising Struggle Against Apartheid

Interview With South African Trotskyist

[The following interview was granted by a South African Trotskyist, who has been active in the Black liberation struggle since the early 1950s, to *Intercontinental Press* correspondent Jim Atkinson in Lusaka, Zambia, in April.]

* * *

Question. What is your opinion of the significance of the new upsurge of struggle by the South African masses?

Answer. At the moment the struggle in South Africa has certainly reached a very high degree. If you have been watching the whole situation, comparing it for example with what it was twenty years ago, there has been a tremendous development of new social formations in the country. This, in brief, has been the conversion to a very high degree of the country's Black population into a working class. This has changed the anatomy of the struggle.

The man who yesterday was oppressed only as a person, who was denied the elementary rights which you find in a bourgeois-democratic society, has been thrown into a modern industrial society in which his whole outlook, demands, and existence depend by and large on the capitalist system. This situation has certainly led to a qualitative change in the orientation of the Black population.

All of a sudden, the Black people in the urban areas have risen up with a number of strikes. That is one aspect of it. But combined with this, because of the colour question in the country and the relation between the colour question and economic exploitation, a whole generation which is not essentially a working-class generation—students—has been thrown into a unified struggle by virtue of the fact that these young people emerged from an urban, more-or-less settled working-class population.

Q. What is the importance of the struggles for democratic demands?

A. First, I think it is necessary for anyone who wants to have a full appreciation of the South African situation to realise that while there appear to be two questions, in fact there are not. These two questions are that the Black people are oppressed because of their colour and that they are exploited as a working class. You have a dynamic inter-connection between the colour bar and economic exploitation.

Certainly, to revolutionary Marxists, this means that one question cannot be solved without solving the other. So what

would appear to be exclusively democratic issues are in fact the expression of a relationship within a capitalist system which is based on a colour-caste society. What is regarded as the apartheid system is simply a social arrangement intended to maintain the capitalist system in the country.

If one deals exclusively with the democratic demands, one would pose the demand for the people to have political power—that is, the elementary right to vote and be elected to the lawmaking bodies of the country, the full representation of the Black people in the Parliament of South Africa.

And, flowing from this, all the common disabilities exclusively suffered by the Black people must go. That is, the Black people, apart from the right to vote and the right to citizenship, must have a democratic system of education, which at the moment is not enjoyed by the Black people; and the discriminatory laws you find in industry must all go. They must go, along with the opening of training to Black people so that they can acquire the skills which at the moment are exclusively offered to white persons in South Africa. The whole legal structure of South Africa must be overturned so that Black people can enjoy fundamental legal rights. I am only enumerating a few.

There is the question of freedom of movement. At the present moment, the Black people are restricted entirely in their movement. All sorts of devices like the pass system have been used to control the movement of Blacks. And this in itself is intended to solve an economic problem. It is not just ordinary discrimination against the Blacks for its own sake.

One other democratic right is freedom of speech and association. At the moment, the Black people do not have these freedoms. You can be arrested at the whim of the South African police if you organise a meeting. You cannot organise a meeting or state fully your opinions and ideas on how South Africa must be run. At the moment, there is fundamental discrimination between the Black people in South Africa on the one hand and the whites on the other.

If you look at industry and take the question of trade unions, the Black trade unions in South Africa are, first, not recognised as trade unions by the government and, second, do not have the right to collective bargaining. They cannot go on strike.

But this does not mean that the Black workers do not go on strike in South

Africa—despite all these restrictions. And this also does not mean that the Black workers in South Africa have not formed trade unions. There are a number of Black trade unions which are not recognised by the government. The fact that they are denied the right to strike has not stopped the workers from embarking on strikes. These have been so endemic in South Africa that the leaders of the commanding heights of the economy—like the Anglo American Corporation—have, in fact, been calling for the recognition of the trade unions by the government as well as the recognition of their right to strike.

Q. Why is that?

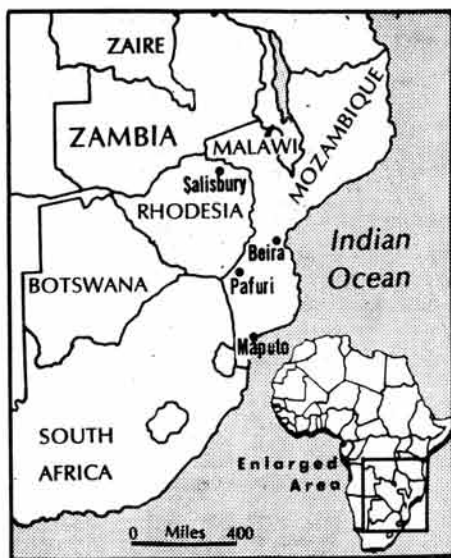
A. I think the reason is simply that, as the advanced section of the international ruling class, which has a high stake in the economy of South Africa, they can see a very dangerous situation approaching and they are working on a number of projects to try to compromise the militancy of the workers.

Q. Are the unions that are developing exclusively Black?

A. They are exclusively Black unions in the sense that no white people have joined them. Otherwise, in their constitutions, I am not aware of a single clause that bars a white revolutionary from joining. To the contrary, it is the government which forbids white workers from joining these organisations. When I say that they are "Black" workers unions, I am including the so-called Coloureds and the Indians. This is the attitude of the Black power movement. The workers are comprised of these three major nonwhite groups. Anybody, be he an African, an Indian, or a Coloured, has the right to join these unions. This is a very real achievement on the part of Black people in South Africa.

Q. What is your opinion of the role of the Bantustans?

A. The laws restricting the movement of Black people in South Africa are a result of the economic development of the country and the related demands of the industrialists in a country which has been growing at a very fast rate. The introduction of the pass laws and the very existence of native reserves—which have now been portrayed as the "Bantu Homelands" and the "Bantustans," where the Blacks are expected to exercise their "democratic rights"—arise from an economic situation. The rise of industry in South Africa necessitated the availability of labour. To get labour, the ruling class, then predominantly British, created the native reserves—which have grown to the Bantustans of today—as a cheap labour reservoir for the developing mines and later the new manufacturing industries.



But it was not enough to have these reservoirs of cheap Black labour. It was also necessary to have an instrument by means of which you could channel this labour to the area where it was most needed. The instrument to accomplish this was the pass. This is the basic origin of the pass. But the pass, as an instrument to channel labour, has not remained as a "static" type of document. It has changed with changing circumstances. For instance, what you get today as a pass is almost a book, which has all the particulars of an individual who is nothing else but a potential worker.

The purpose of this document is diverse indeed, in the sense that it includes taxes to be paid to Bantustan leaders, taxes to be paid to the South African government, the particulars of a Black person's chief, even for those who have no chiefs at all. It includes all sorts of particulars, so that with this document the system can take labour, put it where it wants it at a particular time and remove it from there according to the economic demands of the country and move it to another area where it is wanted.

These are the restrictions that fall quite heavily on the Black person. No Black person can choose an area of employment freely. He must be channeled according to the needs of the economy. South Africa depends to a very large extent on the mining industry (though there are changes which have taken place with the growth of manufacturing industry), so that priority is given by the ruling class to the mining sector of the economy. If this sector is not satisfied with its labour requirements, then the whole country gets into a terrible situation; so this sector's labour needs must be satisfied.

The restrictions brought about by the pass system are so vicious that Black persons do not have the right to move from

one city to another without permission from the authorities. You do not have the right to remain in any part of South Africa, even in fact where you live. If you are a worker in the urban area of Johannesburg or Cape Town, you have no rights and can be driven out of that area in forty-eight hours, irrespective of what you may have acquired there in the way of property. Even when you are supposed to have a right, your "right" can be removed at the stroke of a pen. These are the pinpricks that are being suffered by the Black population as a whole. Obviously a population which is subjected to such suffering must be expected to rise at one stage or another.

Q. What demands are important in the rural areas, both in the white farms and the Bantustans?

A. First of all, dealing with the bulk of the oppressed and exploited population (that is, the Blacks), you have a significant portion of the Black people in industry, in the urban areas. Secondly, you have another important sector of the Black people employed as an agricultural proletariat. This is the group which you find in the huge farms that are owned now by finance capital in collaboration with the white petty bourgeoisie. Thirdly, you have a population which is in the countryside and is normally referred to as a peasantry.

But, truly speaking you don't have a peasantry in a classical sense. The statistics show that the person who is supposed to be a peasant, say in the Transkei or Zululand or in the other Bantustans, is there only for a short period of time. Most of his life is spent either in the mining industry or in other sectors of the economy outside his so-called Bantu Homeland. When he gets to his Bantustan, he is really there as a *visitor*. The people of the Bantustans are what I would call "reservists." Numerically, the settled population there is very insignificant. If you look at the statistics of the Bantustans, you will find that most of the time it is only old women, old men, and young children who are permanently resident there.

But, for its own purpose, the ruling class does not want a dynamic association between this section of the workers (the migrant workers) and the workers in the manufacturing industries, who are settled in the urban situation. But there will be unity between these two sections. They will begin to appreciate that their economic and political interests are identical—in which case they can upset the capitalist system in the country.

Q. Is it not true that the migrant workers have even more restrictions on their rights than the mass of "settled" urban workers? For example, they are not allowed to have their families with them;

their security of employment is even more limited than that of the "settled" workers. In this sense, is it not true that special demands that relate specifically to the very terrible problems of the hostel-dwellers have to be pushed forward?

A. This is quite true. A man is brought alone from one side of the country to another, even though he might have a family. When he is kept in the hostel, he does not even have the right to move out of the hostel and move freely in the urban areas. This problem is peculiar to the migrant workers. And since it is peculiar to them, it is necessary that revolutionaries address themselves to this question.

The fact that now and again these workers are moved from the hostels in the urban areas and planted squarely once more in the countryside—this also is a peculiarity of this group. This also demands the attention of revolutionaries. One of the fundamental demands is that these workers have the right to settle permanently in the areas where they work, and enjoy the rights—or "semi-rights," if there are any rights at all—which are enjoyed by their urban counterparts. In this way, you will unify the two groups.

Q. What is your opinion of the rise of the Black Consciousness movement?

A. This is a very important question for revolutionaries in South Africa and throughout the world. The Black Consciousness movement, first of all, was born in a particular era, when the traditionally known movements in the country had either been beaten into submission and their leaderships imprisoned or been driven into exile. This left a vacuum where the people did not have any independent organisations of their own. In this particular era, the representatives of the big liberal bourgeoisie took over the scene. The Progressive party of Harry Oppenheimer and Helen Suzman came in. So did the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), a white liberal student organisation.

But, with the deepening of the oppression, the people had to develop their own organisations to fight back. It was in these circumstances that the Black power movement sprang up in South Africa. It is an extremely significant change in the political situation in the country.

It is not just that it touched those aspects of life that are characteristically associated with the oppression of the people, but for the first time in the history of the country a number of organisations broke the bars between the three main Black groups in the country, the Africans, the Coloureds, and the Indians. They accepted anybody who belonged to one of these three groups as a Black person. Now, this is a great achievement in South Africa. Because, over a long period of time,

organisations have tried to bridge the gap between the three groups but made very serious mistakes by maintaining racial structures within the oppressed people. The Black power movement does not have this particular phenomenon.

Another factor is that this movement has touched layers that were never significantly touched before; that is, it touched an urban population—and the dynamic of mass mobilisations which you found with the rise of the movement has never been found in South Africa before. It is therefore very significant, and revolutionaries can work in the movement, educate its cadres, and join up with them to overturn the whole social and economic structure of South Africa.

Q. What is the significance of the slogan of "Black power"?

A. The truth of the matter is that the Black people in South Africa are oppressed and exploited. Not only are they the most exploited people in the country but their exploitation has put them in a crucial position in the whole revolutionary process. In the exploited population, including the white workers, they are the section of the exploited who constitute the majority and who are exploited more than any other section. So, if one talks of real revolution, it is essential that this section is activated first and foremost. The other group, the white workers, will only be able to move provided that this group can move.

Q. Is it possible for the apartheid system to be dismantled within capitalism?

A. I don't see how you can abolish the apartheid system while maintaining the capitalist system in South Africa, simply because the dynamic interconnection between capitalist exploitation and national oppression is so deep that you cannot solve the problem of national oppression without solving the problem of economic exploitation.

What I am trying to say is that the solution of the basic political problems, that is, the bourgeois-democratic problems in South Africa, must of necessity go through a socialist revolution and also the actual achievement of socialist construction in the country cannot be carried out without solving the democratic problems facing the Black people. The national revolution, so-called, must of necessity—if it is to be a real revolution—go through a socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution has to carry through the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Q. How can South African militants best advance the struggle against apartheid and capitalism?

A. There are two basic factors. One is that you have an oppressed people, which has thrown up a number of organisations which seek to abolish national oppression. The second is that these are in reality organisations which, in classical terms, seek to accommodate Black people within the capitalist structure in the country. But, as I said earlier, we cannot solve the question of national oppression in South Africa without solving the question of economic exploitation. This means that, as a revolutionary, I must support the national liberation movement as a whole unconditionally.

And since you have various national liberation organisations, including the numerous new organisations which have been born as a result of the activities of the Black Consciousness movement, revolutionaries must address themselves to these movements and see to it that these movements are welded together under the banner of a broad national liberation front where there will be no organisations that will seek to destroy the identity of other organisations. They must come into a front as equals.

At the same time, it would be very dangerous *simply* to strengthen these organisations without creating a special organisation which should be in a position to pose the demands for a real social revolution in the country. This leads me to the duty on the part of revolutionaries in South Africa—and the world over—to see to it that a revolutionary organisation, which you might call a party, which caters for the interests of the workers, is created.

I say this because, since South Africa is a capitalist system, a real revolution in South Africa would mean a change in the relations of production from those of a capitalist society to those of a socialist society. Historically, there is no other class capable of carrying out such a gigantic task except the working class itself. And if the working class is going to be in a position to take leadership, it must of necessity have its own independent organisation to fight for the class interests of the workers and to see that the democratic rights which are denied to the broad body of oppressed people are also met.

Q. What is your opinion of the record of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Communist party of South Africa (CPSA)?

A. The ANC is the oldest political organisation in South Africa, born in 1912. It has indeed embarked on a number of campaigns. It has done something; in fact, it has done quite a lot. But it has committed a lot of mistakes, and it has had a number of shortcomings which have led to its present situation where it cannot relate to the aspirations of the population. As a result, new organisations have come

up. These organisations are today engaged in major struggles. The organisations of the Black Consciousness movement are enormous organisations.

The ANC has played a useful role, but a number of its campaigns have been opportunistic and have led to the demoralisation of the population, because it has not been capable of offering a programme by which people can be rallied and led out of their oppression.

The CPSA did some work in the early days. I think the CPSA made a very serious mistake in binding itself to a particular nationalist organisation in the country, so that it has lost its identity as a would-be revolutionary Marxist party. It has tended to develop a special and specific attitude towards all other organisations that do not come under the umbrella of the ANC.

Further, a number of its activities have reflected nothing but a lot of adventurism in the sense that it has not been able to prepare a programme whereby there can be a mobilisation of the exclusive class which a communist party must represent. It has tended to compromise the interests of the workers for the sake of its alliance with the nationalist movement that the ANC is.

Now, I must say that the policy of the CPSA has been changing all the time. The CPSA has not really got an independent policy of its own. Most of its activities and theoretical orientations have been directed or influenced by developments outside South Africa. It has not been able to offer a concrete analysis and therefore take action according to the concrete conditions in South Africa.

Q. What, in your opinion, is the role of the Soviet Union with regard to South Africa?

A. This relates to what I have just said. The CPSA has not acted independently in accord with the concrete conditions in the country. If you read the books written by ex-members of the CP you will appreciate this problem. Right from the early days of the formation of the CPSA, its internal disagreements and how these were resolved were not determined by the independent analysis of the Communists in the party but were more influenced by the Communist party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). A number of capable theoreticians have written quite a lot on the history of the early days of the CPSA.

The CPSA identified itself completely with the ANC, irrespective of what the direction of the ANC was. This was a result of the influence of the CPSU. As far back as the 1920s, the CPSU came out with the slogan of a "Native Republic," and, despite the internal opposition in the CPSA, this was accepted by the CPSA and therefore channeled to the ANC. In this and many other ways, the CPSA is



Lou Howort/Militant
New York protest, September 11, 1976.

directly influenced by the CPSU. Also, there is no class independence of the party with respect to the nationalist movement—as insisted upon by Lenin, who laid down the need for the independence of the working-class party.

Historically, one must approach the whole development of the modern twentieth century revolutions. According to the history of the world revolutionary movement, the Fourth International is the development of Marxism reacting to the development and growth of Stalinism in the Soviet Union. The Fourth International was created by one of the outstanding leaders of the Russian revolution, Leon Trotsky, who is reputed as the builder of the Red Army and who after the growth and development of Stalinism, in particular after the death of Lenin, was ousted from his legitimate position by Stalin. The Fourth International therefore represents the only tendency that has succeeded in at least remaining in opposition to Stalinism, the latter being a rejection of Marxism in every direction.

This means that the revolutionaries who must organise themselves into a revolutionary party in South Africa (or elsewhere in the world) must seek association with the only tendency that is representative of

real Marxism on a world scale. The Fourth International is that organisation. So the revolutionaries in South Africa will have to seek the Fourth International and build the various organs of the Fourth International—not just to strengthen the Fourth International, but simply because it is the only international organisation representing revolutionary Marxism that remains today and therefore is capable of offering the necessary vast experience which has been acquired over a long period of time. The same cannot be said, I believe, of any other organisation in the world.

Q. What are the responsibilities of people outside South Africa in assisting the liberation struggle in South Africa?

A. South Africa is an integral part of the world capitalist system. The capitalism which oppresses and exploits the people of South Africa is the same capitalism which oppresses and exploits the people of the world. It is the same capitalism which exploits the workers of Europe. It is the same capitalism which degrades the workers of America. So the struggle of the people of South Africa cannot be regarded in isolation. It therefore means that there is a very important task for revolutionaries and potential revolutionaries throughout the world, be they in Europe, Africa, Asia, or America. It is important to me that the peoples of the world should realise that it is their historical task to build up solidarity movements which can complement the efforts of the people of South Africa.

I must digress a little by way of illustration. When the people of Vietnam were fighting against the American invasion of Vietnam, it was not only the heroic efforts of the people of Vietnam which brought down the powerful juggernaut of the United States. The development of the antiwar movement in the United States played a very important part indeed. It is proper to state that the revolutionaries throughout the world must build a solidarity movement with the struggling peoples of South Africa.

The winning of the battle for a socialist revolution in South Africa will also complement the possibility of winning the socialist revolution in Europe and America. We cannot solve the problems of oppression and exploitation in South Africa without the assistance of our comrades in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and in America. Imperialism is an international phenomenon. The expansion of capitalism knows no boundaries, so that the victory which is won in any part of the world is a victory for all. I think that revolutionaries throughout the world must see to it that the building of a solidarity movement is a priority task. And this will definitely complement the rising tide of revolution in the advanced metropolitan countries. □

U.S. Witch-hunt Victims Condemn Czechoslovak Repression

A group of fifteen prominent public figures in the United States—all socialists—have published an open letter to Czechoslovakia's President Gustav Husak condemning the victimization of the Charter 77 human-rights activists (see box).

The signers of the letter, published in the March 2 *Los Angeles Times*, were:

- Paul Jarrico, Alvah Bessie, Albert Maltz, and Ring Lardner, Jr. All were members of the Hollywood Ten—film industry figures jailed in the 1950s for opposing the anticommunist witch-hunt of Sen. Joseph McCarthy. Jarrico initiated the letter.

- Dorothy Healey and Al Richmond, two long-time leaders of the American Communist party until their resignations in 1972. Richmond was the founding editor of the West Coast CP newspaper, the *People's World*.

- Two actors who were blacklisted during the 1950s, Will Geer and Lionel Stander.

- Nobel Prize-winning chemist Linus Pauling and Ava Helen Pauling.

- Clinton Jencks, a former official of the mine, mill, and smelter union. The union was a special target of the bosses and government during the McCarthy period. Jencks starred in *Salt of the Earth*, a film about a strike of this union.

- Writer Jessica Mitford and Rev. Stephen Fritchman of the Unitarian church in Los Angeles.

- Ben Margolis and John McTernan, Los Angeles attorneys who defended many Communist party members and other witch-hunt victims.

Harry Ring of the *Militant* interviewed several of the signers, reporting their remarks in the March 25 issue.

Jarrico told Ring he felt particularly impelled to act because he had been in Czechoslovakia during the 1968 invasion by Soviet troops.

"I felt very strongly then that [Czechoslovak CO head Alexander] Dubcek, in trying to give socialism 'a human face,' was making an advance for those who believed in socialism."

Recalling how he was railroaded to jail in the fifties, Jarrico said:

"We were defending ourselves and we found ourselves defending the Constitution. It was a real lesson. These so-called bourgeois rights are not 'bourgeois.' They are revolutionary rights. They were established when the bourgeoisie was a revolutionary class, and if the bourgeoisie has turned on these rights it's all the more reason for us to defend them.

"I don't see a division between the fight

'Open Letter to Gustav Husak'



HUSAK

This is addressed to the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

We who fight for socialism in our own land are shamed and crippled by the violations of socialist legality in your land.

We appeal to you to honor the commitment you made in signing the Helsinki Accord of 1975—a solemn commitment to respect the human rights of your citizens.

We condemn the jailing, blacklisting and harassment of those who signed Charter 77.

They perpetrated no crime in petitioning you to keep your word.

It is you who commits a crime in abrogating your treaty obligations. And an even greater crime in making a mockery of socialist democracy.

Do not tell us your internal affairs are none of our business. During the McCarthy period, when we ourselves were jailed, blacklisted and harassed, it was international outrage that helped us to regain our rights.

for individual rights and the fight for socialism," he said.

Dorothy Healey told Ring that publication of the open letter had almost been postponed because of President Carter's demagogic use of the human-rights issue.

"Nobody wants to even appear to coincide with what Carter's doing," she said. "He, of course, is not concerned with human rights, either in the United States,

the Soviet Union, or any other country. . . ."

The open letter could thus "be utilized by opponents of socialism, and this problem has to be considered."

"But in the last analysis," Healey concluded, "the more important question is fidelity to truth—which is a splendid Leninist concept." □

An Appeal by 149 Supporters of Mustafa Dzhemilev

[The following appeal in defense of imprisoned Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev appeared in *A Chronicle of Current Events* No. 40, dated May 20, 1976. It is addressed to the world public and to "Muslim leaders in particular."

[The *Chronicle*, a Russian-language samizdat journal, stated that the appeal was signed by 149 of Dzhemilev's supporters in the Soviet Union.

[The translation from the Russian is by Marilyn Vogt.]

The trial of Mustafa Dzhemilev April 14 and 15, 1976, in Omsk [Siberia] demonstrated the authorities' cynical contempt for the law, as they went even beyond the limits of the anticonstitutional articles of the Criminal Code used to convict Soviet dissidents and fighters for civil rights.

Dzhemilev has already spent seven years in prison camps. The authorities' persistent efforts to prolong his imprisonment at any cost, the means they used to try to prepare a phony witness, the

flagrant defiance of accepted legal norms the court displayed in ignoring the defense attorney's evidence as to the *total absence* of the elements of a crime—all this bears witness that Stalin's methods of reprisals against objectionable persons live on.

After a ten-month hunger strike protesting against the false charges, the sentencing of M. Dzhemilev to two and a half years in a strict-regime camp may turn out

to be tantamount to a death sentence. We appeal to the world public, and in particular, to Muslim leaders, to speak out decisively in defense of Dzhemilev. At the same time, we believe it is necessary to again draw attention to the problem of the Crimean Tatar people.

Now, the principal and virtually the only prosecution witness, prisoner Vladimir

Dvoryansky, is in a dangerous situation. In the courtroom, he renounced the false testimony he had given earlier, despite pressure from the judge and the prosecution. He has declared that the testimony, signed by him in the course of the investigation, was the result of pressure and threats.

We demand a full review of the case, and freedom for Mustafa Dzhemilev. □

Québec Socialists Tour Seven Canadian Cities

Interview With Jean Paul Pelletier and Suzanne Chabot

[Suzanne Chabot of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and Jean Paul Pelletier of the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR—Revolutionary Marxist Group) recently completed a tour of Canada, speaking on the struggle for self-determination in Québec.

[The following interview with Chabot and Pelletier appeared in the April 1 issue of *Combat Socialiste*, which is published twice monthly in Montréal and reflects the views of the GMR. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Question. What do you think were the results of the tour?

Jean Paul Pelletier. We were able to reach about 1,500 persons in seven major Canadian cities. In Saint Boniface, we were able to talk with the French-speaking minority. In Regina, we had one-hour interviews on each of the three radio networks, including two call-in programs. In Vancouver, we appeared on a local television program for fifteen minutes, and in Edmonton and Winnipeg, we spoke for fifteen minutes over Radio Canada's English station.

The political activists who came to our meetings were already conscious of the special oppression of Québec. On the call-in programs, we reached the people who are frankly hostile to independence for Québec, as well, which led to wide-ranging debates about the aspirations of Québécois workers.

Q. On the whole, what position do Canadian workers take with respect to the situation in Québec?

Suzanne Chabot. With the exception of a layer of politicized activists who do favor Québec's right to self-determination, Canadian workers in general are opposed to it and have trouble recognizing national oppression as one of the specific features of the oppression of Québécois workers.

Pelletier. The CTC [French initials for

the Canadian Labour Congress] is on record in support of the right to self-determination, but has come out against independence. And it has done nothing to educate workers, so that its position remains confused and contradictory, and gets in the way of Canadian workers understanding the special oppression of the Québécois working class.

Chabot. Meanwhile, the bourgeois newspapers manipulate public opinion. For one thing, they print very little about Québec, and what they do report are the "upsetting" speeches by PQ [Parti Québécois] officials, which they use as an excuse to put forward chauvinist, reactionary positions.

Q. Does the question of Québec enter into the concerns of Canadian workers?

Pelletier. The federal government is using the national question partly to whip up great-power chauvinism against the Québécois workers and thereby divide the working class. But, of course, the government does not explain that Québec's economy is distorted as a result of Canadian and American imperialism, and that this leads to the superexploitation of Québécois workers as compared to Canadian and American workers. For example, Québec has lower wages, higher unemployment, and so on.

The French-speaking workers of Canada are also concerned. They are afraid of becoming the target of Canadian repression if independence is declared. This just points up the need for all workers, both Canadian and Québécois, to fight Canadian imperialism, which is utilizing ethnic differences to superexploit the workers.

Chabot. The campaign around Canadian unity completely distorts the issue. What we need is not to unify to preserve a great power, but to unite the working class of Canada and Québec. Lenin himself said that the recognition of national rights is the basis for such solidarity. On the other hand, Ernest Mandel points out that in

fact only workers democracy can guarantee the extension of all democratic rights.

Revolutionary socialists must make Canadian workers understand that it is in their interests to ally themselves with the Québécois workers in support of independence. In their fight for independence, the Québécois are fighting against exploitation of the Canadian working class as a whole, against imperialism. And by sharpening the class struggle in Québec, the national question can advance the class struggle in Canada.

Pelletier. Yes. In Canada, revolutionary communists must fight for both a socialist Canada and for Québec's right to self-determination, but they must fight with a perspective of advancing the class struggle and ending capitalist exploitation. In Québec, revolutionary communists are fighting for the Workers Republic of Québec. We are convinced that only the Québécois proletariat can guarantee genuine independence, by ending capitalist imperialist exploitation and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Q. Did the RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] stick its nose in during the tour?

Pelletier. Yes. The RCMP arrested me at Winnipeg airport, claiming that I fit the description of someone they were looking for. They let me go, but they sent out a description of me that got me arrested in Toronto. There, they claimed that I had pushed heroin and carried weapons illegally in 1972! They used this excuse to go through all my papers. And I noticed that the photograph on the police warrant, supposedly of the person they were looking for, did not look anything like me at all. They were just looking for an excuse to harass me and search me. Democratic rights do not exist, as far as they are concerned. They do what they want, and since they have guns, there's nothing you can say or do about it. But they will not always be able to claim that they are acting in the name of the law. □

30,000 'Naxalites' Still in Indian Jails

Since the new regime of Prime Minister Morarji Desai was elected to office, thousands of political prisoners in India have been released from jail. Many of them had been held under such repressive laws as the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA) and the Defence of India Rules (DIR) during Indira Gandhi's state of emergency.

Thousands of others, however, remain in prison. Most of them are alleged members or supporters of the Maoist Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (CPI[ML]), who are commonly known as Naxalites, after the 1967 peasant uprising in Naxalbari, West Bengal. Some are members of the Communist party of India (Marxist) (CPI[M]), a Stalinist party that is aligned with neither Moscow nor Peking.

An anonymous Naxalite, who is facing charges in one of the CPI(ML) "conspiracy" cases, described the plight of these political prisoners in an article in the April 2 issue of the *Bombay Economic and Political Weekly*. The writer pointed out:

... even now, more than 30,000 prisoners belonging to the CPI(M-L) and other such revolutionary groups, and cadres of the CPI(M) are languishing in different jails all over India. In West Bengal alone, the number of such prisoners could be anywhere between 15,000 and 20,000. Some opposition leaders and rank and file, who were held under MISA or DIR, have been released. But very few CPI(M-L) detenus [detainees] imprisoned under these draconian laws have managed to get their releases.

The bulk of the Naxalite prisoners, moreover, are not legally designated as "political prisoners" at all, but as "under-trial prisoners" charged with specific criminal offenses.

The new regime has already indicated that these under-trial prisoners will not be released. In the first official declaration by Desai's Janata party after the elections, Surendra Mohan, a general secretary of the party, said that all political detainees would be freed—except for those held on criminal charges. On April 6, Home Minister Charan Singh said that state governments had been advised to release only those Naxalite prisoners not being held for recent "acts of violence." He claimed that only 645 Naxalites had been detained without trial.

According to a report by Mohan Ram in the April 15 *Christian Science Monitor*, "The government has said Naxalites charged would undergo trial and that those found guilty would serve sentences. ... several conspiracy cases brought



DESAI

against Naxalites by the old government are being proceeded with."

During the Gandhi regime's massive repression against the Naxalites and other activists during the late 1960s and early 1970s, thousands of persons were arrested on trumped-up charges of murder, arson, looting, and dozens of other crimes under the Indian Penal Code. As a result, they were denied bail and the legal treatment accorded to officially designated political prisoners.

Because of the deliberately slow legal process, many were held for years before being brought to trial. Some have still not been tried. Since most of these prisoners are poor peasants, landless agricultural laborers, or workers, they cannot afford the legal expenses incurred by long cases.

Torture, including beatings and the use of electric shocks, has been widely used against alleged Naxalite prisoners.

Noting the situation of those who have been tried and sentenced, the report in the *Economic and Political Weekly* said, "According to one estimate, there are at least 100 political prisoners in West Bengal who are undergoing life imprisonment. They include veteran revolutionaries such as

Kanu Sanyal. In Andhra Pradesh, Nagabhushan Patnaik and Tejeshwara Rao are among those who have been sentenced to life imprisonment in the Parvathipuram Conspiracy Case."

The author of the report noted that the civil-liberties groups that had been suppressed during Gandhi's state of emergency have resumed their activities in many states and urged them to organize a mass movement to demand the release of all Naxalite and other political prisoners. The author said, "A mass movement of such a scale to be successful needs the concerted leadership of all Leftist forces. The Socialist Party leaders had already referred repeatedly to the Naxalites and to their resolve to see that they are released. Co-operation with the CPI(M) would also be necessary."

However, the writer was skeptical about the willingness of the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI) to participate in such a movement:

While it pretends to be a sympathetic force, it is necessary to remember that in Kerala—which till recently was being run by a CPI-led Ministry—Naxalites are still rotting in jails. At the insistence of the CPI state government, the Kerala High Court on November 1, 1973, increased the sentences on eight Naxalites from five years to life imprisonment. It also reversed the acquittal of Kunnikkal Narayanan and K P Narayanan, leaders of the Wynaad revolt of 1968, and sentenced them to various terms of imprisonment.

In light of the continued imprisonment of these activists, the writer stressed, "There is an urgent need, therefore, to build up a popular movement through meetings, campaigns, and demonstrations for the release of all prisoners." □

Sanjay Gandhi's Passport Impounded

India's new government announced April 18 that it had lifted the passports of former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's son and her former defense minister, pending the outcome of an investigation into their financial dealings.

Justice H.R. Khanna was named to head an inquiry into questionable financial activities by Sanjay Gandhi in setting up the huge Maruti automobile plant, which never started regular production of cars.

The government appointed former Justice Jagmohan Reddy to examine charges that former Defense Minister Bansi Lal arranged the sale of land to Sanjay Gandhi for below-market prices. Lal is also reportedly implicated in a scandal over an electrification project in his home state of Haryana.

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American Dollars to Pretoria's Rescue

By Ernest Harsch

[Last of Four Parts]

The growing international opposition to South Africa's racist system of apartheid and its brutal suppression of human rights has begun to throw a spotlight on the complicity of worldwide imperialism in upholding that system. Consequently, many foreign companies with investments in South Africa have developed public rationales and justifications for their involvement there.

Their arguments revolve around two basic themes. First, that foreign investment is essential to the economic development of South Africa and thus helps create jobs for Blacks, leading to an increase in the standard of living of the Black population as a whole. Some companies point to their own "progressive" employment policies, citing the wages of their Black employees and the number of their Black workers that hold skilled or semiskilled positions. The second theme, closely linked to the first, is that economic growth itself leads to a breakdown of racial barriers, the undermining of the apartheid system, and the inevitable attainment of greater political rights by Blacks. Basing themselves on this logic, the corporate apologists even claim that by increasing their investments in South Africa, they are effectively fighting apartheid.

A 1973 report by Texaco on its Caltex subsidiary in South Africa was drafted with the critics of apartheid in mind. It stated,

A proposal of some U.S. citizens concerned with South Africa is that American corporations operating in South Africa withdraw entirely from that country. Texaco believes such a withdrawal would be harmful to the people of South Africa as well as to the interests of Texaco stockholders. Texaco also believes that such action would produce an effect opposite to that sought by those seeking to improve the lot of non-whites in South Africa.

Such action would endanger the jobs of the hundreds of non-whites employed by Caltex Oil. . . . The economic and social advances presently being achieved by non-white employees might well be interrupted by any such changes.⁴⁷

The Ford Motor Company, in a similar report, stressed the "liberalizing" influence of its participation in the South African economy. "Ford believes," it declared, "that the industrialization of South Africa is bringing social and economic changes that will increasingly benefit all groups in that nation, and that the presence of American-owned companies in South Africa is a positive factor in encouraging economic progress and equal opportunity."⁴⁸

These justifications are echoed almost word for word by top government officials. For instance, in an interview published in the November 5, 1976, Johannesburg *Financial Mail*, just three days after he won the presidential elections, Jimmy Carter declared that "I think our American businessman can be a constructive force achieving racial justice within South Africa." Andrew Young, the first Black to serve as U.S. representative to the United Nations and a former civil rights activist in the South, parroted the same line two months later. "Mr. Young said he believed South African businessmen and American concerns doing business in South Africa could be forces for bringing about the relaxation of racial barriers and peaceful change," according to a report in the January 14, 1977, *New York Times*.

Quite to the contrary. Capitalist economic growth in South Africa, especially over the past few decades, has not advanced the Black population's economic, social, or political position. South African society is based on an extremely brutal form of national oppression, in which all avenues of Black economic advancement are systematically blocked. The Black population is reduced to the role of a super-oppressed labor force, with virtually no rights. The white imperialists exploit it as an internal colony. The enormous profits squeezed from the Black working class go to the white industrialists and financiers, both within South Africa and abroad; in fact, these high profit rates, derived from the apartheid system, are what draws foreign companies to South Africa in the first place. The country's white population as a whole shares in the results of the super-exploitation of Blacks. The economic expansion generated in South Africa with the help of foreign investors thus aids only one part of the population—the white minority.

Even a cursory look at the actual economic and social status of South African Blacks underscores this reality and explodes the phony justifications presented by those favoring more foreign investments there.

While many Black workers have risen from their traditional roles as unskilled laborers to take on skilled and semiskilled jobs, this is more the result of the changing needs of South Africa's industrializing economy than the supposed "liberalizing" influence of foreign companies. Nor does this process undercut the regime's apartheid policies, since the color bar that separates highly paid white workers from underpaid Black workers is simply shifted upward. "This gradual shifting of the colour bar is an old factor in the South African economy. It has not been a threat to the whites because the number of skilled jobs of an administrative and technical nature has been increasing, and the whites continue to control these new high-status jobs."⁴⁹ When Black workers take over jobs previously held by whites, they still receive extremely low wages. Moreover, no Black workers, however high their position in a company, are allowed to supervise whites.

Despite the higher wages that some foreign companies claim they pay and the country's tremendous economic development, the standard of living of the Black population has not advanced appreciably. Figures released in May 1976 by the Institute for Planning Research of the University of Port Elizabeth revealed that Africans still earned less than the Poverty Datum Line starvation wage level in most sectors of the economy, including manufacturing, where many of the foreign firms are concentrated. In fact, over the past three decades, the period of South Africa's most rapid economic expansion, the proportion of impoverished African families in urban areas has risen greatly. A survey conducted in Durban in 1943-44 found that 24.8 percent of the African households in that city had incomes below the PDL level. By 1970, about 80 percent of urban African households in South Africa as a whole earned less than the PDL.

Even more revealing are the figures on the widening wage gap between whites and Blacks. In mining, the ratio of white to Black wages was 11.7 to 1 in 1911 and by 1971 had reached 20.3 to 1. The difference between white and Black monthly wages in manufacturing increased from R120 in 1957 to R194 in 1966. Over the next five years it rose even more. While Black wages rose to a certain

47. McHenry, *United States Firms*, appendix.

48. *Ibid.*

49. First, Steele, and Gurney, *The South African Connection*, p. 63.

extent after the strikes of 1972-74, the gap between the per capita incomes of whites and Blacks remained enormous. Average white incomes in 1975 were about six times those of Asians and Coloureds and eighteen and a half times those of Africans.

Nor has the "liberalizing" impact of capitalist economic growth been evident on the political and social plane. The period since the Second World War, which saw a rapid expansion of the economy and the inflow of billions of dollars in foreign investments, was marked by the most extensive and systematic attacks on the political and human rights of the Black population yet seen in South Africa. The notorious pass laws, which regulate African movement, were tightened and extended to women. Racial segregation was introduced into virtually all spheres of South African life. Pretoria's strategy of divide and rule, as expressed in its Bantustan policy, was greatly expanded. One by one, Black rights were stricken from the books and Black trade unions and political organizations were crushed or banned. Hundreds of Black leaders were imprisoned, some of them for life. Black protesters, sometimes barely in their teens, were gunned down in Sharpeville, in Soweto, in Alexandra, in dozens of other Black townships.

When corporate representatives and figures like Carter and Young talk of the "constructive" influence of foreign investments on "racial justice" in South Africa, it is not because they are ignorant or misinformed, but because they are consciously trying to cover up the complicity of the major imperialist powers in the barbarity of South African racism.

The Shockwaves of Sharpeville

Whatever modifications and reforms Pretoria's allies would like to see in its apartheid policies, they are strongly committed to the preservation of white supremacy itself.

American policy makers rarely admit this publicly, but George W. Ball, who served as undersecretary of state in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations and who was a key figure in the early stages of Washington's war in Vietnam, stressed the importance of maintaining some form of national oppression in order to preserve South African capitalism. In 1968 he wrote:

Even if a multiracial society could be brought about by either military or economic coercion, would that be really in our interest or in the interest of anyone else?

Would we like to see the white entrepreneurial class in South Africa driven out of the country. . . ?

Do we wish, in other words, to destroy, in whole or in part, an economy that is now accounting for a large percentage of the total income of Africa?⁵⁰

Through their policies toward South Africa—the promotion of trade and investment, the provision of sophisticated weaponry, and sometimes open political support—the major imperialist powers have replied to Ball's rhetorical questions with a clear "No!"

One of the most crucial forms of support Pretoria receives from its allies is economic aid. The use of foreign investments and loans to directly bolster the white regime has been most evident in times of crisis.

Before the Soweto uprisings, the last serious challenge to the white minority regime was mounted in the late 1950s and early 1960s as Blacks escalated protests against the pass laws and other discriminatory legislation. The regime replied with its customary brutality, killing sixty-nine Black protesters at Sharpeville in March 1960, declaring a state of emergency, and banning the two major Black nationalist groups, the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress.

The mass turmoil of that period had severe repercussions on the country's economic stability. Many foreign investors, worried about the international reaction to the Sharpeville shooting and the possibility of even greater Black unrest, got rid of their shares

in South African mines and industries. In 1960 alone, there was a net outflow from South Africa of \$194 million in private capital. Although foreign companies with South African subsidiaries stood fast, new foreign investments slowed down to a trickle. Throughout the early 1960s, South Africa's economy was in desperate need of foreign money.

American bankers and businessmen came to Pretoria's rescue. In the months following the Sharpeville massacre, a group of American financiers secured for South Africa a set of loans totaling \$150 million from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, Chase Manhattan, and First National City Bank. About \$30 million was lent to the Rand Selection Corporation, which is linked to the Anglo American empire, shortly after Sharpeville, and First National City Bank extended a \$5 million loan to Pretoria in 1961. Most important was a \$40 million revolving loan extended by a consortium of ten American banks led by Chase Manhattan and First National City Bank, which was renewed until 1969. The consortium was established and administered by Dillon, Read, and Company. One of the company's senior partners, Douglas Dillon, was also secretary of the treasury during the Kennedy administration.

Although there was a net withdrawal of American investment in 1960, U.S. investors put into South Africa an average of \$40 million a year through 1966. From 1967 to 1969 the amount rose to \$56 million a year. With the help of American, as well as British, investors, the South African economy had restabilized by the second half of the decade.

A central figure in this rescue operation was Charles Engelhard, at that time chairman of the giant U.S. investment company Engelhard Hanovia and owner of Engelhard Minerals and Chemical Corporation, the world's largest refiner and fabricator of precious metals. In 1958, two years before Sharpeville, Engelhard founded the American-South African Investment Corporation to help attract U.S. investments to South Africa. Just after Sharpeville, he participated in the formation of the South Africa Foundation, a well-financed organization involved in public-relations work for Pretoria. Many of the top foreign companies in South Africa are members of the foundation, including General Motors, Union Carbide, Mobil Oil, Honeywell, Goodyear, and International Harvester. First, Steele, and Gurney wrote:

By many South Africans Engelhard is regarded as the saviour of the post-Sharpeville economy when, as capital flowed from the country he arranged a 12½ million pound loan with the United States. He sat on the board of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association and Native Recruiting Agency, two official agencies which bring in Africans from Mozambique and Rhodesia to work at below-subsistence wages in the mines of South Africa. As trustee of the South Africa Foundation, Engelhard's views were made unmistakably clear when he commented on Mr Vorster's selection as Prime Minister in 1966: "The policy of South Africa as expressed by the new Prime Minister is as much in the interests of South Africa as anything I can think of or suggest. I am not a South African but there is nothing I would do better or differently."⁵¹

Significantly, Engelhard was also a close friend of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson and a big contributor to the Democratic Party.

Pretoria found another reliable ally in Richard Nixon, after he won the 1968 presidential elections on the Republican ticket. Shortly before delivering his 1970 State of the World speech, Nixon met with Sir Francis de Guingand, who was president of the South Africa Foundation at the time. While their discussions were not made public, Sir Francis later reported that it took place at a time "when the Administration was reevaluating United States policy towards South Africa. The occasion was taken to bring to the President's notice some points which have received too little attention in the past. It would be hard to overestimate the importance to South Africa of this discussion."⁵²

50. George W. Ball, *The Discipline of Power*, (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1968), pp. 257-8.

51. First, Steele, and Gurney, *The South African Connection*, p. 132.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

In his State of the World speech, Nixon stressed that "the racial problems in the Southern half of this continent [Africa] will not be solved quickly." A year later, in his 1971 State of the World speech, Nixon went further, proclaiming, "We do not . . . believe that the isolation of the white regimes serves African interests, or our own, or that of ultimate justice."

Behind the scenes, Nixon was at the same time preparing to strengthen ties with Pretoria. The National Security Council, under the direction of Henry Kissinger, then national security adviser, drew up a secret study in 1969 on U.S. policy toward southern Africa. One of the key U.S. objectives, it noted, was "to protect economic, scientific and strategic interests and opportunities in the region, including the orderly marketing of South Africa's gold production."⁵³ In 1970, Nixon adopted a new secret policy toward Pretoria and the other white regimes of southern Africa based on one of the five options outlined in Kissinger's study. That option urged government departments, among other things, to "remove constraints on EXIM [Export-Import] Bank facilities for South Africa; actively encourage US exports and facilitate US investment consistent with the Foreign Direct Investment Program."⁵⁴

Although full Exim Bank facilities were still denied to Pretoria, the restrictions were relaxed. Loan guarantees were extended from five years to ten years and in 1972 the bank guaranteed a ten-year loan of \$48.6 million to South Africa for the purchase of diesel locomotives. From 1969 to 1974, when Nixon was driven from office as a result of the Watergate scandal, U.S. direct investments in South Africa increased by about 50 percent.

Bailing Out Vorster

The April 1974 coup in Portugal, which overthrew the old Salazarist dictatorship and led to the collapse of Portugal's African empire, opened a new period of political turbulence in southern Africa. Mozambique attained its independence in 1975 and Angola was plunged into a bloody civil war that lasted into early 1976. The American and South African military intervention in the Angolan civil war failed because of the deep antiwar sentiment in the United States which forced Washington to stay its hand. The struggles for independence and Black majority rule escalated in both Namibia and Zimbabwe. Finally, Pretoria itself was rocked by some of the biggest Black protests in South Africa's history.

Although the initial panic among foreign investors was not as deep as after the Sharpeville massacre, a number of them nevertheless decided that it was time to pull out or at least to wait to see if things cooled down before sinking any more capital into the region. In January 1976 Pretoria tried to float a \$25 million bond on the Eurobond market. Although earlier bonds had been snapped up by investors, this one attracted few takers. "The reason, according to financial circles, was simple: Angola," the July 1976 *Africa* reported. The inflow of new capital into South Africa also started to slow down. In the quarter ending June 1976, net capital inflow was down to \$102 million, compared to a quarterly average of \$545 million the previous year. The trade deficit for 1976 was also running 40 percent higher than a year earlier.

Then came Soweto. According to a report in the June 18, 1976, *London Times*, "South African shares fell sharply again yesterday as the rioting continued near Johannesburg and further weakened investment confidence in the long-term stability of southern African." In the same speech in which he threatened to call out the army against Black demonstrators, South African Minister of the Interior Connie P. Mulder declared, "Overseas countries think we cannot control our internal affairs, and this is affecting our trade and investments."

The slowdown in the South African economy led to unprecedented

53. *The Kissinger Study of Southern Africa*, (London: Spokesman Books, 1957), p. 44.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

ed unemployment levels, with more than one million Africans out of work by the beginning of 1977. Since unemployment in the Bantustans is generally underestimated, the real figure was undoubtedly much higher. South African officials expressed fears of the impact of increasing Black unemployment, combined with a high inflation rate, on the country's already volatile political atmosphere.

Once again, the big American banks rushed to Pretoria's aid. By early November 1976, at least \$777 million had been loaned to the South African government, state corporations, and private companies since the beginning of the year. Most of the loans were reported *after* the first demonstrations in Soweto in mid-June. They included a \$200 million loan to Escom by Citibank, Chase Manhattan, Morgan Guaranty Trust, and Manufacturers Hanover; \$25 million to Pretoria's Industrial Development Corporation involving Chase Manhattan and Washington's Exim Bank; \$80 million to Iscor from Chase Manhattan, Citibank, and Orion; two loans by Citibank, worth nearly \$160 million, to the Richard's Bay project and the South African Broadcasting Corporation; and a \$110 million loan directly to the South African government by Citibank, Morgan Guaranty Trust, and Bank of America.⁵⁵

Lewis Preston, a vice chairman of Morgan Guaranty Trust, explained the political rationale behind his bank's loans to South Africa. "Particularly at a time when the recent U.S. diplomatic initiative in southern Africa gives rise to strong hopes for peaceful change in that area and evolution toward recognition of the rights of nonwhites," he said, "we believe it important to assist, through loans such as this one, in maintaining the economic stability and momentum without which this process of change would be, at the very least, seriously impeded."

On August 6, barely seven weeks after the first mass demonstrations in Soweto, the *Johannesburg Financial Mail* reported that Dillon, Read, and Company, the U.S. investment banking house that arranged the \$40 million revolving loan to South Africa in the 1960s, had agreed to plan the financing for Pretoria's \$2 billion Sasol II project. Peter Flanigan, a vice-president of Dillon, Read, and Company, was named to oversee the financing effort. Significantly, Flanigan was also an important figure in the Republican Party and in the government. He was a deputy campaign manager for Richard Nixon in 1968, served as an international economics adviser to Nixon from 1969 to 1973, and was director of the Council on International Economic Policy under both the Nixon and Ford administrations.

Kissinger also appears to have played a direct role in the economic rescue operation. According to a report by Reed Kramer in the December 11, 1976, *Nation*, "Along with his visible diplomatic undertakings, Kissinger has quietly sought to rally the financial community behind his attempt to slow the pace of change from minority to majority rule. The American Secretary has held personal consultations with top American bankers and with South Africa's most powerful financier, Harry Oppenheimer of Anglo American Corporation."

In his interview published in South Africa just after the 1976 presidential elections, Jimmy Carter indicated that his administration would follow through on these economic policies toward South Africa. When asked if he favored the use of economic sanctions against Pretoria, he replied, "I think such sanctions could be counter-productive." The interviewer then asked, "Would you free up American investment through Export-Import Bank loans and otherwise encourage an increase in private American lending and corporate activity in South Africa?" Carter answered, "Yes indeed."

International Solidarity With the Black Freedom Struggle

It is illegal for anyone in South Africa to advocate boycotts of trade or investment against Pretoria; it can be treated as a crime

55. Information released by American Committee on Africa, New York, November 8, 1976.

under the draconian Terrorism Act. But that has not prevented Black leaders from repeatedly denouncing the complicity of foreign firms in Pretoria's racist system and demanding their withdrawal from South Africa.

Representatives of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress outside of South Africa have insistently called for the imposition of economic sanctions against the racist regime. Within the country, the demand for an end to foreign investments has been raised publicly by groups adhering to the Black Consciousness movement, such as the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC). A 1972 SASO policy statement declared, "SASO sees foreign investments as giving stability to South Africa's exploitative regime and committing South Africa's trading partners to supporting this regime. For this reason SASO rejects foreign investment." A resolution adopted at the first convention of the BPC in December 1972 resolved "to reject the involvement of foreign investors in this exploitative economic system" and "to call upon foreign investors to disengage themselves from this White-controlled exploitative system."

Since they strike at some of the crucial props of racist rule in South Africa, the demands for a halt to all foreign economic,

military, and political aid to the apartheid regime constitute part of the broader struggle by Blacks for their full human rights. As we have seen, foreign investments with their accompanying superprofits directly strengthen South African capitalism, allowing the white imperialists to step up exploitation of the Black population and reinforce the entire repressive apparatus that helps maintain white supremacy. In addition Pretoria is able to point to the support and solidarity of its allies in Europe, North America, and Japan. Since the white minority regime is engaged in a constant battle to maintain its rule over the Black majority, it is especially important for it to foster an image of stability and strength. Foreign corporations and governments help in this effort by showing South Africa's Black population that Pretoria has powerful backers.

International protests against foreign complicity with the South African regime—mass rallies and demonstrations that can really put the heat on Washington and the other imperialist capitals—can play an important part in undermining this alliance. By forcing the major imperialist powers to curtail their assistance, they can also help weaken Pretoria's ability to suppress the Black population, thus providing a concrete expression of international solidarity with the Black freedom struggle. □

Balance Sheet of a Decade

Italy—Crisis of System and Workers Strategy to Meet It

An Interview With Livio Maitan

[Livio Maitan is one of the leaders of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (Revolutionary Communist Groups), the Italian section of the Fourth International.]

[We are publishing the interview in four installments, of which this is the first. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. There has been a lively discussion in the workers movement about how to characterize the current situation in Italy, especially since the June 20 elections. This discussion has been particularly animated among members of far-left organizations. Do you think there have been prerevolutionary situations in Italy over the last eight to ten years? How would you judge the period as a whole?

Answer. I think that a distinction can be made between the general characterization of the period and that of more specific phases. Revolutionary Marxists think that the crisis of the entire system that broke out in 1968 can be compared only with two other major crises in the history of capitalist Italy: the one in 1919-20, and the one in 1945-47.

However, the crisis at the beginning of the 1920s lasted only two or three years—fascism took power in October 1922, but the retreat had already begun in the autumn of 1922—and the crisis at the end of World War II ended with a relative stabilization of the system, as early as 1947-48.

The present crisis has been going on for nine years. There have, of course, been conjunctural ups and downs. Nonetheless there has been no stabilization—not even a very relative one, such as followed May 1968 in France. And there has been no retreat by the Italian working class comparable to that of the British working class beginning around mid-1975. These comparisons in themselves highlight the exceptional nature of the Italian situation.

One can say that in Portugal the crisis of the bourgeois state apparatus has been more marked, and that there organs of

revolutionary democracy, embryos of dual power, have emerged on a notably larger scale than in Italy. Still, the flare-up in Portugal was much more short-lived. After November 25 [1975], all of the objective and subjective limitations that in the most explosive phases of the crisis had been only partially felt began to operate more and more perceptibly, opening the way for the present downturn.

Today, it is in Spain that the mass movement's potential is the greatest. There the mass movement is going through exciting experiences. And it confronts a ruling class that has not yet solved the problem of how to carry out the transition from a fascist dictatorship to the institutionalization of bourgeois democracy. But in any case, this crisis is of more recent origin, and it is too soon to begin to draw general conclusions.

Thus, up to now, it is in Italy that the crisis of the 1970s has been the deepest, has lasted the longest, and has been the most pervasive. This general assessment must be made more specific by saying that in 1969-70 and in 1975-76, prerevolutionary situations began to take shape.

Q. If this is true, it seems to me to be necessary to grasp the specific factors that are at the origin of such a development. What do you think these are?

A. This has been a topic of wide discussion in Italy from several standpoints.

Generally speaking, particularly around the time when the Center-Left coalition was beginning to take shape, there was a current of economists and sociologists that held that Italy was still a backward country, that it was out of step with the other European capitalist countries, that its experience with democracy had been too short, and that it was technologically and culturally unripe. They drew the conclusion from this that "rationalizing" and democratizing the regime, and remodeling it in the image of the most "advanced" western European countries, was a necessary task. These ideas were most clearly expressed in an essay by

a well-known economist, Paolo Sylos Labini, whom I undertook to answer in a small book on the dynamic of social classes in Italy. Such a notion, it must be said, was not far removed from those held by the PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano—Italian Communist party], which, throughout the postwar period, based its strategy on this type of analysis. In 1944-47 it was the “progressive democracy” strategy, and today it is the “new stage of the democratic and antifascist revolution.”

For thirty years revolutionary Marxists have polemicized against such ideas, which had little basis in reality even in 1944-45, and are completely indefensible today, now that Italian society has gone through the development of the 1950s and 1960s. But recognizing the fact that Italy is a modern capitalist country in every way does not involve denying or underestimating the real specific factors that have operated here and continue to play a role.

In the first place, in no other Common Market country does the problem of underdeveloped areas weigh so heavily. This encompasses an entire region of the country. In this region, and this is what is peculiar to Italy, elements of historical backwardness combine with the obstacles to development posed generally by the imbalances characteristic of capitalism today. Such a tendency occurs in other countries too, but in Italy, at the present juncture, the problem is much more acute.

More specifically, as regards the rural areas, it should be remembered that, despite the flight from the countryside, the percentage of the population engaged in agriculture remains higher than in the other developed European capitalist countries, including France. In the growth of the tertiary sector itself two different factors are involved: On the one hand, a genuine modernization of the economic structures. On the other, the persistence of a precarious market for a labor force that has been pushed out of agriculture and that industry is unable to absorb.¹

Second, the prolonged boom period was marked by a real shake-up in the work force as a result of large migrations. In the fifteen years following 1951, four million people left the rural areas. During the same period, a total of about 100,000 persons were involved each year in movements from one part of the country to another. The numbers involved in emigration were on the same order.

On several occasions since the end of the war, the ruling class has been forced to draw up plans for reformist rationalization projects. The first of these operations was carried out, under the impetus of an upsurge of the landless peasant movement, at the beginning of the 1950s, when De Gasperi “centrism” introduced a measure of agrarian reform. Despite its serious limitations, this reform dealt a blow to the big landlords, particularly in the South.

The second project was set in motion beginning in 1962, when the “centrist” government was replaced by the Center-Left coalition. The Center-Left had ambitious plans. It sought to eliminate or reduce a series of persistent imbalances in the system; to coopt a section of the working class, represented politically by the PSI [Partito Socialista Italiano—Italian Socialist party], into a long-term stabilization plan; and to isolate and significantly weaken the Communist party.

The results of these projects are clear. The two operations have failed to achieve “rationalization,” and failed even more dismally to bring social and political stabilization. Despite the partial defeats of 1947-48, and the relative downturn of struggles in the

second half of the 1950s, the Italian working class has maintained its strength and has suffered no major defeats comparable even to that suffered by the French working class in 1958.

I would like to point in particular to a serious objective difficulty that blocked the bourgeoisie from making the most of the political victories it won on several occasions between 1947 and 1955. The specific social weight of the working class was beginning to increase at the very time when it had been pushed onto the defensive and was losing ground politically, when the unions in the biggest industries were being hit hard, when the divisive maneuver of setting up company unions was producing some results, and when the unity in action of the PCI and PSI had been broken by Nenni’s move. This increase in the specific social weight of the working class was the result both of its numerical growth and greater concentration and of the decrease, due to emigration, in the size of the reserve army of labor.

Q. Would you go into more detail about the development of the working class from a social standpoint, and what role this played in the 1968-69 upsurge?

A. Let me fill in some facts about the social transformations. Between 1951 and 1971, the percentage of the active population represented by the working class went from 41.2 percent to 47.8 percent. In the same period, the number of industrial workers rose by about a million and a half, and the number of construction workers by almost a million. Meanwhile, great industrial concentrations emerged, or were quantitatively and qualitatively strengthened. This played a tremendous role in shaping the overall sociopolitical dynamic. (Examples of such industrial complexes are Fiat in Turin, Alfa Romeo in Milan, the chemical industry in Venice, Alfa Sud in Naples, Italsider in Taranto, and so on.) There are two other phenomena which are not exclusively Italian, but which took a more concentrated form in Italy. The working class became more and more homogeneous as the old trades and categories declined and the reproduction of labor took place under more uniform conditions. Moreover it underwent a great process of renewal both as a result of the generational turnover and of the massive influx of new labor power. All of this paved the way for the 1968 upsurge and for its sustained character.

Q. But the crisis in Italy was also a result of the role played by other social forces . . .

A. That is correct. The radicalization of the petty bourgeoisie was a very widespread phenomenon, sometimes taking a very spectacular form. In fact, explosive contradictions erupted on practically every social and political level. Without the radicalization of the petty bourgeoisie and the very deepgoing crisis of the ruling ideology, the crisis of the state apparatus, for instance, would not have gone as far. We must not forget that the social transformations had shaken up the intermediate classes as well. Generally, between 1951 and 1971, these layers experienced both an absolute and a relative decline. This was the result, in fact, of the interaction of two opposing trends: the decline of the so-called traditional middle classes—whose numbers were virtually halved, dropping by more than 4 million—and the growth of the “new” intermediate layers, which increased by 1.4 million. Teachers, for example, numbered 325,000 in 1951, 600,000 in 1971, and today number more than 700,000.

Nevertheless, the central role to be played by the working class in the crisis of the system—which so many “theoreticians” had challenged before May ’68—has rarely been revealed so clearly as it has in Italy over the past decade. True, the breakdown of stability came first in “peripheral” sectors. The student movement, in particular, led the way. But the working-class upsurge followed fairly soon after, within a matter of months, and it was unquestionably the great working-class struggles of 1969 that shook the country and led to a prerevolutionary situation.

It was the successive waves of proletarian mobilizations in the years that followed that brought about the downfall of attempts to

1. Change in Distribution of the Work Force in Italy and France, 1955–1974-75 (based on EEC statistics for 1975)

	1955	1968	1974-75
Italy			
Agriculture	42%	22%	17%
Manufacturing	32%	41%	44%
Services	26%	37%	39%
France			
Agriculture	27%	-	12%
Manufacturing	36%	-	39%
Services	37%	-	49%

achieve relative stabilization, such as the one made by Andreotti in 1971-72, or by Fanfani in 1973-74. Let us add another consideration. In the period marked by the Reggio Calabria uprising, the fascists, who had managed to make some headway, had set a goal of provoking a Reggio Calabria-type situation in Naples, a city of key strategic importance. The fact that this plan failed miserably—the PCI got 40 percent of the vote on June 20—must be attributed to the role of the working-class layers concentrated in the city and surrounding areas, who carried out very combative struggles and impressive demonstrations on more than one occasion. Furthermore, the fact that the student movement in Italy maintained itself over a longer period, continuing for years as a factor contributing to political instability, is due to its closer convergence with workers' struggles than in other countries, and to the duration of these struggles.

Finally, it was the weight of the working class and the organized workers movement that prevented the various "protest" or "plebeian" movements from taking on fascist-like or Poujadist characteristics, and helped them to incorporate conceptions and methods of struggle similar to those of the proletariat, and to polarize politically around the workers parties in the 1975 and 1976 elections.

Q. There have been some discussions, particularly on the far left, about how to characterize the situation since early 1975. What do you think?

A. The discussion can be summarized as follows: Could we once again, as in 1969, speak of a prerevolutionary situation? Personally, I think we can. But at any rate, the most important thing to keep in mind is that the crisis which began in 1968 has so far not been overcome.

I think that our international movement has at times been loose and imprecise in its use of such terms as "revolutionary situation," "prerevolutionary situation," "revolutionary upsurge," "potentially revolutionary situation," "qualitative leap which could enable a revolutionary crisis to mature," and so on. We had a discussion about this last year in *Bandiera Rossa*, the paper of the Italian section. I cannot take up this question here, but in general, I think that the problem stems from the fact that, in both Lenin and Trotsky's writings, the characterization of a revolutionary or prerevolutionary situation is more often than not a descriptive one. (One of the most famous quotations from Lenin, cited in the last issue of *Critique Communiste*, refers to "symptoms of a revolutionary situation.") Furthermore, Lenin and Trotsky applied their criteria somewhat broadly. For example, Lenin spoke of revolutionary situations in Germany in 1860 and in Russia in 1879-80. Trotsky considered that there was a prerevolutionary situation in 1931 not only in Spain, but also in Germany and England. By extension, one might say that the situation in Italy has been prerevolutionary ever since 1968-69. But a characterization so general would have questionable practical value.

To summarize, we can say that a revolutionary situation exists when the contradictions inherent in the system, on the different levels of the socioeconomic and political structures, are no longer latent but break out openly, shattering the former equilibrium, and when no short-term possibility exists for establishing a new equilibrium. In such a context, the ruling classes cannot exert their domination as before, the proletariat is no longer willing to put up with the old forms of exploitation, and the intermediate classes themselves are desperately seeking a way out. When such a situation becomes generalized, concentrated in a definite space of time, and gives rise to movements which in fact pose the question of power, a revolutionary situation exists. When such phenomena emerge only in an incipient or partial form, and when the dynamic of a general confrontation over the question of power has not yet clearly emerged, a prerevolutionary situation exists. In a prerevolutionary situation, it is necessary to emphasize transitional objectives and take advantage of all opportunities to promote the formation of organs of proletarian democracy that

could become elements of dual power. In a revolutionary situation, the question of taking power has to be posed as a concrete and immediate perspective. As a precondition for this, every effort must be made to politically and organizationally unify the organs of proletarian democracy, which are already an expression of dual power. The problems of self-defense and the arming of the proletariat must also be posed in immediate terms as an urgent necessity.

The experience of the postwar period—in several Latin American countries during the 1950s and 1960s, and today in the European capitalist countries—has demonstrated the possibility of prolonged crises involving embryonic or incipient forms of dual power, whereas before, similar crises were overcome much more rapidly.

Returning to the most recent period in Italy, it has to be noted that, since mid-1974, the crisis of the system has been even more deepgoing than in 1969. This is due particularly to an unusual, almost unprecedented convergence of the social, political, and economic crisis. This has brought the social movements, democratic movements, and central struggles of the working class together in an all-embracing political movement that has an anticapitalist dynamic.

In particular, it is the economic crisis that has made a general political solution objectively necessary, while at the time forcing a subjective realization of this need. The electoral victory of the PCI on June 15, 1975, and its recent gains on June 20, 1976, are, in the last analysis, the reflection of this situation. Conversely, in this context, the crisis in the DC [Democrazia Cristiana—Christian Democracy] has become more and more violent, reflecting the breakup of the political and social bloc established thirty years ago. The big industrial bourgeoisie, hit by falling profits and beset by recession, is less willing to share the spoils with other sections of the ruling class. So they are discovering "parasitism," and focusing their fire on malfunctions in the political apparatus, denouncing the government's inability to make coherent political choices.

The technocratic and bureaucratic bourgeoisie sees a threat to its patronage system, and is refusing to be sacrificed on the altar of the struggle against "parasitism" and inefficiency. Rather than accept the role of scapegoat, the financial and speculator bourgeoisie is resisting all attempts to impose rationalization and discipline, and is taking fullest possible advantage of the freedom to maneuver provided by inflation and the international monetary crisis. The well-to-do middle classes have no intention of giving up the privileges they acquired during the prolonged boom and are blocking even the weakest reform measures. The rural petty bourgeoisie, which is being squeezed tighter and tighter by the mechanisms of the national and international market, is beginning to question the political structures and policies that they have supported for decades. The urban middle layers, who are being hit by inflation and whose standard of living is threatened, are also ceasing to act as defenders of the status quo. The layers of the intelligentsia, the liberal professions and so on, who are seeing the roles on which their social prestige was based lose their sacrosanctness, are more and more beginning to reflect the crisis of traditional values and ideology.

Q. Could you give some examples of the crisis of ruling-class ideology? On what levels is it found?

A. I will give three examples.

The first concerns the big newspapers. Helped along by a very deep recession, a process of concentration is taking place in Italy too. A few powerful trusts have taken over almost all the major dailies. However, the rights and powers won by journalists, typesetters, and so on have severely limited the bosses' freedom of action. At times they have not even managed to get their own newspapers to adopt the conservative policies that they advocate.

Moreover, the crisis of traditional values is so widespread that journalists and writers are often unwilling to play the role of defenders of the government and the status quo. The case of

Corriere della Sera is a good illustration of this. Over the last several years, this newspaper, which has just marked its hundredth anniversary, and which belongs to a clearly conservative, even reactionary tradition, has undergone a considerable transformation. By journalistic standards, it has now reached a level not at all inferior to the [London] *Times*, the *Guardian*, or the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, although it is still below *Le Monde*. What is interesting is that it opens everything up for discussion. It systematically and aggressively polemicizes against the status quo, the government's policies, ruling-class mores, ideological mystification and traditional rhetoric. During the meeting of the DC national committee in the summer of 1975, and the DC congress in March 1976, the *Corriere* published vitriolic articles that were masterpieces of political satire. Guest columns were offered to all political and ideological currents, including the far left.

A second example: the judiciary, a traditional bulwark of conservatism and reaction, has not been secure against the storm. It is openly and deeply divided. It now includes many supporters of the workers' parties and even some far-left organizations, who expose the class role of the courts in explicit, militant terms. (Marrone, a young judge indicted for such a denunciation, has just been acquitted.) One of the most important consequences of this change is that, unlike in the past, when labor conflicts come to court—particularly cases of workers being fired for union activity, absenteeism, and so on—they frequently end with the workers being reinstated and the bosses being condemned. In one case, a judge went so far as to declare that the firing of several Alfa Romeo workers was illegal, because it was a maneuver aimed at dividing the working class.

Finally, the crisis of the Catholic church is a worldwide phenomenon whose origins are well-known. Still, it is significant that this crisis has hit very hard even in Italy, home of the Vatican, where the church played a central role in the postwar period of capitalist reconstruction. The defeat suffered by the Church and the DC in the 1974 referendum on divorce was the most striking expression of this crisis, which has taken innumerable forms. During the recent elections, a series of prominent Catholic intellectuals were included in the PCI's list of candidates, and some were elected. The cases of individual priests defying the authority of the hierarchy and the Pope—their point of departure being diametrically opposed to that of Monsignor Lefevre [a French priest opposed to modernization of the church]—are quite numerous. The example of Don Franzoni is only the most well known. There have also been some sensational incidents: priests who announced, during their Sunday sermons, that they were going off to join the PCI.

Q. Did the June 20 election results make it necessary to revise any of these assessments? After all, the DC regained some of its strength, and the left did not win a majority.

A. June 20 represented a new shift in favor of the workers movement, as a whole, although a modest one. After the June 15 [1975] jump, which was unprecedented in Italian electoral history, it was unlikely that there would be another jump of the same proportions, although the possibility of the left winning 51 percent of the vote could not be ruled out. Does this mean that we have overestimated the depth of the crisis? I think not. I do not believe, anyway, that winning an electoral or parliamentary majority is a necessary precondition for a victorious struggle for power by the proletariat. Even in the depths of a crisis, the machinery of the system serves a function. Let us not forget that the Bolsheviks were a minority in the elections for the Constituent Assembly several weeks after taking power. . . .

It is true that in the present context, if the workers parties had won a majority, this would have considerably deepened the political crisis of the bourgeoisie, and given further impetus to the combativity and rising political consciousness of the masses. The

recovery of the DC and the fact that the PCI did not obtain a plurality, as its members had hoped, tends to have the opposite effect. This is because the masses did not see realized what seemed to them to be a realistic perspective; the general political solution they were looking for did not take shape.

Q. The formation of the Andreotti government marked a turning point. For the first time since 1947, the PCI ceased being an opposition party. What is the dynamic and what are the dangers of this new situation?

A. The fact that the elections ended in an impasse has already resulted in one negative trend that it would be dangerous to underestimate. The PCI's decision to open the way for the formation of the Andreotti government has already had a concrete negative effect on the development of working-class struggles. The same goes for the attitude displayed by the union leaderships, who are trying at all cost to avoid a major confrontation with the government and the bosses. However, the bourgeoisie is looking for a test of strength, in the sense that for the first time in ten years, it hopes to be able to slash the standard of living of the masses and take away some important gains. It has already scored several points in this area. The question, therefore, is whether the bosses and the government will succeed in carrying out their plans without running into mass opposition, without encountering serious resistance, or whether there will be a new wave of struggles, which is the precondition for a counterattack by the working class. The strikes, demonstrations, and mobilizations in the workplaces and in the streets during the first half of October have demonstrated that the masses' capacity for struggle has not been exhausted, and that the vanguard can play a decisive role in organizing the mass response to the government and the bosses. However, unless there is a reversal of the present passive, wait-and-see attitude on the part of the traditional organizations, unless there is at least a partial turn by the union leaderships, it will be very difficult for broad movements to develop successfully on a national scale. And local movements arising in this or that sector will be utterly incapable of resisting the onslaught of the enemy. This means that, in the short run, the bourgeoisie has a certain chance of winning a major battle, of dealing a sharp blow to the working class for the first time since 1966, and thus of creating the conditions for an ebb in the mass struggle. It is likely that, even in that case, things would not return to the pre-1967 situation, to stability. But, of course, there would no longer be any kind of prerevolutionary situation, and the ruling class and its political apparatuses would once again enjoy a considerable margin for maneuver.

I should add that several disturbing symptoms have appeared in other areas. The student movement, which went through a difficult period last year, has not yet recovered. It is feeling the negative effects of an impasse in the fight over the traditional issues as well as of the difficulty of establishing short-term objectives for mobilizations that would converge in a real sense and not merely a propagandistic or abstract one, with workers' struggles. Forms of demoralization and virtual social disintegration are taking place among the youth, with tendencies to turn away from political activity, put the emphasis on personal consciousness-raising, and give primary importance to what is "individual" and "personal."

I cannot go into such a big subject as the women's movement here. In certain respects this movement is going through its "1968" in Italy right now, with the reemergence of spontanéist currents. This upsurge is very rich in emotional and moral élan, but it also carries with it a good part of the mythology of that famous year. It is disturbing that precisely at this crucial point, when centrifugal tendencies are intensifying and weakening the far left in particular, the women's movement has so far been unable to mobilize broadly around the central political issues of the day, such as abortion.

[To be continued.]

Selections From the Left

combate

"Combat," central organ of the Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain.

The April 6 issue inaugurates a section devoted to Catalonia in the Catalan language. One of the articles in this section deals with the question of the workers organizations' attitude to Catalan autonomy:

"On Saturday, April 2, a rally is going to be held in the Barcelona Sports Palace on the theme of 'The Workers Are for Autonomy.' It was called by the USO, UGT, CCOO, and the SOC [the major CP, SP, and independent union federations]. Our party will attend this rally in recognition of the fact that the working class has raised the question of the liberties of Catalonia. But we will reject the content the organizers are going to give to it.

"Our position is summed up in the communiqué the Communist League is going to send to the presiding committee of the rally to be read. It is entitled: 'For Self-Determination, for a National Constituent Assembly, for a Workers Alliance Against Capital.'

"Not only must the workers take up the struggle for the liberties of Catalonia as their own fight, but they must take the leadership of this struggle, since this is the only way to assure that it will be victorious.

"No Pujol, Canyellas, Molins, or Terradellas [bourgeois Catalan nationalists] is going to win the right of self-determination for the Catalan people.

"They want to tie the workers in Catalonia to the Moncloa pacts [deals with the government]. . . . This means denying the struggle of our people against the dictatorship and denying them an opportunity to express their will freely by exercising their right to self-determination. This is a fight for national sovereignty, and on this road no statute of autonomy imposed by the Madrid parliament now or in the future can meet the needs of the Catalan masses or be anything but an obstacle."

CLAVE

"Key," fortnightly newspaper published in defense of the interests of the working class. Printed in Mexico City.

A forum on Maoism and the present situation in China filled the Ho Chi Minh Auditorium at the University of Mexico March 9, the March 27-April 9 issue reports. The meeting was cosponsored by

the Socialist League (LS) and the Revolutionary Workers party (PRT) and featured presentations from each group.

Explaining what Maoism is, the PRT spokesman said "none of the Maoist groups calls for building the party, either on a theoretical or on a practical level."

Jaime González, speaking for the LS, dealt with the current situation in China. "In China a privileged bureaucratic caste has usurped power," he said, and "to be able to maintain its privileges, this caste has restricted the democratic rights of the workers."

Maoists attending the meeting agreed to participate in a future series of forums on China which are to include ample time for discussion. In the past, the paper reports, "the Maoists had systematically refused to participate in such meetings."

HAYGH

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

The entire back page of the first section of the Sunday, April 3, issue, plus a few columns more, is devoted to a debate over the charge that Stalin in effect handed Greece over to Churchill at the end of World War II, signing the death warrant of the CP-led guerrilla movement that had won control of most of the country.

Stalin is defended by G. Kyriakides, a doctor of historical sciences at the University of Moscow. The charge against Stalin is upheld by Metsos Partsalides, a leader of the "interior" faction of the CP, who was secretary of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front in 1944.

Partsalides points up the method used by the Soviet history professor as follows:

"Kyriakides's third argument is that the passage in question in Stalin's memorandum to Churchill of April 24, 1945, has to be seen in the concrete context of the time. The section in question is as follows: 'I do not know whether the government formed in Greece [under the protection of British troops] is really representative or how genuinely democratic the government in Belgium is. The Soviet Union asked no questions when these governments were formed. The Soviet Union had no intention of interfering in these situations because it understands how important Belgium and Greece are to the security of Great Britain.'"

Partsalides wrote: "Comrade K. does some sleight-of-hand with this section of the memorandum. He cuts it in two and says: 'The point is not that the Soviet Union was not asked and did not ask to be

asked about Greek affairs but that the firm policy of the Soviet Union is not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.' This is trickery because the absence of intent to interfere is justified by 'how important Belgium and Greece are to the security of Great Britain.' . . .

"How in the concrete case of Greece, could opposing what the English imperialists did be called interfering in the internal affairs of other countries? They carried out a foreign imperialist armed intervention aimed at depriving a people of their right to determine their own fate."

If the memorandum were not enough, at the bottom of the page *Ave* printed a section from the stenogram of the Yalta conference published in both Romania and the Soviet Union. This section concluded as follows:

"The prime minister [Churchill] said he would welcome a Soviet observer in Greece.

"Marshal Stalin said he had full confidence in the policy the British were following in Greece.

"The prime minister expressed his gratification at this statement."

rouge

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

In the March 29 issue, a correspondent describes the effect in Brest of the victory of the workers parties in the municipal elections recently held throughout the French state.

Brest, traditionally considered a rather conservative city, is the largest urban center in the part of Brittany where the historic language of the Breton people is still spoken.

The official policy of the French government until a few years ago was to extirpate Breton. The Paris government has still made only the most minimal concessions to demands for recognition of the language.

Rouge's correspondent writes:

"The left won in Brest by only a few dozen votes. But its success was by no means an accident. It is true that the division of the right disoriented many conservative voters and led to a high percentage of abstentions. But it is no less true that the left's winning the city hall was the result of systematic and long-term work, primarily by the Socialist party, in the new residential areas.

"The new team that has won the city hall is, in general, young and inexperienced in administration. It inherits a difficult situation—the city has no coher-

ent plans for development and the official number of unemployed is 7,000 [out of a total population of about 140,000]. The city also suffers from a tragic lack of health facilities. The hospitals have been particularly hard hit by the government's austerity program. They not only fail to meet the needs of women for abortions and contraception services; they cannot even deliver babies properly.

"In the new city government, all the key posts are held by members of the Socialist party. The new government wanted to demonstrate a break from the old routine from its first day in office. There was a large public audience for the first meeting of the city council, which was a departure from past custom. . . .

"Another departure from the past was that the opening speech by the presiding council member was given in Breton, and only afterward translated into French. . . .

"Likewise, instead of making the customary trip to deposit a wreath at the monument for the war dead, the councilors marched, along with hundreds of activists, to deliver a statement on jobs to the subprefect [a Paris appointee]."

LIBERATION

Bimonthly organ of the Eritreans for Liberation in North America. Published in New York City.

The January-February issue features a number of reports on the first congress of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), one of the two main Eritrean independence organizations.

"The EPLF," one of the reports begins, "held its first congress from January 23-31, 1977 in the liberated areas in Sahel, Eritrea. Over 300 delegates, representing all units and departments of the EPLF and its mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth and students from inside and outside the country vigorously participated in the congress. . . .

"The congress discussed and adopted the EPLF's National Democratic Program, which crystallizes the deepest aspirations of the Eritrean people and reflects the EPLF's revolutionary line."

The EPLF's National Democratic Program, as summarized by *Liberation*, calls for:

- The establishment of a people's democratic Eritrea.
- A self-reliant, independent and planned national economy.
- Safeguarding the unity and equality of all Eritrean nationalities.
- The development of a revolutionary culture, education and health care.
- Safeguarding the economic, political and organizational rights of the working class.
- The complete equality of women with men in the economic, political, social and cultural life.
- A foreign policy of peace and non-

alignment, of anti-imperialist solidarity with all just and revolutionary movements.

According to the report, the EPLF congress also addressed itself to the divisions within the Eritrean independence struggle, particularly in relation to the other main nationalist organization, the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF):

"The question of national unity was given great importance in the deliberations of the congress. Reaffirming the EPLF's line that the formation of a united front between the EPLF and ELF is the correct transitional stage which guarantees the attainment of genuine and principled national unity, the congress outlined the minimum program for a united front."

In addition, "The congress also took a resolute stand condemning the [Ethiopian] military Junta's nine point proposal for 'peaceful solution' and outlined the minimum preconditions for any discussion with the Ethiopian occupationist regime."

labor Challenge

Fortnightly newspaper published in Toronto, Canada.

In the April 11 issue, Bev Bernardo reports that 1,000 persons, mostly women, marched in Montréal April 2 to demand the right to abortion. The demonstration, sponsored by a wide range of feminist organizations, was the first major action in several years in support of abortion rights.

The demonstrators demanded the repeal of Canada's abortion law and the establishment of services to provide access to abortion throughout Québec. They also demanded that abortions be covered by medical insurance.

"At the concluding rally the manifesto 'For the Right to Free Abortion' was read to the crowd. The manifesto has been endorsed by more than twenty women's organizations, including the women's committees of the Québec Teachers Federation and the Confederation of National Trade Unions.

"In addition to supporting the main demands of the demonstration, the manifesto also documents the discrimination that French-speaking women desiring abortions face. For example, of the fourteen hospitals in Québec performing abortions in 1975, only six were francophone hospitals. Furthermore, out of a total of 5,657 abortions, these six hospitals accounted for only 239," Bernardo reports.

In an accompanying article, Linda Blackwood reports on a noontime picket line that was held outside the Women's College Hospital in Toronto March 29. The action, organized by the Abortion and Contraception Committee of Toronto, protested the hospital's decision to shut down its abortion services because of the senior resident's personal opposition to abortion.

"The closure of the clinic's abortion services at Women's College Hospital makes worse an already intolerable situation for women seeking abortions in Toronto," Blackwood reports.

"As Iva Stanley, a spokeswoman for the action, correctly pointed out in her remarks to the picketers: 'The government was very fast to force back the gains of women as soon as women stopped demonstrating and campaigning openly for the right to abortion.

"... only a highly visible and united campaign of women will win back these gains and force the government to remove abortion from the criminal code,' Stanley said."



"The Republic," weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the Provisional republican movement. Published in Dublin.

An article in the April 12 issue describes the reaction of cockroach capitalists in rural Ireland to a Provisional campaign of putting up posters calling for British withdrawal:

There was I reading the Donegal paper which my good friends up in the northwest send me from time to time. . . .

A very sensible newsy paper I always thought. Then it hit me right between the eyes.

"Arse," my God, I thought, has the Editor gone mad. Like, bum, bottom is O.K. Didn't our mummies always call it that, but arse. It just isn't cricket.

But worse was to follow, such as, "I would smash their face in."

What I thought has brought all this on? Well the truth is, it all started over a motion at the Donegal Co. Council. . . .

What happened was that an irate councillor worried about his takings from English tourists wanted the "Brits Out—Peace In" slogans removed from the walls around the Donegal countryside.

There was some eloquent discussions on the matter but that Super Duper of a republican . . . Senator, no less, Bernard McGlinchey, told the gathering that he was totally in favour of peace. I quote fully:

"Recently I caught some people covering some posters of mine. I told them this was a democracy and that I had paid to have those posters erected and if they touched them again I would smash their face. I want to see tourists coming to this country. If we went to England and saw signs saying 'Irish Out' what would we think?"

He was reminded by Councillor Murrin: "Far worse is happening to the Irish in Birmingham."

Bad as old McGlinchey is, hear what Clement Coughlan had to say:

"These slogans were done at night and I would love to see one of these fellows doing it in daylight. If I got one of these fellows writing on my property I would kick his arse for it."

Ah such lucky people in Donegal to have such charmers for their elected representatives.

Footnote: My friends in Donegal inform me that several more "Brits Out—Peace In" slogans are appearing. Watch your A . . . fellahs!

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Carter's 'Last Resort'—More Nuclear Plants

By Fred Murphy

Scarcely two weeks after announcing the end of U.S. government support for the reprocessing of plutonium fuel and a slowdown in the development of plutonium-based "breeder" reactors, Jimmy Carter unveiled an energy program that will, among other things, accelerate the development of nuclear power as a major source of energy in the U.S.

During his presidential campaign, Carter said nuclear power should be used only as a "last resort." But he made it clear in his April 20 speech to Congress that his administration will instead push this dangerous energy source. He thus posed a direct challenge to environmentalists and growing numbers of working people who oppose nuclear development.

Carter said:

There is no need to enter the plutonium age by licensing or building a fast-breeder reactor such as the proposed demonstration plant at Clinch River.

We must, however, increase our capacity to produce enriched uranium fuel for light-water nuclear power plants. . . .

We must also reform the nuclear licensing procedures. . . . I propose that we establish reasonable, objective criteria for licensing, and that plants which are based on a standard

design not require extensive individual design studies.

What do these proposals mean?

• The decision to forego (for the present time) the development of plutonium reprocessing and a commercial fast-breeder reactor was a sop to the antinuclear movement. This was explicitly stated by Carter's energy adviser James Schlesinger at an energy conference sponsored by *Time* magazine: "Schlesinger candidly explained the Administration's decision to de-emphasize breeder research as a concession to the environmentalists. He defended it as the sort of trade-off necessary in order to organize a national consensus in support of Carter's program" (*Time*, April 25).

Eliminating the reprocessing program while maintaining conventional uranium-fueled plants will serve to exacerbate the problem of nuclear waste disposal. Right now, some 90 percent of all spent nuclear fuel is in storage at reactor sites. These wastes remain radioactive for centuries, and are more dangerous than the refuse from reprocessing. No safe means is known for getting rid of them, and a central storage plan has yet to be developed.

And the breeder program is not even being scrapped completely. Although the Clinch River reactor is being "deferred" (not canceled), the \$500 million Fast Flux Test Facility at Hanford, Washington, will be completed next year and put to use testing advanced nuclear fuels as well as breeder technologies for use abroad.

A White House fact sheet on the energy program also raised the possibility that thorium, another radioactive element, might enter the nuclear fuel cycle before long. A number of nuclear scientists have proposed developing a breeder technology based on thorium, since it is much more difficult than plutonium to convert to weapons material.

• Close to \$5 billion will be spent to expand U.S. capacity for uranium enrichment, a necessary process for preparing nuclear fuel. New technology, the gas centrifuge, will be incorporated in the enlargement of the enrichment facilities at Portsmouth, Ohio. This will enable the government to provide fuel for the in-

creased number of nuclear plants Carter projected, as well as to continue supplying enriched uranium for sale to other countries.

• The main point Carter stressed was the need to streamline licensing procedures for nuclear plant construction. He complained that "it should not take ten years to license a plant." He proposed steps that will have the effect of making it much more difficult for those affected by nuclear plants to press questions about safety and environmental damage during the licensing process. Central to this is the development of a standard design, to be approved by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, for all future reactors.

This raises the prospect of more nuclear plants being built offshore on floating platforms. The April 25 *Business Week* reported that Offshore Power Systems, a Westinghouse subsidiary, "plans to turn out identical units in nearly assembly-line fashion." The magazine quoted a power company official as saying, "The advantage here is that the procedure for site approval can go on while construction takes place."

Floating plants are already in the works for two Atlantic sites off the New Jersey and Florida coasts. "Environmental challenges have been furious," *Business Week* says, "especially from residents who live near the [Florida] coastal site." Carter's proposals will make it easier for the power companies to stave off these challenges.

• A new site-selection procedure is also planned. This, according to the April 19 *Wall Street Journal*:

. . . would allow utilities or state governments to designate areas for nuclear plants many years before there is a need or intent to build them. That way, environmental objections to sites could be dealt with in advance, and utilities could always have a "bank" of several potential sites.

• Finally, Carter's proposals will make nuclear power more attractive financially for utility companies. Frank Van Riper wrote in the April 15 *New York Daily News*:

Any Carter plan to push nuclear power will probably face widespread local opposition from



Herblock/Washington Post

groups that do not want a nuclear reactor built in their "backyard." As a result, despite Carter's avowed willingness to take the heat for unpopular energy policies, sources said Carter was not expected to make a major public push for the nuclear program.

Rather, said one administration planner, stringent policies over oil and natural gas use, combined with continued strong enforcement of clean air standards, will leave many public utilities no choice but to "go nuclear."

Keep on Gasping

How serious the Carter administration is about "strong enforcement of clean air standards" in the case of automobile emissions was shown April 18. Douglas Costle of the Environmental Protection Agency testified that day before a Congressional committee considering amendments to the Clean Air Act.

This law was passed in 1970. It set standards for sharp reductions in the three pollutants that contribute most to poisoning the air: hydrocarbons, which aggravate asthma and lung disease and which include a number of potent carcinogens; carbon monoxide, which increases heart and lung disease and affects the nervous system; and nitrogen oxides, which cause asthma and emphysema, especially in children.

Detroit was to have met the law's standards by 1975. But claims that the necessary technology did not exist got them a one-year waiver from Congress. In 1976, the EPA extended this exemption for another year.

In his testimony Costle asked that the standards again be set aside, and that new, less stringent goals be set for the 1979 automobile model year. Further changes would be made in 1981 and 1983, but even then the original 1970 standards would not be completely in force.



Herblock/Washington Post

Studies have shown that more than 4,000 deaths and 4 million days of illness are directly attributable to auto pollution each year (cited in the *Nation*, April 9). There seems to be little relief in sight.

12,000 in Melbourne Protest Uranium Mining

Twelve thousand persons marched in Melbourne, Australia, on April 1 to demand a five-year moratorium on the mining, milling, and processing of uranium. This was the largest of numerous actions in a national day of mobilization organized by the Movement Against Uranium Mining.

Australia has some of the largest deposits of uranium in the world. Its reserves are estimated at 380,000 tons, or 20 percent of the known world reserves outside of the Soviet Union and China. The country has only one small mine at present, but the mining and financial interests and Malcolm Fraser's conservative coalition government are anxious to develop the lucrative export potential of uranium.

This project faces strong opposition—not only from environmentalists but from many trade unions and from the Labor party as well. In 1972, an embargo was imposed by the Labor government then in power on the export of uranium. In early 1975 the Labor government appointed a commission, headed by Justice Russel Walter Fox, to conduct an inquiry into the uranium industry.

The Fox Commission issued its first report last October 28. Although ambiguous in its overall findings, it cited the as yet unsolved problem of the disposal of highly radioactive waste, the contribution of uranium exports to the risk of nuclear war, and what it considered the minimal economic benefits and job opportunities from uranium mining. The commission recommended that the moratorium continue for two to five years and urged a full public discussion of its findings.

The Fraser government nevertheless took the Fox Report as a green light and lifted the export moratorium. Shipments abroad resumed in January, although the first train hauling uranium to the shipping port was halted three times by demonstrations.

Then on March 30 the Labor government in the state of South Australia announced that it was banning all mining, processing, and export of uranium within the state. This victory was followed by the successful demonstrations on April 1, which were supported by many Labor party organizations.

Besides the action in Melbourne, demonstrations of 3,000 each were held in Sydney and Adelaide. Nine hundred turned out in Perth, as did 300 in Brisbane. At the Sydney rally Black activist Marcia Langton described the threat uranium mining poses to Black tribal life and land rights.

Tom Uren, federal deputy leader of the Labor party, called on the unions to do all they could to stop uranium mining.

The Fox Commission has completed its inquiry and will release its final report shortly. But, writes Mary Rabbone in the April 14 issue of the Australian socialist weekly *Direct Action*, "its possible recommendations against mining have already been superseded by the Fraser Government's determination to go ahead with uranium mining in blatant disregard of the findings of the first Fox report and of the widespread opposition to uranium mining which has been demonstrated in the huge mobilisations that occurred around the country on April 1 and which will be an ongoing feature of the Uranium Moratorium campaign to stop the mining."

A-Blast Victim Gets Benefits

We reported last week on the case of Paul Cooper, who was one of 1,104 U.S. soldiers ordered to stand in close proximity to a nuclear test blast in 1957. Cooper is now dying of leukemia and has been fighting the Veterans Administration to get disability benefits.

The VA appeals board ruled April 15 that Cooper was indeed entitled to receive the benefits. But they still don't recognize any army responsibility for his contracting cancer. Instead they cited a possibly incorrect diagnosis made by army physicians in 1968.

No doubt to avoid any responsibility to the other 1,103 soldier guinea pigs.

Mexicans Mobilize Against Chromate Plant Pollution

The following appeared in the March 27-April 9 issue of *Clave*, a socialist fortnightly published in Mexico City:

"Six months have passed since the story of how the Empresa de Cromatos [Chromate Company] was contaminating the environment first appeared on the front pages of the Mexico City dailies.

"Pollution from this company's plant in Lecheria caused the deaths of a number of persons, children in particular. The company signed an agreement with the authorities, promising that from then on it would avoid further contamination.

"But the situation remains the same. The 15,000 residents of Lecheria and Chilpa continually suffer from gastrointestinal problems and laryngitis caused by the toxic chrome powders and wastes that are emitted from the plant.

"Faced with the noncompliance of the Empresa de Cromatos, and the inability of the authorities to deal with the problem, the workers have taken a correct initiative. They are pressuring the government and demanding that the problem be solved.

"On March 20, more than 500 persons met to decide what steps to take. They agreed to demand the closing of the plant

and to call for legal measures against the officials who failed to order this step.

"Most importantly, the meeting decided to take some steps to insure that these demands will be heard. A demonstration from Lechería to the National Palace will be held March 27. It was also decided to block off the Empresa de Cromatos with ditches to prevent the plant from functioning."

Steel Soot Shuts School

Shiroyama Primary School in Kita Kyushu, Japan, was forced to close permanently at the end of March. Many parents had already moved their children to other schools, since an increasing number of Shiroyama pupils were suffering from asthma and various nasal diseases.

The school was located among a number of steel mills and chemical plants, in an area where some thirteen tons of soot per square kilometer fall every month. Prior to closing, the school had installed air cleaners and automatic mouth washers.

Plans by the city in 1972 to move the school and the entire neighborhood to a less contaminated area fell through when the polluting industries refused to pay the costs.

Little relief for the remaining children was expected. They were moved to another school just one kilometer away.

Concorde Foes Hold Protest Despite New York Court Order

Defying a last-minute court order, some 600 carloads of Concorde opponents participated in a protest motorcade at New York's Kennedy International Airport April 17. This was the latest in a series of actions by residents of communities near the airport. They are demanding that the New York Port Authority make permanent its temporary ban on the use of Kennedy by the noisy, environmentally unsound supersonic jet.

Two days earlier a state supreme court justice had granted a Port Authority request for an injunction banning the motorcade and ordered anti-SST leader Bryan Levinson to dissuade people from participating. Many cars showed up anyway, and police allowed the action to proceed.

Efforts by the French and British governments and airline companies to secure New York landing rights for the Concorde suffered another blow the day after the protest when a study of the airliner's performance was released by Britain's Noise Advisory Council.

The council, an official government body, found that the plane exceeded legal noise limits on 72 percent of its takeoffs from London's Heathrow airport during an eight-month period. (The noise limits had been waived for the Concorde.) The plane



"There'll be a slight delay, folks . . . Until we find an airport that'll let us land."

was blamed for "deterioration in the noise climate around Heathrow airport." The council said further that "there is no likelihood of any significant improvement in Concorde's noise performance in operation and . . . no measures are in hand to reduce further its noise at source."

The main contention of the Concorde's proponents before the Port Authority has been that it is no noisier than the loudest subsonic commercial jets.

Healyites Deaf to Concorde Noise

Under the title "Chauvinist Campaign Over Concorde," the April 19 issue of the *Bulletin*, the newspaper of the American wing of the Healyite sect, featured an article denouncing the car blockade at Kennedy airport April 17 against granting landing rights to the Concorde, the world's noisiest plane.

According to the *Bulletin*, the demonstration was part of a "carefully stage-managed" campaign to "whip up nationalism in the middle class and rally thousands in hysterical actions to back up the Carter government's trade warfare."

To believe the *Bulletin*, "One ally of the Carter government in its trade war plans is the revisionist Socialist Workers Party. The SWP opposes the Concorde as part of its pursuit of middle class elements in the environmental protest movement, never mentioning the trade war."

As for the concern over the noise and damage to the environment professed by "New York politicians," this is nothing but a "cynical cover for the attempt to bankrupt the British and French aircraft industry, to the profit of the American aerospace giants like Boeing and Lockheed."

The attempt to bankrupt the British and French aircraft industry may well succeed, according to the *Bulletin*; for the "British and French aircraft employers are nearly bankrupt already."

Putting it still more emphatically, the *Bulletin* states: "Failure of the billion dollar Concorde project would be the death blow to the industry, which is the only major competitor of the American monopolies."

Thus the alleged "revisionists" of the SWP are aiding "the Carter government to do exactly what it wants to do anyway—put its foreign rivals out of business."

The *Bulletin's* sympathetic description of the plight of the British and French aircraft monopolies shows where the Healyites stand.

Ironically enough, in their support of the "flying ecological disaster" they are tail-ending the highly revisionist French Communist party.

On April 5, 1976, the French Stalinists sponsored nationwide rallies in behalf of the Concorde. At Toulouse, where the Concorde plant is located, a rally passed a resolution calling for safeguarding "French aerospace potential, preserving employment, and guaranteeing our national independence."

The April 8, 1976, issue of *l'Humanité*, the French CP daily, published an article by Jean Breteau, the general secretary of the CGT Metalworkers Federation, that said among other things ". . . in Toulouse, it is common to hear it said that the Concorde is the airplane of the CGT; we are proud of the plane."

Breteau attacked an announcement by the French government that it might have to close down production of the Concorde. He cited the announcement as an example of the government's unwillingness to fight for "French national independence" and of its "submission to the United States." The central slogan of CGT demonstrations, he said, should be "No Concorde in the United States, no Boeing in France."

During this year's campaigning for the March elections, the French Stalinists opened a fight in defense of the Concorde with a threat to boycott American goods if the plane was not allowed to land in New York.

The March 9 *New York Post* reported: "Communist Party leader Georges Marchais said that there was a deliberate attempt to stop Concorde's success because it was a dangerous competitor for American industry."

It is noteworthy that the *Bulletin*, like the French Stalinists, does not take a stand on the issue of the environmental pollution caused by the Concorde.

The explanation in the case of the French CP is that it is practicing class collaborationism, proving itself to be the most ardent defender of French big business.

In the case of the Healyites, the explanation is even simpler. Their oversight stems from the belief that only the middle class is endowed with normal human hearing, the working class fortunately being born, like the Healyites, with iron eardrums. □

AROUND THE WORLD



3,000 in Atlanta Protest Death Penalty

More than 3,000 persons demonstrated against the death penalty April 10 in Atlanta, Georgia. The protest, sponsored by the Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons, held a march through downtown Atlanta ending with a rally on the steps of the state capitol.

"You don't correct the crime of homicide by killing people," Rev. Ralph Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told the crowd. Other speakers included former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, *New York Times* associate editor Tom Wicker, and James Jackson and Roosevelt Watson—Black teen-agers from rural Georgia who face the electric chair if convicted of murder charges currently being pressed against them.

Rabin Steps Down, Wife Fined, In Israeli Currency Scandal

An Israeli court fined Lea Rabin, wife of Israel's prime minister, \$27,000 on April 17 for violations of the country's currency



RABIN

regulations. Her husband had earlier paid an administrative fine of about \$1,600 in lieu of facing legal action.

During the time Yitzhak Rabin served as ambassador to the United States, he was the cosigner of a bank account his wife opened in Washington, D.C. However, when the Rabins returned to Israel in 1973 they broke the law by failing to close the account and convert the \$21,101 it held back into Israeli pounds.

In the wake of the scandal that followed disclosure of the secret account, Prime Minister Rabin announced April 14 that he would "take a vacation" to clear the way for his successor as Labor party head, former Defense Minister Shimon Peres, to step in as acting prime minister until national elections are held May 17.

Editors Arrested in Argentina

Argentina's military junta announced April 19 that it was detaining Enrique Jara, managing editor of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*. Jara was seized by plainclothes agents outside his home April 15.

The army announced earlier that it had arrested Jacobo Timerman, *La Opinión's* editor in chief, in connection with an investigation of links between an "Argentine financial group" and Montonero guerrillas.

Soaring Foreign Debt Puts Polish Bureaucrats in Bind

Poland's economic planners, caught between the rising expectations of militant workers and a soaring debt to the West, are scaling down attempts to attract foreign investment.

Citing estimates by Western analysts, Malcolm Browne in the April 4 *New York Times* puts Warsaw's debt to capitalist countries at roughly \$8 billion. The debt service rate—the proportion of new credit that must be spent to pay off old debts—has risen to about 25 percent, a rate comparable to Mexico.

In 1970 port workers in Poland rebelled against high consumer prices, leading to the fall of the Gomulka regime and the institution of limited economic reforms that have contributed to the bureaucracy's current debt troubles.

"In the period 1971-75, we over invested in a period of dynamic growth," said Stanislaw Brzoska, director of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Shipping. "Salaries

have risen 40 percent in the past five years and consumption has increased dramatically. . . . Under the current five-year plan, the investment rate will fall from 32 percent of total expenditures to 25 percent."

One consequence of the cuts, Browne reported, is that General Motors's agreement with Warsaw to build a \$1 billion truck plant appears to have fallen through.

AIM Leader Leonard Peltier to Appeal Murder Conviction

Defense attorneys for American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier have announced they will appeal his conviction on murder charges. Peltier was found guilty April 18 in the 1975 shooting deaths of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. Canadian officials extradicted Peltier to the United States last December 17 after denying his bid for political asylum.

Peltier's is the only conviction government lawyers have been able to obtain in the case. Two other AIM activists, Dino Butler and Robert Robideau, were acquitted in July 1976, and charges against a third, James Eagle, were subsequently dropped.

Defense attorneys also protested the decision by Judge Paul Benson to close the session where the verdict was read to all but reporters and court personnel. Benson cited "security reasons." Peltier's attorney John Lowe told the judge he "strongly objected" to the exclusion of the public and said that the constitution provided that the "accused shall enjoy a public trial."

Italian Feminists Urge Victims of Rape to Speak Out

Claudia Caputi was hospitalized in Rome March 30. She had been abducted and tortured with a razor blade by four youths six days after persuading a court to try in public seven men who had raped her in August 1976.

The case was only the second in Italian judicial history in which charges of rape were tried before the public rather than behind closed doors.

In Milan, 400 feminists held a "people's trial" of a nineteen-year-old student accused of raping another young woman. He was released only after police arrived on the scene. On March 31, about 1,000 women students demonstrated in the

streets of the city to publicize their campaign to ensure that justice is done in cases of rape. Their campaign has spurred several women to call local radio stations to disclose the names of men who had raped them.

The feminists are campaigning for open trials of rapists to eliminate or at least reduce the sense of shame that has prevented rape victims from going to the police. Italian officials estimate there may be thousands of women raped in the country annually who do not report the crime for fear of reprisals or public contempt.

"My father slapped me while I told him about it [being raped]," Caputi said, "and my mother said I should go back home and forget about it. Only the feminists helped me feel I am neither a whore nor crazy."

Sabino Arana Released from Prison

Sabino Arana, the second-longest held political prisoner in Spain and a member of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), was freed April 2. He had spent nine years of a twenty-three-year sentence in Franco's jails. His release came following a recent amnesty decree.

Freed along with Arana was Venancio Echevarría, a Basque nationalist serving a seventy-two year sentence.

Friends and relatives of the freed revolutionists greeted them with chants calling for total amnesty. An estimated 100 recognized political prisoners remain in Spanish jails.

Palestinian Groups Clash in Lebanon

Fighting broke out between two rival Palestinian groups April 16 near the town of Natatiye in southern Lebanon. Press sources said members of the Syrian-backed As Saiqa guerrilla organization exchanged rocket and machine-gun fire with a faction of the "rejection front" led by Abul Abbas. Five were reported killed and eight wounded in the five-hour exchange.

According to a report in the April 17 *New York Times*, As Saiqa commandos were attempting to suppress units that want to ignore a proposed Syrian cease-fire in the recent clashes with right-wing Christian militias in the area.

'Gang of Four' Face New Charges

The Chinese leadership has published new charges against the widow of Mao Tsetung and other members of the "gang of four," according to an April 12 report by *New York Times* correspondent Fox Butterfield.

Among them are the claim that Mao's widow, Chiang Ch'ing, cooperated with the Nationalists while jailed in Shanghai for eight months in 1934-1935. She is said to have betrayed individuals in the Com-

munist underground, leading to a number of arrests and executions.

Fresh charges are also leveled against China's former Deputy Prime Minister



CHIANG CH'ING

Chang Ch'un-ch'iao. In the mid-1930s he is said to have joined the Nationalist Blue Shirts, modeled after Mussolini's Brown Shirts, and then to have spied on Mao's forces at Yen-an during the civil war.

A third member of the "gang of four," Wang Hung-wen, is accused of using his position of deputy chairman in the party to amass nine cars, seduce women, go hunting and fishing around the country, and buy imported radios and televisions.

Yao Wen-yuan, the disgraced former propaganda chief, is said to have covered up his family background. Rather than coming from a family of intellectuals, Yao is said to have come from a family of wealthy landlords with connections to the Nationalist secret police.

'Human Rights' in China

A Peking diplomatic official recently provided *New York Times* columnist William Safire with a candid picture of the Chinese Stalinists' stand on human rights.

Asked first about President Carter's criticism of rights violations in the Soviet Union, the official replied: "A few intellectuals deprived of free speech is only a minor question. In the Soviet Union the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals are all being oppressed."

How about closer to home? "China is the country where human rights are best observed," the official said. "Over 95

percent of the population enjoy human rights, and the other 5 percent, if they are receptive to reeducation, they can also enjoy human rights.

"On the contrary," the official went on, "in the United States only 5 percent of the population enjoys human rights, and 95 percent don't have them. So if you criticize China on this point, we think it is ridiculous."

Five percent of 800 million Chinese is 40 million persons—wasn't that a rather large number of dissidents to still have so long after Mao's 1949 victory? Safire asked.

The official replied that the figure includes "landlords, rich peasants, bad elements, counter-revolutionaries and bourgeois revisionists." But giving more thought to what he had said, he cautioned: "Maybe that figure is less." (Quoted in the March 28 *New York Times*.)

Greece Allows U.S. To Keep 4 Bases

The United States will be permitted to maintain four of the seven military bases it is now operating in Greece, according to Greek defense minister, Evangelos Averoff.

The announcement came April 3 during the first congress of Premier Constantine Caramanlis's ruling New Democratic party, at which Greece pledged continuing loyalty to the United States and the North American Treaty Organization.

The future of the bases had been in question since Greece withdrew from NATO's military wing following the July 1974 invasion of Cyprus by Turkey, another NATO member.

Rightist Cuban Exile Clams Up in Probe of Letelier Murder

A right-wing Cuban exile who refused to answer questions before a federal grand jury investigating the murder of former Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier was ordered jailed April 20 for contempt of court.

U.S. District Judge John Lewis Smith, Jr., cited José Suárez of Elizabeth, New Jersey, for contempt after Suárez was given a grant of immunity to compel his testimony.

Nearly a dozen anti-Castro Cubans have been called before the grand jury, which is investigating the September 1976 assassination of Letelier in Washington, D.C. Suárez is the first to be held in contempt for refusing to cooperate.

Things Go Better With Coca-Cola

President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaïre has asked that a huge C-130 transport plane he recently purchased from the United States be delivered full of Coca-Cola. A Defense Department official said Mobutu requested \$60,000 worth of the beverage, according to a report in the April 20 *New York Times*.

For an Anticapitalist United Front in Sri Lanka

[The following two documents were recently published as a pamphlet by the Revolutionary Marxist party (RMP), Sri Lanka section of the Fourth International. The first is a statement issued March 9 by Bala Tampoe, secretary of the RMP and a leader of the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU). The second document is a proposed draft platform by the RMP and CMU for the formation of an anticapitalist united front. Footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The once popular and seemingly all-powerful United Front¹ that brought Mrs. Bandaranaike to the premiership and paved the way for her to attain the dubious distinction of presiding at the Non-Aligned Summit Conference in Colombo is no more! Today the LSSP leaders, who never failed to refer to Mrs. Bandaranaike's "distinguished leadership" before they were thrown out of her government, are denouncing her in particular for the failures and misdoings of her government. According to [LSSP leader] N.M. Perera, Mrs. Bandaranaike is now even more reactionary than the UNP, in some respects.

The Communist Party clung on to the SLFP Government for more than a year after the expulsion of the LSSP from it. It assisted the Government in preventing the student upheaval of November from developing into a mass upheaval against police terrorism and the Emergency, and in curbing the strikes in the public sector last December and in January this year. The CP finally decided to quit the Government only when it became obvious that it would be left with hardly any following among students, teachers, or workers, or any other significant section of the population, if it clung on to the Government any longer.

Having left the Government, the CP leadership now says that certain unspecified Rightwing circles of the SLFP "represented a negative trend, during the entire period of the United Front Government," and that they had worked "step by step" to get rid of the "radical and Left forces within the Government." In which of these

vague categories Mrs. Bandaranaike was or is now, they do not state.

The LSSP has been calling for a "Socialist United Front" since the expulsion of the LSSP ministers from the Government in September 1975. The CP has also called for a new front, following its withdrawal from the Government in February this year.

When the Central Committee of the LSSP first made a call for the establishment of a "Socialist United Front" in October 1975, it declared that the Front would be "composed of the LSSP, the CP and the crystallised Left in the SLFP." The Central Committee of the CP has stated that it regards the Front proposed by the LSSP to be "too narrow a concept to be appropriate to the actual levels of political development today." It has noted, however, that the detailed programmatic proposals put forward for consideration by the LSSP "envisage a much broader alliance."

Whatever new fronts the LSSP and the CP leaderships may seek to form or join, whether before or after the elections,² there can be no doubt that they will do so in pursuance of their parliamentarist objectives, on a class-collaborationist basis. That is to say that they will combine with Rightist forces, once again, to the detriment of the interests of the working class and the oppressed masses generally.

In contrast to the LSSP and the CP, the Revolutionary Marxist Party and the CMU call for the establishment of an Anti-Capitalist United Front of working class as well as other organizations

- that are willing to struggle for full freedom for the masses and complete equality for all sections of the population, irrespective of sex, race, caste, language, creed or citizenship, and

- to carry forward the struggle against the capitalist class and the capitalist state,

- in opposition to the present or any other capitalist government established by the SLFP or the UNP, separately or in combination with any other parties, be they so-called Left parties or otherwise,

- in pursuance of the interests of the working class and all other sections of the toilers and the oppressed,

- with the perspective of the overthrow of capitalist rule and the establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Government by the masses, and

- to set Ceylon on the path to Socialism, in alliance with the international proletariat.

To unite and mobilise the working class and all the oppressed in pursuance of the objectives of the Anti-Capitalist United Front, it will be necessary for the organizations that join together in the Front to agree upon the most important issues on or around which such unification and mobilisation can best be achieved. The RMP and the CMU propose the appended draft platform of demands as a basis for arriving at such an agreement with other organizations, be they political parties, trade unions, peasant organizations, student organizations, women's organizations or otherwise.

The present political situation is confused, both for the working class and for the vast masses of people, who are linked with it in our society. The disintegration of the SLFP-LSSP-CP United Front is an outcome of its failure to live up to the promises that the United Front held out to all sections of the masses at the last general elections, accentuated by the bitter experiences that the masses have suffered under the United Front Government.

Far from securing greater freedom for mass activity and better conditions of life, as the United Front promised, the masses found themselves subjected to six years of repression under the Emergency, beginning with the repression and subsequent bloody suppression of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna in 1971.³ The Emergency was continued, thereafter, with the repression of strikes and all other manifestations of the class struggle accompanied by deteriorating mass living standards, resulting from shortages of mass necessities and a continual rise in the cost of living.

The main beneficiary of the disillusionment with and alienation from the United Front Government of large sections of the masses, and the break-up of the United Front in that situation, is the UNP.⁴

The UNP has sought to cover up the fact that the Government's failures, as well as the repressive policies that it adopted in relation to the masses, were really due to the efforts of the SLFP-led United Front to sustain and promote *capitalist exploitation*

1. When the United Front coalition was elected to power in 1970 it was composed of Sirimavo Bandaranaike's capitalist Sri Lanka Freedom party (SLFP), the pro-Moscow Communist party, and the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP—Ceylon Equal Society party. The LSSP had been expelled from the Fourth International in 1964 for accepting cabinet posts in Bandaranaike's first coalition government.

2. On February 25, Bandaranaike announced that the next general elections would be held in six months.

3. Thousands of youths were killed and about 18,000 arrested during the suppression of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front).

4. United National party, which represents the layer of the Sri Lankan bourgeoisie most closely tied to imperialist interests, particularly British.

under the guise of a "mixed economy" and to maintain *capitalist rule* for that purpose.

The UNP fully supported the declaration of the Emergency and the suppression of the JVP under it in 1971. Never did it demand the ending of the Emergency itself. What the UNP did was to complain about the repressive actions of the Government in relation to the capitalist press and its own political activities, and discriminatory actions against its supporters. It also sought to exploit mass dissatisfaction with the Government on economic issues in the most demagogic manner.

Only at the end of last year, with a general election in the offing, did the UNP make a show of sympathy with the plight of the strikers in the public sector, after it was evident that the repressive actions of the Government had proved effective in stemming them. Even then, it did not denounce the continuance of the Essential Services Order, banning all strikes, nor the Emergency itself. The utter hypocrisy of the UNP in this matter can best be appreciated if it is remembered that the UNP and J.R. Jayawardene himself denounced similar strikes in the public sector at the end of 1968, and that the UNP Government then sought to suppress them by the use of Emergency powers in the same way in which the SLFP Government did in relation to the recent strikes in that sector.

Neither the LSSP nor the CP can effectively counter the propaganda of the UNP, however much they may try to dissociate themselves now from the failures and misdeeds of the United Front Government, and to attribute them solely to the very leadership of the SLFP with which they collaborated for five years and more. In the case of the LSSP, its denunciation of Mrs. Bandaranaike and the so-called Right wing in the SLFP began only after its leadership had made desperate efforts to retain their position in her government, and failed.

We strongly urge those sections of the masses, amongst whom the LSSP and CP still retain political influence, to demand the abandonment of the class-collaborationist policies that those parties have pursued and to call upon them instead to join in the establishment of an anticapitalist united front, on a class struggle basis, as we propose.

For the vast masses of young people, who have been influenced by the false and demagogic propaganda of the UNP, there can be no effective counter-influence from the Left unless the forces of the working class and its allies amongst the masses combine against the forces of the Right, whether they be under the leadership of the UNP or the SLFP.

Likewise, for the Tamil-speaking people and the masses of the plantation workers of Indian origin, there can be no effective counter to the policies of the Federal Party,

the Tamil Congress and the Ceylon Workers' Congress leaderships in the political arena, unless a powerful anti-capitalist united front is forged by the forces of the Left, with no equivocation as to the question of complete freedom and complete equality for all sections of the masses, as we demand.

At this crucial juncture in the life of our people we hope especially that the Left forces that have re-entered the political arena under the leadership of the JVP⁵

5. After the lifting of the state of emergency in February, the JVP, which had been banned

Draft Program of Demands

1. Abrogation of the bourgeois parliamentary constitution and establishment of a new constitution providing for the election of a democratic administration based upon councils freely elected and replaceable by the masses on a territorial, occupational, consumer or other appropriate basis.

2. Equal rights, opportunities and social security for all sections of the population of Ceylon, without discrimination in any form on grounds of sex, race, caste, creed, language, citizenship or otherwise.

3. No suppression or restriction of human and democratic rights, including the right to strike, or the political, civil or religious liberties of the people.

4. Abolition of every form of oppression or of discrimination against women; provision for free abortion on demand; and provision of adequate maternity and child-care facilities, as well as other necessary social facilities to relieve women of the burden of domestic tasks such as cooking and laundering, so that they may participate in economic, political and social activity freely and on equal terms with men.

5. Citizenship rights for all workers of Indian origin and descendants of such workers living in Ceylon.

6. The Tamil language to be an official language, like the Sinhala language.

7. Full cultural freedom and freedom of artistic expression with provision of adequate facilities for artistic activity.

8. Release of all political prisoners.

9. Repeal of all repressive laws, including the Public Security Act and the Criminal Justice Commissions Act.

10. Abolition of the death penalty.

11. Full trade union and political rights for all categories of workers in state, private and co-operative establishments, and for members of the police and the armed forces.

12. Reinstatement with compensation of all persons victimized for trade union activity or for political reasons.

13. State take-over of all major capitalist enterprises without compensation and

and other groups that were suppressed with it in 1971, or were formed thereafter, will combine with us against the capitalist class and all its allies, on the basis of an anti-capitalist united front.

Bala Tampoe
Secretary

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Marxist Party (Ceylon Section of the Fourth International).

under the emergency, declared that it would resume political activity and run candidates in the elections.

under workers' control; and establishment of workers' control in all state and public enterprises.

14. Continuity of employment, on not less favourable terms and conditions and with full recognition of past services, for all workers in establishments or businesses taken over by the State.

15. Equal facilities for primary and secondary education of all children, with equal opportunities for higher education.

16. Complete freedom for students to participate in social or political activity, with the right of student organizations to participate in all administrative bodies dealing with education or with matters affecting the interests of students.

17. Democratic control of education by elected councils of teachers and students, within the framework of a national scheme of education.

18. Provisions of work on proper terms and conditions of employment for all school-leavers of both sexes and the unemployed, or provision of suitable technical or vocational training, with a guarantee of employment thereafter, and provision of adequate maintenance for those undergoing training as well as for those who seek employment but are given no suitable jobs.

19. Confirmation in employment, with all the rights of regular workers, of all workers who have been employed for regular work on a casual or temporary basis in any establishment, whether directly or through private contractors, or so-called labour co-operative societies; and prohibition of employment of workers for regular work on a casual basis in any establishment in future.

20. Equal pay for equal work, and no discrimination between men and women in employment.

21. No termination of employment, except for just cause properly established.

22. No compulsory retirement of any worker below the age of 60 years.

23. Establishment by law of a five-day 40-hour week and prohibition of any work

in excess except on an overtime basis and with the consent of the worker.

24. Minimum wages, based upon the cost of living, to be established in consultation with the trade unions, for all workers in public and private establishments, including those in co-operatives, with an increase of Rs.2/50¹⁶ per point rise in the Cost of Living Index.

25. Reduction of prices of all essential commodities and provision of food rations to provide adequate sustenance for all sections of the population.

26. Provision of suitable low-cost housing with adequate amenities for the working people, with separation of employment from residence for those resident in plantation areas by the establishment of settlements for them.

27. Land for the landless, and provision of adequate facilities for cultivation of the land, rearing of livestock, and disposal of the produce.

28. Adequate old-age pensions and proper social provision for the care of old people. □

6. One rupee equals US\$0.12.

Israeli Attorney Leah Zemel Banned From Defending Clients

The Israeli government has banned attorney Leah Zemel from defending two young West Germans who have been under detention for fifteen months, the Australian revolutionary-socialist weekly *Direct Action* reported April 14.

Zemel is a regular contributor to *Matzpen Marxist*, the newspaper that reflects the views of the Revolutionary Communist League, Israeli section of the Fourth International. She is a prominent defender of victimized Palestinians and has been engaged by many of the students who were arrested during the massive Day of the Land protests in March 1976.

"In December 1976," *Direct Action* reported, "Zemel was retained by the parents of the two West Germans, Brigitte Schultz and Thomas Teuter. Just like the parents, Zemel was forced to keep the detention secret and not publicise it. When the Israeli Government finally disclosed that three Arabs and two West Germans have been held secretly since January 1976 for allegedly planning an attempt to shoot down an El Al jet in Nairobi, Kenya, Zemel was able to disclose the Zionist authorities' blackmail: 'It was clear Israel would not let the parents see their children if they publicised the detention before coming here,' she said."

Two days after she made the statement, Zemel was barred from representing Schultz and Teuter, on the alleged grounds that the prosecution will present classified information during the trial. Both Schultz and Teuter have refused to accept any other lawyer.

Georgian Dissident Active in Helsinki Group

Zviad Gamsakhurdia Arrested by Soviet Police

By Marilyn Vogt

A sixth activist in the Helsinki monitoring groups in the USSR has been arrested. Zviad Gamsakhurdia, a Georgian writer and translator, was picked up by police in Tbilisi, capital of the Georgian Republic, on April 7.

Gamsakhurdia has been active in many areas of protest. He has not only defended victims of the political repression but has been a prominent opponent of Russification in the Georgian Republic and helped expose top-level government corruption.

He wrote his doctoral thesis on the philosophy and religious views of Georgian national poet Rustaveli and has expressed a strong commitment to the preservation of monuments of Georgian history and culture. As a part-time official of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments, he has repeatedly demanded that the Kremlin rulers cease the destruction of ancient churches and monuments, including the practice of using the grounds of monuments as military firing ranges.

In May 1974, he was a founding member of the Initiative Group for Defense of Human Rights in the Georgian Republic, formed to defend arrested activists. The first political prisoner the Georgian Initiative Group defended was a woman who had been imprisoned because she helped expose the role of government and party figures in the theft of valuable church artifacts.¹

In May 1975, Gamsakhurdia began a Georgian samizdat journal called the *Golden Fleecce*. One of the items in its first issue was the speech made by Georgian writer Nogar Tsuleiskiri at a meeting of the Georgian Writers Union in which Tsuleiskiri opposed the authorities' moves to impose the Russian language on the non-Russian peoples in the USSR.

As a result of his protest activities, Gamsakhurdia and those associated with him became the object of numerous forms of police harassment and government reprisals. In July 1975, he lost his post as a lecturer on American literature and English language at Tbilisi University.

In September 1975, he issued a press statement documenting what appeared to be KGB efforts to poison him, his wife, and his wife's sister with lethal gas. He stated

that the symptoms they suffered bore remarkable similarity to those which caused the death of his father, the Georgian writer Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, in July 1975. He reported that KGB investigators had stated to friends of his being interrogated: "Break off all relations with Zviad Gamsakhurdia, because his days are numbered."²

Issue No. 42 of the samizdat journal *Chronicle of Current Events* describes an open letter Gamsakhurdia addressed to the Presidium of the Eighth Congress of Georgian Writers April 24, 1976. In it he stated that the official literature in Georgia is indifferent to the needs of the Georgian people. "Literature, unquestionably, should educate people with a sense of internationalism, but the internationalism our people are called on to observe is not a true internationalism but a mask for the egoistic interests of one people, known to all, who are trying in this way to swallow up the other peoples."

He protested that those who fight for the preeminence of the Georgian language and a full, objective presentation of Georgian history are accused of "exhibitions of nationalism." He quoted Lenin and prominent writers in the USSR to support his arguments in defense of Georgian national rights.

Gamsakhurdia, in this letter, also criticized the methods used to fight the corruption in the Georgian Republic: "Instead of corrections of the economic situation, there is repression which leaves essentially untouched the plunderers and bribetakers from 'the privileged caste,' while the official press fosters prejudice against Georgians by propagandizing the erroneous view that the moral decay prevalent in the USSR is centered among Georgians."

Gamsakhurdia was expelled from the Georgian Writers Union April 1, one week before his arrest. His wife, Manana Arkhradze, told reporters on April 15 that the KGB had evicted her and her children from their house in Tbilisi. She said a search had been conducted at the house the previous week.

Two other members of the Georgian Initiative Group, Merab Kostava and Viktor Riskhiladze, were also arrested April 7. Riskhiladze was released April 13 on the condition that he report to the police daily. □

1. *Chronicle of Current Events* No. 34 contained documents showing the theft to have been instigated by the wife of the former first secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist party, the head of the Georgian KGB, and other high-level officials.

2. "Soviet Union: Dirty Tricks in Georgia." *Index on Censorship*, Spring 1976. London. Pp. 73-75.

FROM OUR READERS

A reader in Jordan writes:

"In the March 7 *IP* article 'Pentagon's Real Reason for Stepping Up the Arms Race,' it says:

"Overall, world nuclear stockpiles represent the equivalent of 30,000 pounds of TNT—or about sixty 500-pound bombs—for every human being on earth."

"Am I reading this right? Do you mean that Carter has at his disposal enough nuclear power to bomb each person in the world sixty times with 500-pound batches of explosive material each time? I only weigh 100 pounds. Carter could kill me sixty times five times—thirty times, and every other person as well. Yet he still wants more fire power?"

"It's frightening. . . ."

A letter from Tokyo concerning a subscription renewal expresses appreciation for the regularity of Intercontinental Press, making it possible to follow the defense of political prisoners from week to week:

"I've been tracing and collecting information about political prisoners in the USSR. . . . we have a deep concern about the struggle of the minorities in the USSR."

The writer enclosed a copy of an article he had written on the basis of material that appeared in Intercontinental Press. It was published in Japanese.

A friend in Turkey says: "I want to follow INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, which contains sources of news, correct analysis and documents of interest to the socialist movement of the world. I also need information about the debate involving the PRT-ERP in Argentina."

"I have just sent you 100 dollars," a subscriber in Italy informs us, "for the following files of Intercontinental Press: 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970."

If you, too, are interested in obtaining complete volumes, write to our Business Office. The volumes are not bound, but we can tell where to send them for a first-rate job.

This request came from Ethiopia:

"I am very happy to see your press about the freedom struggle in Africa. Please send me sample copy and price of subscription."

Theodore Edwards's article "Mao Tse-tung in the Early Years," which appeared in Intercontinental Press last October 11 and 18 has been translated into Chinese and printed in the *October Review* (December 28, 1976, and February 10, 1977).

October Review is a Trotskyist monthly magazine published in Hong Kong.

"Thanks for regularly putting out a publication I can be proud to show to contacts, friends and co-workers," writes P. O'R. of Houston, Texas. "The articles on the attacks on undocumented workers and on Latin America have been very helpful. Those on South Africa are quite instructive to those of us who need to learn basic historical data as well as keep abreast of current developments.

"'Selections From the Left' has been a very positive and impressive addition to *IP*. I would like to see this section expanded to give more regular coverage to the Trotskyist publications in countries where political developments are fast-paced or where these publications reflect thinking on the problems under discussion in the world movement."

S. G., San Francisco, sends his thanks for a subscription renewal in advance of his "delinquent payment." He adds: "One of the issues (March 21) you enclosed which I missed during my subscription lapse features an article by one of my favorite writers—George Novack. Even the glossary following the article looks like absorbing reading all by itself."

Here are a few samples showing the present state of the art in mail deliveries:

"Help! I never received the February 7 *IP*! Is it the Healyites, the FBI, or the U.S.

Postal Service who is responsible?" asks C. S. of Seattle, Washington.

"At any rate," she continues, "please send it pronto or I shall die! I can't stand having 'holes' in my subscription, and from what I've heard, that particular issue is highly desirable. (Aren't they all?)"

C. G. H., Minneapolis, Minnesota, says: "Delivery by Pony Express would be faster! The January 24 issue was post-marked January 19. I got it February 9!!"

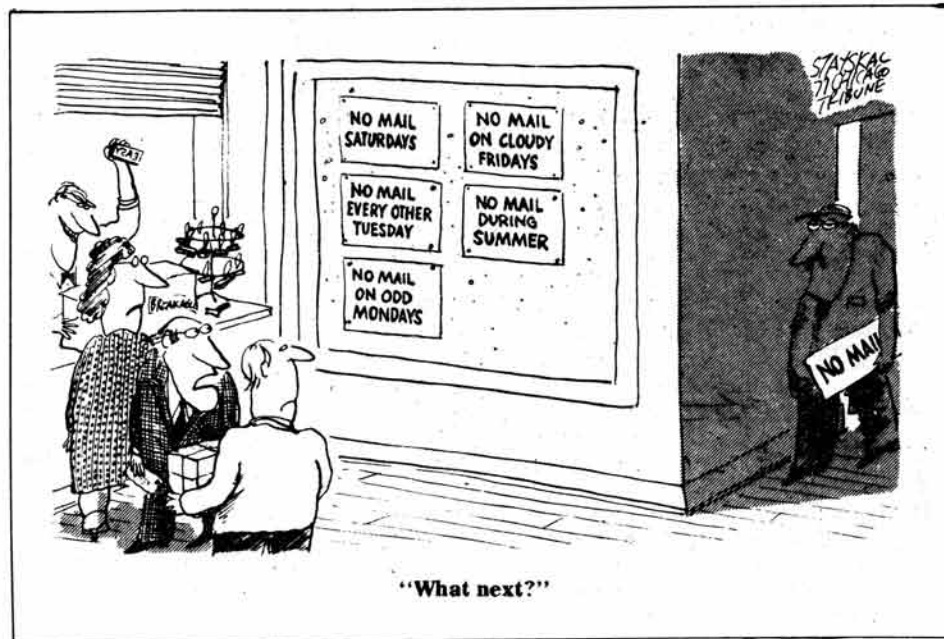
"Although I've been a subscriber to *IP* for a long time," writes P. L. of Panorama City, California, "I've somehow been lucky enough to get your magazine every week without major mishaps from the Post Office. My luck has run out. I'm missing the index issue of 1976 and numbers 2 and 5 of 1977."

Upon receipt of expiration notice No. 4, J. A. A., Gaspé, Canada, notified us that "this is the first notice that I have received. However, the sequence and delivery dates of *IP* are irregular, to say the least."

Don't give up hope. The Postal Service has plans to bring the state of the art to still higher levels.

Ernest Holsendolph in an April 19 *New York Times* article says that a government study commission has recommended "postal deliveries be cut to five days a week." No recommendation was made as to which day deliveries should be eliminated, but it may be worked out democratically. The Postal Service might "assign varying days without service according to the needs of different communities."

Stayskal's cartoon below suggests further possibilities. □



"What next?"

Stayskal/Chicago Tribune

Intercontinental Press