

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 15, No. 27

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July 18, 1977

75¢



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Behind the Coup in Pakistan

By Ernest Harsch

"The Bhutto regime is ended."

With these words, Pakistani Chief of Staff Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq announced in a nationwide broadcast July 5 that the military had seized power, deposing and arresting Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

According to unofficial reports, the coup began with a round of arrests during the night and was completed by 7:30 a.m., with no reported resistance. Bhutto and about forty other political figures, including cabinet ministers and leaders of the opposition Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), were taken into "temporary protective custody."

General Zia dissolved the national and provincial assemblies, imposed martial law throughout the country, suspended some provisions of the constitution, and banned all political activity. A four-man military council composed of Zia and the heads of the army, navy, and air force was set up to administer martial law. Zia warned that "if any citizen disturbs law and order in the country, he will also be severely dealt with."

In a series of martial-law regulations issued July 10, Zia outlawed "strikes, agitation or political activity of any kind in education institutions" and barred all activities connected with trade unions. Existing labor contracts remained valid, however. In a gesture to rightist religious figures, the general also reintroduced traditional Islamic criminal punishments, such as amputating the hands of "looters" or whipping anyone "intending to insult the modesty of any woman."

To give the new military regime some civilian cover, President Fazal Elahi Choudhry was allowed to retain his largely ceremonial post. The chief justices of the provincial high courts were appointed governors of the country's four provinces, and civil servants sympathetic to the military were installed in key posts in the administration.

Referring to the mass demonstrations and strikes against the Bhutto regime that have rocked Pakistan since the March 7 general elections, General Zia declared shortly after the coup that the army had "watched the political wranglings in the country for a long time." He noted, "The elections in March failed to satisfy the people, because it was suspected that the poll was rigged."

Attempting to give the impression that the military had acted in defense of

"democracy," Zia claimed that his administration was only a caretaker regime aimed at ensuring "free and just elections," which he promised would be held in October.

He indicated the real reason for the coup, however, when he stated July 8 that its goal was "to defuse the situation," that is, bring to a halt the mass mobilizations and head off the possibility of an even greater upsurge.

The current unrest in Pakistan began within days of the March elections, in which Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party claimed to have won 163 seats in the 200-seat National Assembly. The PNA, an alliance of nine opposition parties, charged Bhutto with massive vote fraud and called demonstrations and strikes to press its demands for Bhutto's resignation and for new elections under military and judicial supervision.

Although the leadership of the PNA is dominated by rightist forces, including former military officers and Islamic religious figures, its protests against the Bhutto regime won mass support. Broad sectors of the Pakistani population, including the working class, poured into the streets to express their dissatisfaction with the Bhutto regime, particularly with its repressive policies. As the ferment deepened, other grievances were also raised. The PNA leadership sought to utilize these protests for its own political ends, but the upsurge soon escaped its control. (For an account of the development of the mass protests, see p. 825.)

In early April, more than twenty major unions united to form the Pakistan Labor Alliance (PLA). The PLA organized a general strike in Karachi April 19 that totally paralyzed that key industrial city. It called a countrywide general strike for April 22.

It was at that point, with the massive mobilization of the Pakistani working class, that Bhutto declared martial law in the three largest cities—Karachi, Lahore, and Hyderabad. The top military leadership expressed support to the Bhutto regime, at least formally, and moved in to help crush the upsurge. Within two months of the first protests, an estimated 300 demonstrators had been gunned down by the police, paramilitary forces, and army, and another 50,000 were arrested.

General Zia has revealed that the military hierarchy had already prepared a contingency plan for the coup shortly after

the beginning of the mass unrest. But the military was clearly reluctant to play its hand prematurely and waited to see if the Bhutto regime was capable of containing and defusing the protests on its own.

In an effort to do just that, Bhutto agreed June 14 to hold new elections. He lifted martial law and began releasing arrested protesters. In return, the PNA leaders dropped their demand for Bhutto's resignation. Negotiations between Bhutto and the PNA were initiated.

The talks were successful in defusing the unrest for a while, but by the end of June there were signs of a revival. A number of armed clashes in Lahore and elsewhere erupted between supporters of Bhutto and of the PNA. In the North-West Frontier Province, 36,000 government employees struck over economic demands. The PNA leaders themselves came under pressure from their supporters, who continued to demand Bhutto's ouster.

The day before the coup, the central council of the PNA rejected Bhutto's latest election proposal. PNA leaders had earlier threatened to call more protests if the talks broke down. Explaining the possible consequences of a renewed upsurge, General Zia said July 8, "It would have been terrible. It would have come to civil war, a free-for-all. There were so many weapons on both sides, and the people were prepared mentally."

Correspondent Lewis M. Simons reported in the July 6 issue of the *Washington Post* that the officers were particularly concerned about the effects of renewed unrest on the military itself. The army has been under considerable pressure since troops were called out to fire on civilian protesters, especially in Lahore, the capital of Punjab. Most Pakistani troops are Punjabis.

"Ultimately," Simons reported, "the army decided to seize control rather than see its ranks shattered by internal dissent."

Although General Zia has repeatedly promised to hold new elections, there is some skepticism about the pledge being carried out. But after months of mass protests against Bhutto's repressive rule, the generals could encounter stiff opposition if they decide to hang on to power. General Zia is not unaware that a mass upsurge similar to the one against Bhutto toppled military dictator Ayub Khan in 1969.

In any case, Pakistan's ruling class faces considerable difficulties in governing the country, whether through a military or a civilian regime. The urban populations have gone through important political experiences in the past few months, and their restiveness could be further heightened by the deteriorating economic situation. Unemployment and inflation are high and production has dropped by between 25 and 50 percent since March. □

FBI's 'Liaison' With SAVAK

By Susan Wald

An FBI memo made public July 1 by the American Civil Liberties Union has confirmed that SAVAK, the Iranian secret police force, operates in the United States in collaboration with the FBI.

The memo was obtained by the ACLU's client, Nasser Afshar, publisher of the *Iran Free Press*, under the Freedom of Information Act. The memo summarizes a telephone call from the ACLU to the FBI, explaining that Afshar had evidence that SAVAK planned to assassinate him.

Afshar, the memo reports, learned that Mansur Rafizadeh, head of SAVAK in the United States, had been present at a meeting where plans for Afshar's "execution" were discussed.

The memo concludes by noting in a matter-of-fact way that "Mansur Rafizadeh is the principal representative of SAVAK in the U.S. and is a foreign liaison source of the NYO [New York FBI office]."

The FBI memo is only the latest evidence of SAVAK-CIA-FBI collaboration in intimidating opponents of the shah living in the United States. A 1973 memo from Richard Helms, former CIA director and ambassador to Iran at the time, reported a meeting with Iranian officials concerning Nasser Afshar. The Americans assured the Iranians that "we have been exploring for some time whether action could be taken against *Iran Free Press*, but without success so far."

In August 1976 Reza Baraheni, an outspoken critic of the shah, publicized threats against his life.

Baraheni had been warned by Prof. Richard Cottom, a specialist on Iran at the University of Pittsburgh, that SAVAK was sending assassination teams to arrange "muggings" of Iranian dissidents.

In an interview in the July 15 issue of the American Trotskyist weekly the *Militant*, Baraheni said that FBI agents had questioned him twice about the threats on his life.

"Their coming to my house was not really to protect me," he said. "I don't know for what purpose they would have come, other than to find out whether I knew some of the things that they knew already."

Baraheni said that he thought that cooperation between American and Iranian political police had been going on ever since the 1953 CIA-sponsored coup that brought the present shah to power.

"All the files should be opened," Baraheni said. "And all the names should be given out. And the extent of the cooperation between the FBI and the Iranian secret police should be laid open to the public." □

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Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New York each Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August.

Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at New York, N.Y.

Editor: Joseph Hansen.

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Technical Staff: Paul Deveze, Ellen Fischer, Larry Ingram, Arthur Lobman, James M. Morgan. Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Intercontinental Press is published by the 408 Printing and Publishing Corporation, 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Offices at 408 West Street, New York, N.Y.

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Repercussions of the Kremlin's Attack on Carrillo

By Gerry Foley

In its first issue in July, the Soviet weekly magazine *Novoye Vremya* ("New Times") carried a follow-up on its June 24 article, which had escalated the Kremlin's public attack on the "Eurocommunist" trend, represented most outspokenly by Spanish CP General Secretary Santiago Carrillo.

Although the June 24 article was ostensibly directed against Carrillo's book "Eurocomunismo" y Estado, the arguments were formulated broadly enough to apply to all the big West European and Japanese CPs that are trying to disassociate themselves from Stalinist dictatorship and appear more independent of Moscow. In its second attack, *Novoye Vremya* focused its fire more narrowly on Carrillo in an attempt to separate him from the other Eurocommunist leaderships, as well as isolate him within the leadership of his own party.

Washington Post correspondent Kevin Klose reported July 6 from Moscow that *Novoye Vremya* denied that its criticisms were aimed at the Spanish CP in general or the other West European CPs. Klose quoted it as saying:

Santiago Carrillo has been engaged in a crude, open campaign against the Soviet Union for a number of years. Practically for three or four years there has not been a single speech by Carrillo in which he did not accuse the Soviet Union and the Soviet people in general of every unexisting sin. Things have gone recently so far (that he) calls for struggle against the order existing in our country.

Actually representatives of both the French and Italian CPs have presented ideas very similar to those in Carrillo's book. However, in the case of these parties, the task of saying such things has been left to intellectuals, whose statements can always be partially or fully disavowed by the central political leadership.

Carrillo, on the other hand, has taken full responsibility for his party's Eurocommunist turn and challenged the Kremlin leadership's political authority on some points. He is clearly the one the Kremlin has to slap down if it is to keep the Western CPs from going too far in their attempts to disassociate themselves from the Stalinist dictatorship.

The Spanish CP leader obviously anticipated that Moscow would attempt to isolate him. He moved to counter this by getting the party leadership as a whole to sign a resolution responding sharply to the *Novoye Vremya* attack. It said, in part:

After publication of the article on "Eurocommunism" in *Novoye Vremya*, which was carried by the official news agency TASS, the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party considers it necessary to state that although the attacks contained in this article were directed against our general secretary, Santiago Carrillo, personally . . . they were in fact aimed at the entire Spanish Communist Party and the leaders who today give political direction to all the Communist parties that follow an orientation of a democratic road to socialism and socialism in democracy.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain considers that the time has come to eliminate from relations among Communist and workers parties the method of substituting anathemas and condemnations for scientific analyses. This method is utterly alien to the spirit of Marxism. Such methods are among the reasons that the so-called "existing socialism" in countries such as the Soviet Union cannot serve as an ideal model for a socialist society.

The Spanish CP Central Committee resolution was introduced as follows:

On the proposal of Comrades Dolores Ibarruri, chairman of the PCE, Ignacio Gallego, Francisco Romero Marín, José Sandoval, José Serran, Félix Pérez, José Gros, Irina Falcón, and Gabriel Aron Julio, who lived long years in the Soviet Union, in whose defense some of them participated actively during the Second World War, the expanded plenum of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, meeting in Madrid on June 25 and 26, unanimously adopted the following statement, with only one abstention.

In publishing the text of the resolution, *Avge*, the daily paper of the semi-excommunicated "interior" faction of the Greek CP, said in a note that "it is said that the single abstention was by Carrillo himself." In an interview in the July 3 issue of the Belgrade weekly *Nin*, Carrillo's right-hand man, Manuel Azcárate, said that the abstaining vote was cast by a delegate from Soria Province, "who gave no reason for his vote, nor did we ask him for one."

In the London *Sunday Times* of July 3, Tim Brown reported speculation that the abstaining vote came from Marcelino Camacho, head of the Workers Commissions, the CP-controlled union organization. *New York Times* correspondent James M. Markham has repeatedly portrayed Camacho as a leading representative of a hard-line Kremlin-loyalist current, but without offering evidence for this other than noting that when the CP labor leader visited the USSR last August he pronounced it "a model of political and economic equality."

In fact, in its polemic against Carrillo, *Novoye Vremya* cited similar past statements by the Spanish CP head to show that he had undergone "a dizzying evolution" to the right in the past year.

The Spanish CP leader who has been singled out by the Soviet press as a model of loyalty is Dolores Ibarruri, whom Carrillo apparently got to sponsor the Central Committee resolution condemning the Kremlin's attack on him.

Having lined up the party leadership publicly behind him, Carrillo pressed his counterattack at a news conference.

A reporter asked the Spanish CP general secretary if he thought the attack on him had anything to do with Brezhnev's rise to a still more commanding position in the Soviet hierarchy, with his assuming the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Carrillo answered:

I am not in a position to know that. But what I can say is that in Moscow Stalinism never died. I am not talking about the most tragic forms, about what existed in Stalin's time. I am referring to the dictatorship of a group over all the citizens.

Taking up the Kremlin's accusation that he was trying to counterpose West Europe to the USSR and the East European countries and thus "perpetuate the division of the continent," Carrillo said:

What I do not understand is how they [the Soviet leaders] can prefer a West Europe in NATO, which is under the control of the U.S., to the independent Europe we seek. This leads me to think that the existence of an Atlantic Pact Europe justifies the existence of another Europe, controlled by the Soviet Union. I am convinced that the policy we propose does not correspond to the interests of the USSR or the U.S.A.

Our proposal today is only this: The countries controlled by NATO should become independent, but the Warsaw Pact should also be ended. We want to end the two blocs, and for the East European countries also to win their independence. We do not demand independence only for West Europe. We demand independence for every country.

The Stalinist leadership most interested in promoting the independence of the East European states, the Tito team in Yugoslavia, was quick to take up Carrillo's defense. The article on the *Novoye Vremya* attack in the July 3 issue of the Yugoslav weekly *Nin* began by saying:

The attack on the Spanish CP in some respects is similar to that on the Yugoslav CP three decades ago. The theme is different, but the accusations are almost the same—splitting the

Communist movement, anti-Sovietism, bourgeois deviationism, errors about being able to follow one's own road to socialism, opposing the Socialist Commonwealth. . . . Is this an attempt to split the Spanish CP and once again use the method of condemnations in relations among Communist parties, and on the very anniversary of the Berlin conference of Communist parties?

The Berlin meeting confirmed the right of every party to "independence" within its own sphere. This has been interpreted by the West European CPs as meaning that they can pursue their own interests, even if this requires stepping on the toes of the Soviet bureaucrats. On the other hand, the Soviet bureaucrats have interpreted it as meaning that whatever adjustments the West European and Japanese CPs may have to make to the political pressures in their own countries, this cannot involve any criticism of Stalinist dictatorship in the USSR and East Europe. In the Kremlin's eyes, that constitutes "interference in the internal affairs of sister parties."

Unfortunately for the Kremlin, the Western CPs have difficulty in getting people to believe that they are committed to defending democratic rights in their own countries unless they oppose the suppression of democratic rights in the USSR and East Europe.

The Yugoslav Stalinists also do not want to see the "independence" of the West European CPs lead to "sister parties" criticizing Stalinist dictatorship. Their own conscience is far from clean as regards the suppression of democratic rights. But it is proving impossible to separate the national and international spheres.

The Yugoslavs have taken special note of the response to the Eurocommunist trend by the state leaderships in their own region that are most tightly subordinated to the Kremlin:

Once again the Bulgarian party paper *Rabotnichesko Delo* has declared war on "anti-Sovietism" . . . and linked anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism to "nationalistic tendencies."

It said: "We must consider unscientific and un-Marxist all attempts to defend national models of socialism, because this means challenging the real socialism that exists in the USSR and thereby the principles of scientific Communism."

Nin also referred to a speech by Czechoslovak CP leader Vasil Bilák to a congress of journalists:

It was unequivocal. All those who defend the idea that they can build socialism in their own way were linked directly with the forces of imperialism. It was the latter, he specified, who "fear the growing influence of the countries of existing socialism."

In the same issue, *Nin* published an interview with Manuel Azcárate, a member of the Spanish CP Central Committee.

Azcárate stressed the similarities between the Kremlin's attack on Carrillo and its excommunication of Tito in 1948:

We Spanish Communists are not surprised that Moscow cannot or will not understand the Eurocommunist tendency, but we did not believe that it would resort to such attacks and to this kind of anathema. . . .

To be sure, there have been similar incidents in the past. And many were more serious. One of



CARRILLO: Vexes Kremlin bosses.

these was Moscow's anathema against Tito in 1948. We cannot forget, and the memory of this is very painful for us, that we supported that monstrous attack on Yugoslavia. But we thought that this sort of thing . . . would not be repeated, because we thought it had ended with Stalin's death and the condemnations of Stalinism. But we have not yet seen the last of it.

Azcárate expressed outrage:

The kind of accusations this article raised against our party are impermissible. These are unfounded and tendentious accusations. The positions of our party have been falsified. The Communist Party of Spain is for peace in Europe and for the process of détente and the strengthening of European security. But in this article, we are accused of supporting the division of Europe into military blocs.

Azcárate said that his party intended to distribute the *Novoye Vremya* article in a pamphlet with its own commentary and asked:

Why don't they [the *Novoye Vremya* editors] do the same. Why don't they publish the Carrillo book, why don't they acquaint their readers with its contents?

Like the Soviet bureaucracy, the Spanish CP leaders have been guilty in the past of falsifying the views of critics and preventing party members from considering them objectively.

During the Spanish Civil War, the CP

leadership not only anathematized those who criticized them from the left, but helped Soviet secret police liquidate them. Azcárate did not say whether the memory of this pained the Spanish CP leaders as much as their support to the Kremlin's campaign against Tito, who has now become an important ally in their attempts to ward off being excommunicated by Moscow.

Nonetheless, Azcárate, like the rest of the Western CP leaders, could not help but be all too familiar with the poisonous effects of the kind of falsification and slander exemplified in the June 24 *Novoye Vremya* article.

Such methods in the past have created an atmosphere of obscurantism and inquisitional terror to which anyone could fall victim, even the most respected leaders or the most devoted and self-sacrificing activists. When the Kremlin directly or indirectly launched an anathema, no defense was possible. The most absurd charges were accepted as unchallengeable.

Totalitarian grand inquisitions created an atmosphere in the nonruling CPs similar to the all-pervading terror of the Stalin regime. Just as the top Kremlin bureaucrats took advantage of the death of the psychopathic dictator to try to impose some limits on such methods to assure their own personal security, Western CP leaders are anxious to establish some minimum rational norms in their own parties.

In parties such as the Greek and Spanish, which have experienced decades of illegality and had a large percentage of their cadres and leaders in exile in the USSR and the East European countries, the experience with Stalinist inquisitionism has been particularly bitter. For example, the book *Gia Ena Elleniko Sosialismo* ("For a Greek Socialism") by Petros Antaios, written in defense of the Greek CP (interior), begins by recounting the following episode:

One night in the spring of 1954, we were listening to "Kouti," the party's illegal station. We heard a shocking announcement by the leadership: Nikos Ploubides, member of the Political Bureau, was "a spy, a paid agent of American imperialism. . . ."

This was shattering. A picture came to mind: A pale, thin man with a sunken chest. "Dad," as they called him, was listening intently to the young comrades speaking. It was a meeting of the Central Committee of the old Greek Communist Youth in February 1943. It was the last plenum . . . after twenty years of struggle. The decision was made to dissolve the organization. All were moved. But the end of this youth organization was the beginning of the United Pan-Hellenic Youth Organization. In historical perspective, we saw coming out of that little house in Kallitheia, the young people's army of freedom and civilization, the organization that in crucial hours became identified with a generation of Greeks.

"Dad" listened closely to every dry, squeaky little voice. Without taking his eyes from the speaker, he mechanically took a little bottle of

brandy out of his pocket, he held it clutched in his fist and raised it to his mouth. The bottle became reddened with blood. . . .

This man of life-long sacrifice, who in the grimmest days after the new defeat maintained the party's illegal center in Athens . . . was a spy. Like many, many other comrades at that time, he found himself betrayed.

On August 14 that year, the bullets of a firing squad pierced his tubercular chest. . . .

The civil war state had executed an enemy. . . . That was the law of the class jungle. . . . But there was something that was not part of this law, because it was not part of this "natural" bestiality. It was an unnatural monstrosity. What most weighed on Nikos Ploubides and on us was his moral executioner, which was the Political Bureau of the Greek Communist Party. . . . It carried out other such executions, not all of which were limited to the moral sphere.

Antaios noted:

There were no leaders of the Greek CP who in their time were not accused of being "spies" or "provocateurs," "opportunists," "liquidationists," "anti-Sovieteers," "antileadership," "rightist," "leftist," "suspicious characters."

Many paid with their lives for these characterizations, which for decades were thrown around in the party in such an intolerable and criminal way.

On this history Antaios based his appeal for support for the semi-excommunicated "interior" faction:

Today, living reality, the daily refutations of the dogmas and schemas, the crude intervention in the internal affairs of our movement, will help many comrades, including those still bound by the symbols and habit, by obscurantism and distortion of the truth, to turn the fatal feeling of having been betrayed . . . into an all-powerful desire for a party that will not betray them.

Fear of this Stalinist tradition was also an important factor in the struggle between the Eurocommunist majority and the old-line faction of Kremlin worshippers in the Swedish Communist Party. After the minority faction split in late February, the majority leadership's explanation of why it could not accept the demands of the old-line Stalinists was featured in an article on the split by Peter Lodenius in the March 6 issue of *Kansan Uutiset*, the daily paper of the Finnish CP's Eurocommunist majority:

The party's deficiencies could not be corrected by the medicine proposed by this clique. This kind of medicine has become outdated in our party, as it has in the sister parties that struggle in the same conditions. The kind of party the clique wanted would be one without independence . . . and without internal discussion, without its own analysis of Swedish conditions. . . . It would be a party, which, lacking the capacity for Marxist analysis, would be inclined to conspiracy theories.

Unfortunately, in his interview with *Nin*, Azcárate indicated that the Spanish CP leaders think that they can defend themselves against the Kremlin's attacks by using some Stalinist methods themselves:

After 1968, we expelled the pro-Soviet faction of Lister and García. Today there are no such factions in our party and we think that there cannot be. The time is past when Moscow had its own party in every country.

The fact is that the Kremlin can still recruit new factions in the same way that it won Carrillo when he was the leader of a Social Democratic youth movement torn between Stalinism and Trotskyism—through the power and wealth it derives from ruling a giant state.

For the time being, Carrillo seems to have held his position by counterattacking with some powerful political arguments. In the long run, he could only resist the power of the Kremlin by deepening and extending his criticisms of Stalinist dictatorship, by educating the party ranks about Stalinism and building an incorruptible leadership. In order to do that he would have to break completely with Stalinism and his own past, not just on international questions, but in every sphere of party work.

The danger to Carrillo is indicated by the wavering of the biggest Eurocommunist party, the Italian CP.

Immediately after the publication of the *Novoye Vremya* article, the Italian Stalinist party sent a three-man delegation to Moscow. After meeting with Soviet CP representatives a joint communiqué was released that consisted entirely of generalities. On returning to Rome July 4, the head of the Italian delegation, Giancarlo Pajetta, did not go further than saying that throughout the meeting the Italians had stressed that the *Novoye Vremya* article did not "facilitate discussion."

A somewhat less official account of the negotiations was provided for the benefit of Italian CP members in the form of an interview in the party paper *l'Unità* with another member of the delegation, Emanuele Marcheluso.

Marcheluso said that the Soviets had promised that there would be a "more objective" discussion of Carrillo's views.

One of the best-known representatives of the old-line Stalinist current in the Italian CP, Ambrogio Donini, was quoted in the July 10 issue of the Rome weekly magazine *L'Espresso* as saying that he was more or less satisfied with the party leadership's attitude:

I think that the PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano—Italian Communist Party] cannot be excommunicated, because the ranks do not want to break with the Soviet Union, and so the leadership has moved very cautiously. . . . I don't think a confrontation is possible between the PCI and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The leadership has differentiated itself from Carrillo. . . .

There has not been a confrontation between the two leaderships, although Carrillo, whose positions are very clear, has been trying to provoke this for two years. Finally someone has answered him. What Carrillo says is unaccepta-

ble. The PCI has never maintained that socialism does not exist in the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, in his interview in *l'Unità*, Marcheluso stressed that the Italian CP delegation did not give way to Soviet insistence on his party dropping its criticisms of the lack of democracy in the USSR and East Europe:

The representatives of the PCI rejected the thesis of the Soviets that the question of dissidents in the USSR and the other socialist countries is an "artificial" one injected to obstruct détente. The Italian Communists oppose the exploitation of this question for propagandistic purposes, as well as raising such questions to obstruct contacts between East and West. They think, however, that this problem does exist and is a result of the fact that the problems of developing democracy remain unsolved in the USSR.

On Carrillo, Marcheluso said that the Soviet representatives claimed that the *Novoye Vremya* article was aimed only at that part of the book that attacked the Soviet Union:

We replied that they had an indisputable right to answer, but that it was not a response to this part of the book when they characterized Carrillo as an "enemy of socialism" and when they wrote that the "interpretation he gives to Eurocommunism corresponds entirely to the interests of imperialism." This was an unacceptable condemnation.

The Soviets assured us that they had no intention of sharpening the polemics with the Spanish CP, or of turning against the other West European CPs.

So, while the Italian CP leadership tried to sidestep the confrontation between the Kremlin and Carrillo, it has not publicly retreated from its positions. It could not do that without suffering heavy losses. However, the fact that the leaders of the big nonruling CPs have not been capable of closing ranks against the Kremlin's attack on Carrillo and firmly denouncing such Stalinist anathemas opens the way for increasing pressure from Moscow. □

Huey Newton Jailed

Black Panther Party leader Huey Newton returned to the United States July 3 after three years of exile in Cuba. Newton fled the United States in 1974 after being framed-up on charges of murder and assault in Oakland, California.

Before surrendering to police at San Francisco airport, Newton told 500 supporters who had gathered to greet him:

"I want everyone to know I have not killed anyone. I believe I will be acquitted although it will be difficult to get a fair trial."

On July 5 an Oakland municipal judge set Newton's bail at \$100,000 pending a decision on the Panther leader's request for release on his own recognizance.

Ecevit Ousted After Winning Turkish Elections

By Gerry Foley

Although his party was the victor in the early June elections, managing, among other things, to hold a rally of almost half a million persons in central Istanbul in defiance of neofascist threats and a police ban, Bülent Ecevit was forced July 3 to abandon his attempt to form a government.

Suleyman Demirel, leader of the rightist "National Front" coalition that suffered heavy losses in the elections, managed to hold all the right-wing party deputies together in a solid bloc against Ecevit. Only four deputies defected, giving Ecevit 217 votes in parliament, as against 229 for the rightists, including the neofascist Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP—National Action Party) of Colonel Alpaslan Türkeş.

Demirel's success raised the possibility of a return to a National Front government. However, this perspective evoked little enthusiasm in the international capitalist press.

The London *Economist* commented:

The defeat in a confidence vote of Mr Bülent Ecevit's government opens up the bleak prospect of another spell of indecisive and ineffective government for Turkey.

New York Times correspondent Steven V. Roberts wrote:

According to reports from Turkey, the country's powerful military establishment is distressed by the prospect of another ineffectual government. . . .

With the support of the majority of the urban population and the overwhelming majority of the workers, Ecevit is the only politician in the country who could give a government credibility for the decisive masses of the country. He was clearly willing to use his influence over the Turkish working people for the benefit of the capitalists.

In the June 30 *Le Monde*, correspondent Artun Unsal wrote:

Ecevit promised above all to restore order and peace in the streets and on the campuses. He indicated that his government would do everything possible to preserve peace and national unity and to achieve social justice. The program contains no promises such as to worry business circles. It does not even include abolishing Articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish penal code, which ban the formation of a Communist party. Nor does it include outlawing lockouts, although Ecevit promised this during the campaign.

In the June 23 *Le Monde*, Unsal noted that some big capitalists seemed to be pushing for an Ecevit government:

. . . Sabancı, one of the biggest Turkish



ECEVIT: A losing winner.

industrialists, said June 21 that "deputies should not act like party politicians but as the elected representatives of the nation as a whole."

The industrialist's words seemed to be an encouragement to deputies to cross party lines to support Ecevit.

The main issue between the rightist parties and Ecevit appeared to be over the question of the neofascist parallel police operations against radical students and trade unionists. More than a hundred persons have been killed already this year by the Gray Wolves, the commando organization of the MHP.

Such operations were winked at by the Demirel government, in which MHP leader Türkeş was a deputy premier. Demirel put the blame for the violence on Ecevit, claiming that he released "dangerous Communists" in the amnesty for political prisoners granted while he was premier in 1974. Since the MHP increased its votes in the elections, it is impossible for a rightist coalition to get a majority without it.

In the midst of the parliamentary negotiations, a gang of three rightists opened fire June 20 on students in downtown Istanbul, wounding four persons.

Orhan Eynboglü, the minister of state in Ecevit's provisional cabinet, promised on June 24 that public officials who put their "political convictions above their duty" would be investigated. This clearly referred to police who tolerate or encourage the rightist killers.

The Western capitalist press has tended to focus its objections to a rightist govern-

ment on the chauvinism of the MHP and the Milli Selamet Partisi (MSP—National Salvation Party), arguing that including these parties in a ruling coalition would prevent any government from "realistically" facing the problems of the country, such as the need for a settlement of the Cyprus question.

In an editorial July 5, *Le Monde* wrote:

When the followers of Colonel Türkeş dream of the grandeur of a Pan-Turkish empire of Turan, of rescuing the Turkish-speaking populations of China and the USSR, they are appealing to unrealistic yearnings. When Erbakan [MSP] called for, and got, the Ministry of Industry for his party and drew up plans for overly ambitious development of heavy industry, in which a mosque would be built to go along with every factory, he reflected the aspirations that have not been able really to adjust to the idea of a European future.

At the same time, *Le Monde* noted:

These two small parties represent the strong current of nationalist and religious reaction to which the leader of the Justice Party [AP—Adalet Partisi] made spectacular concessions during his campaign. Didn't he appear on the platform carrying a Koran wrapped in the Turkish flag?

Nonetheless, it was Ecevit himself who led the most chauvinistic operation in recent Turkish history, the occupation of almost half of Cyprus.

Demirel's Adalet Partisi has been the historically more proimperialist of the big bourgeois parties. In its periods of power, it has been particularly friendly to foreign investment, moving in the direction of dismantling the controls on foreign capital that resulted from the national revolution led by Kemal Atatürk. This process went further and has been more long lasting than similar ones in other colonial and semicolonial countries, and the foreign capitalists operating in Turkey still chafe under the restrictions it has imposed on them.

The most important divisions in the Turkish bourgeoisie now apparently center on how to deal with the growing radicalization among the workers and broad petty-bourgeois layers. The fact that the rightist parties held firm against permitting Ecevit to form a liberal government indicates that important sections of the ruling class are afraid of even temporarily granting more democratic rights and relaxing intimidation of the mass movements.

On the other hand, it is dangerous for the bourgeoisie to continue to rely on police violence and fascist gang terror to hold the radicalization in check.

In its editorial July 5, *Le Monde* recommended a Demirel-Ecevit coalition as the only viable governmental solution.

Auge, the paper of the Greek Communist Party ("interior") reported July 6:

The contacts yesterday between President Korutürk, Ecevit, and in particular Turkish army head General Sancar, have created a sensation

among political observers in the Turkish capital.

According to *Cumhuriyet*, these meetings were not unrelated to an awareness of the difficulties—and the dangers—of returning to a National Front government. Nor were they unrelated to the attempts to bring together Ecevit and Demirel to form a coalition, or to secure Ecevit's backing for a Demirel government.

Such cooperation between Ecevit and Demirel could be expected to prove difficult. The differences between their two parties reached the point in the electoral campaign that the rightist tried to stop his liberal challenger from holding a public rally by warning him that if he appeared there, he would risk assassination by

“Communist terrorist organizations.”

The main price for such a deal would have to be paid by Ecevit's supporters. It remains to be seen whether the masses of workers and urban working people who voted for him will accept postponement of their demands for democratic rights and an end to fascist gang terror. □

Carter Whips Up the Doomsday Race

The Neutron Bomb, 'MX,' and Mark-12A

By Fred Murphy

“We want to deter attack and defend territory without destroying what we want to save,” said a top Pentagon official July 7. He was referring to U.S. plans to arm NATO battlefield missiles and artillery with “enhanced radiation weapons,” or neutron bombs, within the next eighteen months.

These warheads are designed to kill living things through the release of massive quantities of high-energy neutrons. At the same time, they do far less damage to buildings and other property than do the present generation of nuclear weapons.

The editors of the *Wall Street Journal* praised this development July 8. They applauded “the thrust of technology . . . toward more discriminating weapons—ones tailored to particular tasks and able to accomplish military missions with less damage to innocent bystanders, or for that matter buildings.” At the same time, they deplored the “anti-technology bias so evident in the neutron bomb debate.”

The Soviet government made its first statement on the new weapon July 9. The Soviet news agency TASS said “development of this and other new types of weapons for mass annihilation can only complicate the international situation and bring about a new and extremely dangerous round of the arms race.”

The Soviet commentator took Carter to task for considering such a lethal bomb: “How can one pose as a champion of human rights and at the same time brandish the neutron bomb that threatens the lives of millions of people?”

Moscow also scored Carter's decision to forgo the B-1 bomber in favor of arming older B-52 planes with the super-accurate cruise missile. On June 10 a *Pravda* commentator lamented “the oblivion of the good things that were achieved” under détente “at the cost of so much effort.” A July 6 commentary in the government newspaper *Izvestia* accused Washington of



Herblock/Washington Post

violating the 1972 arms limitation agreement signed by Nixon and Brezhnev.

On the other hand, Carter is getting some more advice from the erstwhile proponents of the B-1 bomber, which he considered less “cost efficient” than the cruise missile. On July 6, Paul Nitze, who heads up a group of superhawks called the “Committee on the Present Danger,” held a news conference in which he said that the MX missile “may well be the next important issue” in the arms debate.

The MX would carry up to twelve 200-kiloton hydrogen bombs. Rather than standing stationary in a silo like the currently deployed U.S. missiles, the MX would be mobile, buried in trenches from ten to twenty miles long. It is also considered far more accurate than U.S. missiles now in place.

Carter has proposed “only” \$135 million in research and development funds for the MX in next year's budget. The air force wants the figure increased to \$1 billion in 1979 appropriations. Eventually the Pentagon wants about \$20 billion to deploy 300 MX missiles by 1984.

Putting the MX into production would violate a provision of the current Washington-Moscow arms accord, which stipulates that “each party undertakes not to use deliberate concealment measures which impede verification by national technical means of compliance.”

Another new weapons system is already in production. In October the air force will begin equipping its Minuteman III missiles with the Mark-12A warhead. The Pentagon claims that these have the explosive power and accuracy to destroy Soviet missiles in their silos. Dr. Jeremy Stone of the Federation of American Scientists has warned that the Mark-12A will give the United States a “first strike” capability, thus greatly accelerating the arms race. □

French Flag Hauled Down in Djibouti

The Republic of Djibouti became Africa's newest state June 27, ending 115 years of direct French colonial rule. The country's government is headed by President Hassan Gouled, who was elected by the Chamber of Deputies June 24.

The tiny nation of 300,000 overlooks the Bab el Mendeb Strait, a strategic waterway that connects the Red Sea to the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. It has no army, less than one square mile of arable land, and its economy rests primarily on commerce through the free port of Djibouti.

France will maintain a garrison of 6,500 troops and continue to provide about \$142 million a year in aid to the new republic, according to a June 27 Associated Press dispatch.

Pakistan—Rise of the Mass Movement

The demonstrations and strikes that swept Pakistan from the March 7 general elections until the recent military coup were among the largest in the country's history. Originally called to protest the widespread vote fraud carried out by Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party, the actions grew into a massive upsurge against the entire repressive regime.

The development of the upsurge and the forces involved in it have been analyzed by a "special correspondent" from Pakistan, whose report appeared in the June 4 issue of the *Economic and Political Weekly*, published in Bombay, India.

According to the author, there were "three distinct tendencies" evident during the conflict. One was the attempt of the regime itself to retain power through the use of election rigging and massive repression. The second was the campaign by the opposition Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), "led largely by the orthodox parties," to unseat Bhutto and establish its control over the mass movement.

"Third," the writer said, "and most crucially, there has grown a largely spontaneous nationwide uprising of historic proportions, which (a) has not necessarily been loyal to the orthodox parties; (b) has had the appearance of being led by the PNA because of the extreme repression and subjective weaknesses of the Left; and (c) was beginning belatedly to acquire organisational unity when the martial law was enforced specifically to suppress it."

The upsurge began in Karachi in March and then spread to the interior of the provinces of Punjab and Sindh, as well as to the city of Lahore:

It is indicative of the general orientation of the spontaneous mass movement that, just as it culminated in the total strike in Karachi city, it had started also with a strike of the dockworkers in Karachi ports. Early arrests of key PNA leaders did not make much difference to the intensity of the protest movement precisely because, in numerous actions such as the general strikes of the second and fourth weeks of March, the working people took matters in their own hands and sought to consolidate their movement against Bhutto's regime of terror.

Bhutto's massive repression, in which more than 100 persons were killed in the first three weeks of unrest alone, was unable to stem the spread of this movement.

While terror was so extreme that the Federal Security Force was firing indiscriminately into peaceful processions even of women, the protest movement spread to far corners of the country, such as the little towns of southern Punjab.



BHUTTO: Unable to put down unrest.

In April, Bhutto announced a series of "Islamic reforms" designed to placate the orthodox religious parties within the PNA. The writer explained the reasons for this maneuver:

Despite what Western correspondents report, Bhutto knew that he was faced with not one but actually two protest movements, and these two movements intermeshed only on the surface and only intermittently. There was, one, the movement centred in the mosques and fighting for religious orthodoxy. But there was also the mass movement against authoritarianism, and against the breaking of the socialist promises, favouring a more egalitarian and progressive society as well as establishment of truly participatory institutions of people's democracy. . . . It was the latter movement—that of the working and pauperised masses—that he needed desperately to suppress. The "Islamic" reforms were designed to pacify the opposition of the mosques, precisely because the regime needed to concentrate wholeheartedly against the working class that was rapidly coalescing in a strike movement. . . .

After Bhutto's celebrated "Islamic reforms" came the most intense period of working class agitation. The focus shifted once more from Lahore back to Karachi, the city of the young Pakistani proletariat, so full of the vulgarities of the capitalist formation, but also of the immense energies and militancy of those who move the material forces of society with their own hands. The whole city, this heartbeat of dependent capital, was immobilised. From factories to

restaurants, from the port and airfield to little primary schools in remote neighbourhoods, everything was closed; nothing moved, neither ships nor limousines nor rickshaws. It appeared that the whole country would come to a standstill within a matter of days; even trains were stopped by peasants in the interior. It was at this precise point, afraid clearly of the insurrectionary potential, that the regime moved.

On April 21, Bhutto assumed emergency powers and imposed martial law on Karachi, Hyderabad, and Lahore. "The urban centres were handed over to the Armed Forces at this precise time so as to destroy this revolutionary activity in its embryonic stage," the author stated.

The bloodletting has been profuse, as if the whole society was subjected to an abortion. In 1958, Ayub [Khan] prided himself over a "bloodless coup." Now, nineteen years later, the regime of Ayub's protege gunned down forty men for curfew violations on the first day of this third shameful martial law in our too brief history. . . . In twenty-hours-a-day curfews, men of simple courage have come out to agitate and defy the bullets in the four hours given them daily to purchase rations; many have been killed during this one-sixth of the day allotted to "freedom." . . .

All we can say at present is that the people of Pakistan are facing a terroristic regime in which Bhutto has chosen to lead the pre-emptive counterrevolution instead of risking an overthrow by it.

Assessing the prospects facing the workers movement, the writer commented that "the Left has perhaps been overly cautious and its organisations might have been less engaged than necessary, but it has the strength of having saved its cadres for deployment in a more extreme situation. That polarisation itself is being institutionalised in military as well as civilian spheres seems to suggest that the country is settling down to prolonged tensions. . . .

"The next few weeks may be the most crucial in our history, not because the question of power may itself be resolved decisively but because there may well be a chance for the progressive and democratic forces to establish a base of permanent strength from which to wage a great struggle for the emancipation of all oppressed people in our country, the working class as well as the national minorities, women as well as the peasants. . . ." □

Shah Gets Two Reactors, Wants More

The Iranian Nuclear Energy Organization has signed contracts worth \$2 billion with three French companies for the construction of two nuclear power plants. They will be built on the banks of the River Karun in southwest Iran. Each will generate 930 megawatts of power.

The shah said in an interview on French national radio that an offer was being made to buy four more plants from France, possibly in exchange for crude oil. (*Wall Street Journal*, June 16.)

For an End to the Shah's Suppression of Free Speech!

[The following open letter was sent to Amir-Abbas Hoveyda, prime minister of Iran, on June 13, 1977, by forty prominent Iranian writers, poets, critics, and social scientists.]

[The translation is by the exiled Iranian poet Reza Baraheni. Baraheni, a former political prisoner who was jailed and tortured for 102 days by the shah's political police, was a founding member of the Writers' Association of Iran.]

* * *

His Excellency Amir-Abbas Hoveyda
Prime Minister of Iran

You know very well that every now and then, on different occasions, highfalutin meetings are held, and sometimes with the participation of Your Excellency, to recommend ways through which the situation in book publishing may be improved. And you know better than anybody else that the echo of such discussions and recommendations, like that of all other affairs of the government, falls silent with the last meeting held, and no one sees any signs of follow-up or solution. Official governmental reports indicate that only those involved in censorship, bookselling, and in the technical problems of printing and publishing, participate in such meetings and seminars, with each participant using the opportunity to defend his own interest. Thus, the discussions held do not go beyond a token reference to such problems and difficulties as printing, distribution, high wages and the cost of basic materials.

Unfortunately, writers, poets, translators, scholars, composers and others who are either actively or potentially qualified in the area of intellectual and artistic creation, and should, quite rightly, be at the center of this circle, are not allowed at these meetings and seminars. Therefore, the discussion of the subject has never gone below the surface, and the roots of the problems concerned have not been taken into consideration.

The publication of books, and in general, the propagation of all works of thought and art, constitute parts of a larger problem, called the national culture, and any attempt to resolve this problem necessarily depends upon the efforts and the active participation of those who are in the forefront of cultural, artistic and intellectual creation, and those whose works contribute to the continued life of the indigenous and national values of culture. Our concerns and consultations on why such an active and comprehensive participation does not exist in our society,

Appeal by Reza Baraheni

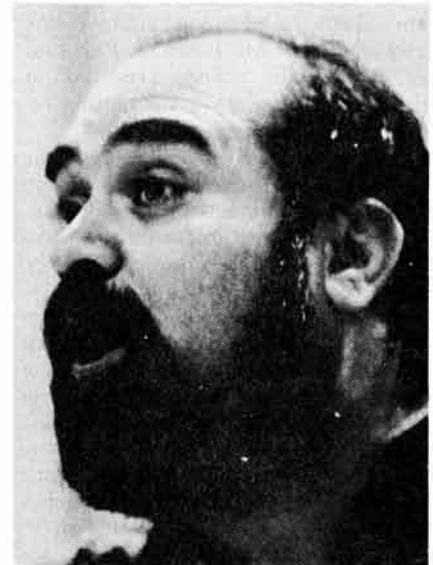
[The following letter to Iranian Prime Minister Hoveyda, urging him to meet the demands raised by the forty Iranian intellectuals, is being circulated by Reza Baraheni. Those who wish to add their names to it may write to Baraheni, c/o Abjad Publications, 150 West 225 Street, Bronx, New York 10463.]

* * *

His Excellency
The Prime Minister of Iran
Amir-Abbas Hoveyda

It has come to our attention that the Iranian writers are striving to revive the Writers' Association of Iran, which was forced to go out of operation early in this decade under conditions of extreme censorship. In an open letter of June 13, signed by forty prominent writers, the following demands are raised:

1. That the Writers' Association of Iran be activated as a gathering place for the dialogue of Iranian intellectuals.
 2. That all existing obstacles to the creation of centers or clubs for the gathering of members of the Association in Teheran and other cities of the country be removed.
 3. That legal facilities be provided for the publication and unhampered distribution of an organ by the Association.
- We admire the courage and forth-



BARAHENI: His political views won him jail and torture by Shah's police.

rightness of the writers of the Open Letter to Your Excellency, and we hope that by meeting their legitimate demands you will take some of the basic measures required for the restoration of freedom of the press, freedom of speech and freedom of the publication of books without any government censorship and official restrictions. □

led us to the writing of this letter to Your Excellency.

Mr. Prime Minister! Culture and artistic and intellectual creation in our society have stagnated, and it can even be ventured that troublesome signs of cultural decline are in sight, taking on ever-expanding dimensions day by day. We do not believe that this condition is the outcome of ordinary technical and financial factors, as claimed by official and governmental circles. This condition has resulted from three factors: firstly, the extraordinary restrictions imposed upon creative and free thought of writers, poets, intellectuals and all those who are actively or potentially qualified in the fields of art and thought; secondly, it is due to the extraordinary control and censorship which government agencies exert; and, thirdly, the difficulty in the area of the

publication of books has resulted from the extraordinary limitations imposed on all sorts of readership, particularly among the youth and intellectuals in relation to the study of books.

These limitations, pressures and other elements of control built up against artistic and intellectual creation, not only do not come from legal regulations and principles, but are, on the contrary, based absolutely on the whims of various agencies and persons, and are the consequences of their indifference to the official laws and human freedoms. We can venture to claim after a study of the Fundamental Law which embodies the democratic and the Constitutional regime of the country, and after a look at the present situation, that for a long time now all those articles of the Fundamental Law which guarantee the protection, growth and promotion of

the basic roots of cultural impulses and drives, intellectual creativity and political and social development and maturity, have been suspended by the government and its agencies. Iranian writers and intellectuals have been deprived of all legal, judicial, political and social rights, and, when confronted with the violence of government agencies and censorship, they have neither official protection nor a place of shelter. We can cite numerous examples dealing with persons who have been incarcerated for years or are still in incarceration, whose sole crime is the writing, translating, or even the reading of a book.

The essential condition for cultural and intellectual creativity is the existence of political, social and juridical guarantees for freedom of thought, freedom of communication and of association, and the freedom of printing and publishing of serious books, periodicals and press. These freedoms have been accorded by our Fundamental Law, the Supplementary Fundamental Laws and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The existence of these freedoms for hundreds of years has led to cultural movements, and popular, social, political and intellectual development and maturity among different nations of the world. Now, because of the suspension of freedoms and the resultant intellectual stagnation we have been degraded to consumers of these other nations' material and spiritual products, and, consequently, we are suffering from total cultural sterility.

Mr. Prime Minister! Social and economic development can never be accounted for solely on the basis of the accretion of statistics and data relating to an increase in the national income through the sale and export of the country's natural resources and an increase in the per capita income, accompanied by an unbalanced distribution of wealth. Social and economic development is directly related to intellectual creativity, the development of cultural institutions, and the expansion of scientific, literary and artistic activities. True development is primarily a social and cultural phenomenon. The growth of industries, the unrestrained overpopulation of cities through peasant migration and the growth of a comprador economy can never substitute for that development. Unfortunately, the signs of intellectual decline and decadence, scientific sterility and cultural freezing and sluggishness have clearly manifested themselves in our contemporary society. This decadence and its deep impact on the social condition of the country have become a great source of concern for all Iranians interested in their national and indigenous fate.

If we are to remain on the face of the earth as a free and honorable nation, relying on our own labor and our own culture, and if we are to preserve the national and cultural heritage of our past

which shines with exceptional brilliance in the world, we have to move forward, eliminate all the existing restrictions and establish with our intellectual and creative work a healthy and genuine relationship with all the social groupings in the country.

In order to realize this aim within the framework of the Iranian Constitution and within the framework of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we, the undersigned, request the following:

1. The Writers' Association of Iran, a copy of whose charter is enclosed, and for which official registration has been requested, be activated as a gathering for the dialogue of Iranian intellectuals.

2. All existing obstacles to the creation of centers or clubs for the gathering of members of the Association in Teheran and other cities of the country be removed.

3. Legal facilities be provided for the publication and unhampered distribution of an organ by the Association.

Mr. Prime Minister! We hope that through meeting these demands, the principle of participation, which is one of the proclaimed but unrealized goals of the government, will be achieved on a genuine basis, and that all Iranians will be able to communicate their opinions with others, free of all fears and intimidation, and in a healthy atmosphere, removed from extremist tendencies and within the framework of the Constitutional Laws of the country. We hope that the people of Iran will once again become creators of culture, and scientific and cultural values, and not only their consumers.

Mr. Prime Minister! We, the signatories

of the letter, accept, individually and collectively, the responsibility of signing this letter and having it signed by others, and we will be answerable to government agencies.

Ahmad Abdullahpour, Dr. Fereydoun Adamiyyat, Shams Al-Ahmad, Seyyed Abdullah Anvar, Darioush Ashouri, Dr. Mehdi Bahar, Bahram Beyzaie, Dr. Simin Daneshvar, Mahmoud E'temadzadeh (Behazin), Dr. Mahmoud Enayat, Kamran Fani, Hooshang Golshiri, Ali-Asghar Hadj-Seyyed-Djavadi, Dr. Manouchehr Hezarkhani, Siyavash Kasraie, Ali Katebi, Islam Kazemiyeh, Ali-Asghar Khobrehzadeh, Abulfazl Khodabakhsh, Qassem Larbon, Mohammad-Ali Mahmid, Dr. Hossein Malek, Djamel Mirsadeqi, Ne'mat Mirzazadeh (Azarm), Nasser Mo'azzen, Assadullah Mobashsheri, Rahmatullah Moqaddam Maragheie, Baqer Mo'meni, Cyrus Moshfeqi, Dr. Homa Nateq, Dr. Nasser Pakdaman, Dr. Baqer Parham, Mohammad Qazi, Dr. Mostafa Rahimi, Dr. Gholamhossein Sa'edi, Tahereh Saffarzadeh, Mohammad-Ali Sepanlou, Nasser Taqvaie, Fereydoun Tonokaboni, Mohammad Zohari.

Mr. Prime Minister! The original signatures are in the keeping of the members of the Association. Since you know better than anyone else why the Association has not been able to find a place and an address for itself, and since each and every one of the signatories are sufficiently well known in our society, your response to one of them will be considered as a response to all, and will reach the others. □

Bribery Scandal—'Persuasion' From Seoul

Kim Hyung Wook, a key witness in Washington's Korean bribery scandal, revealed July 2 that President Park Chung Hee of South Korea sent a cabinet minister to the United States to "persuade" him not to testify.

Kim, who headed the Korean Central Intelligence Agency from 1963 to 1969, also said that President Park had ordered him killed or kidnapped as a last resort to prevent his appearance before a House subcommittee investigating KCIA operations in the United States.

In an interview with *New York Times* correspondent Richard Halloran, Kim said that Min Byung Kwon, a minister without portfolio in the South Korean government, had traveled from Seoul to Kim's house in northern New Jersey. The former KCIA chief fled to the United States after expressing disagreements with Park in the early 1970s.

In two days of discussions, Kim said, the emissary offered him a guarantee of safety

if he and his family would return to South Korea or a large sum of money if he would leave the United States for a third country.

From separate sources, Kim said, he learned Park had ordered his assassination should he refuse Min's offers.

Seoul's efforts to silence Kim proved unsuccessful. His testimony before the House Subcommittee on International Organizations June 22 provided the first authoritative, public account of the six-year Korean bribery operation designed to line up support for the Park regime on Capitol Hill. (See *Intercontinental Press*, July 11, 1977, p. 791.)

Responding to Kim's allegations, Min Byung Kwon told reporters in Seoul July 4 that the assertion he tried to prevent Kim from testifying was "fictitious." Min said that he simply tried to persuade him "not to betray his fatherland."

In addition, Min said, charges that they had threatened him with assassination and kidnapping were "preposterous." □

Thousands Protest Murder of Alfonso Peralta

By Cristina Rivas

[The following article was translated from the July 18 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a revolutionary-socialist magazine published fortnightly in New York.]

* * *

MEXICO CITY—Between fifteen and twenty thousand persons demonstrated here June 10, in answer to a call issued by the Frente Local de Acción Popular [FLAP—Local Front for Mass Action].

Participants in the protest included members of the university workers union (STUNAM), the Democratic Tendency of the Electrical Workers Union (SUTERM), the doctors movement, and student groups.

Several political organizations marched with their own contingents. These included the Communist Party, Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), and Committee of Youth for Socialism. The biggest contingent was from the PRT, with 800 persons. Other contingents were headed by Trotskyists of the PRT and the Socialist League (LS).

The focus of the march and rally that followed was a protest against the murder of Alfonso Peralta Reyes, who was killed May 12 at the school where he taught. Peralta was a member of the PRT and a leader of STUNAM.

The demonstration had been called to denounce repression and provocation. There were also expressions of support for the local sections of the Democratic Tendency and for STUNAM, which is fighting for a collective-bargaining agreement. However, it was clear that the issue that evoked the deepest outrage on the march was the murder of Peralta. [An earlier demonstration to protest Peralta's death, called on twenty-four-hours' notice, drew more than 5,000 persons.—IP]

The response from the main sectors of the workers and student movements to the murders of political and trade-union leaders has dealt a stiff blow to the gangster methods employed by the Mexican government and represents a significant step forward in the fight for basic democratic freedoms.

In a display advertisement published in the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* June 10, the PRT reported that "in the last few days two teachers from the CCH [College of Sciences and Humanities], who are being held in relation to the murder of our comrade Alfonso Peralta, were presented publicly by the police."

The advertisement continued:

Independent of the fact that our organization is protesting and has always protested the brutal methods of torture and kidnapping the Mexican police normally use, we feel it necessary to point out that only a clear dissociation from the murder by these teachers would make it possible to defend them.

In their public statement, these teachers did not admit being the perpetrators of the crime. However, they have acknowledged their connection to the "Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre [September 23 League] and their knowledge that the crime was being planned. In this sense, if they consciously or unconsciously justify the crime, they would be playing along with a counterrevolutionary action. That is why it is important that we communicate directly with these teachers so that they can take a clear position with regard to the crime. Our party demands that the police authorities provide facilities so that these teachers can spell out

Polish Students Voice Solidarity With Workers

[The following statement was issued in Cracow May 17 by the Polish Student Solidarity Committee. We have taken the text from the June 22-29 issue of the Paris weekly *Informations Ouvrières*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

On May 16, 1977, following the funeral procession to honor the memory of our comrade Staszek [Stanislaw] Pyjas, who died under tragic circumstances, the Student Solidarity Committee Statement of Purpose was read in public.

The next day, committee representatives sent a special letter to the Marshal of the Parliament of the Polish People's Republic, informing him of the establishment of the committee.

We point out that the immediate reason for this step was the attitude of the regional and student officials, who not only refused to heed all the calls for observing a period of mourning, but moreover resorted to various forms of repression against those who took part in boycotting the "Youth Festival."

The Student Solidarity Committee is a vehicle for everyone in the student movement who is willing to cooperate in offering support to those victimized by government repression for having the courage to express their own independent opinions. The forms of mutual aid will depend on the concrete situation, and will include educational campaigns, legal ac-

their political stance with regard to the crime, free of physical or moral pressure.

This was also the tone of the remarks by the PRT speaker at the rally that followed the demonstration.

At the same time as the FLAP march, another demonstration took place, called by the Maoists of the Revolutionary People's Front (FPR), through "Struggle Committees" from the schools.

The "Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre" leafleted in support of this march "against the march of the reformists (FLAP)" and threatened to use violence to break up the FLAP action.

Some 2,000 persons attended the FPR march, among them some who had confused the two marches.

One group of persons who had mistakenly joined the FPR action and tried to leave to take part in the FLAP protest was prevented from doing so by the police. The cops argued that since the "Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre" had threatened to attack the other march, they were not going to permit anyone to leave the FPR rally. □

tions, and, if necessary, fund-raising campaigns. Our activities have a completely "avowed" and open character. They are based on voluntary cooperation by our members, who have agreed to accept this. Furthermore, the Student Solidarity Committee has delegated ten spokespersons to represent it publicly at the university.

The Student Solidarity Committee believes that the single official student organization existing up to now does not represent students' real interests because of its centralized structure, which promotes the development of a privileged elite leadership, and because of this elite's total subordination to the university administration.

Experience has shown that the leadership of the SZSP [Socialistyczny Związek Studentów Polskich—Socialist Union of Polish Students] has more than once taken positions contrary to the real interests of the mass of students. The statements they made at the Cracow youth festival on May 12-15 were the most glaring example of this.

Therefore, it has become necessary to take steps leading to the formation of an independent student organization.

The Student Solidarity Committee will collaborate in all group efforts whose goal is to defend individuals against harassment that threatens their freedom and dignity.

We offer full moral support to the Committee to Defend Worker Victims of the Repression Connected With the Events

of June 25, 1976.

Our activities are open to all students, whatever their opinions and political responsibilities.

The committee's independent activities are based on our convictions.

The Student Solidarity Committee is appealing to all students to make known all instances of repression, and to participate in a campaign to aid persons who have suffered injuries. This is the moral right and obligation of every one of us.

The Student Solidarity Committee: László Malasska, Andrzej Balcerek, Licia Betko, Elzbieta Rajewska, Malgorzata Tetkiewicz, Boguslaw Ernik, Jozef Ruszer, Joanna Burczyk, Wieslaw Bek, Bronislaw Wildstein. □

The Shameful Trial of Mykola Rudenko and Oleksiy Tykhy

[The following statement was issued in Kiev July 1 by the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. It is being circulated in the United States by the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners,* which has provided the translation.]

Such is "socialist democracy"! And so, seven years' strict regime and five years' exile have been meted out to the leader of the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords; the poet and philosopher Mykola Rudenko; and ten years of special regime and five years' exile for a member of the Group, the school teacher Oleksiy Tykhy. Can what occurred be called a trial? No!

People are tried openly and justly (if they are criminals), but in this case people have been tyrannized for many years and afterward secretly taken away for investigation in a gangster-like manner, 800 kilometers away from their native city. For the site of the trial they chose a place (Druzhkivka) even 100 kilometers further away. Krasniy Ugolok ("Red Corner"—a recreation club) situated in a closed enterprise was transformed into a courtroom and filled with a carefully selected audience. No friends or observers were allowed into the courtroom. Not even close friends or family had been informed, either about the conclusion of the investigation or the beginning of the trial.

As a result the defendants were left without any defense. And the wife of Rudenko and the eighty-year-old mother of Tykhy were admitted only on the sixth day. They were shaken by the appearance of the accused. Both defendants appeared tired and exhausted. During the course of the defense and especially during his final statement Mykola Rudenko felt faint several times. This is not surprising, as five months of detention in a Donetsk prison, situated in a heavily polluted "industrialized" region, could not have passed without having taken their toll.

The Court declared the Ukrainian Group to be an anti-Soviet organization and its documents were regarded as anti-Soviet. This is a blatant falsehood. Among the documents of this Group there isn't one which we do not support. We find only

Escalating Attack on Human-Rights Activists

Two prominent Soviet dissidents, Mykola Rudenko and Oleksiy Tykhy, were sentenced July 1 to long prison terms on charges of carrying out "anti-Soviet propaganda."

They are the first leading human-rights activists to be sentenced to prison terms since the Soviet authorities began their drive against members of the Helsinki monitoring groups in early February.

On June 27, Irina Orlov, wife of Yuri Orlov, the founder of the Moscow group who had been detained since February, reported that Orlov had been formally charged with disseminating anti-Soviet fabrications, a charge that carries a maximum prison term of three years.

In contrast, Anatoly Shcharansky, a twenty-nine-year-old computer specialist and member of the Moscow Helsinki

group, is reportedly being charged with "treason," a crime that carries the death penalty. Shcharansky was arrested March 15, on charges of spying for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Another leading dissident and member of the Moscow Helsinki monitoring group, Aleksandr Ginzburg, a forty-year-old writer, has been charged with disseminating anti-Soviet propaganda. The charges against Ginzburg, who had been held since February, were revealed on July 4 by Valentyn Turchin.

Turchin, the founder of the Moscow chapter of Amnesty International, spoke with Ginzburg after being picked up by Soviet secret police and taken to the prison where Ginzburg was being held for questioning.

documents which discuss the actual violation of the Helsinki Accords in our country. One can easily be convinced of this provided all the facts we have reported are subjected to public examination. But such a public examination was not even attempted. Worse than this, measures were adopted so that even the public would not know what was taking place in the court.

The organizers of the trial behaved in a Mafia-like way; abducting the victims and isolating them. This is precisely the principle they followed by choosing Druzhkivka as the place of the trial. In a large city, for example in Donetsk, it would have been more difficult to spot an outsider. But in Druzhkivka the militia knows all the inhabitants. This is why friends of the defendants arriving from Kiev and Moscow immediately fell into the hands of the authorities. Some were detained for three days in a preliminary detention cell, and then were forcibly sent home. Naturally, in conditions of extreme isolation, it is possible for the authorities to make false charges and mete out punishment for a truthful account of repressive activities on the part of the authorities. In such conditions reprisals can be made with gangster-like cruelty.

The court sentence for Mykola Rudenko

means death. Due to his war wounds he will not last long under the conditions of a strict regime concentration camp. For Oleksiy Tykhy the verdict virtually means life imprisonment. Tykhy is a fifty-year-old, infirmed person, and even if he survives the conditions of a special regime camp, followed by exile, his health will undoubtedly deteriorate.

Only universal indignation can be the answer to such inhumanity. Shame on the executioners of the judicial cover-up! Shame on those who inspire these executioners! Freedom for Mykola Rudenko, Oleksiy Tykhy and Vasylyl Barladyanu, (who was convicted concurrently in Odesa on the 29th of June) for distributing materials of the Ukrainian Group! Freedom for the other arrested members of the Helsinki Groups: Yuri Orlov, Aleksandr Ginzburg, Anatoly Shcharansky, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Zviad Gamsakhurdia and Merab Kostava! Freedom for all political prisoners in the USSR!

Petro Vins
Pyotr Grigorenko
Olha Heyko ((Matusevych)
Oksana Meshko
Nina Strokata (Karavanska)

*P.O. Box 142, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Uproar in Brazil Over Muzzling of Scientists

By Judy White

The widespread denial of democratic rights in Brazil has brought a new sector of the population to its feet in protest.

Tens of thousands of scientists have denounced the Geisel regime's sudden announcement that it was canceling the twenty-ninth annual meeting of the Sociedade Brasileira para o Progresso da Ciência (SBPC—Brazilian Society for the Advancement of Science). The meeting was scheduled to be held July 6-13 in Fortaleza, Ceará.

Five thousand scientists were expected to attend the gathering to present the results of their research and discuss problems facing Brazil. No specific reasons were given by the Geisel regime for its decision to withdraw support from the conference.

However, an observer familiar with Brazilian politics points out that at the 1976 meeting, "criticisms from the scientific community on matters dealing with the social sciences mounted, creating an atmosphere of relatively free debate."

The Brazilian daily *Folha de São Paulo* gave prominent coverage to the protests in its June 21 issue.

The day before, 800 students, professors, and members of the science society met at the University of São Paulo (USP) to discuss how to respond to the government's action. SBPC members presented three proposals:

1. That the assembly endorse efforts by the society's executive committee to go ahead and hold the meeting despite the government's cancellation.

2. That it be held in São Paulo in July.

3. That society members pledge their unconditional support to the fight to hold the conference.

The proposals were approved, and several statements of support were presented by organizations attending the assembly.

The São Paulo branch of the Association of History Professors announced its "total solidarity with the SBPC and repudiation of this violent attack against science. . . ."

The Professors Association at the Pontifical Catholic University (PUC) in São Paulo scored Geisel's attempt to exercise "national control over scientists," saying in part:

The annual meetings held by the SBPC have provided an opportunity—if not the only one, the most important one—for scientists, professors, and students from all fields of knowledge to communicate, discuss their projects and research, and debate problems relevant to our society. The scientific, interdisciplinary, democratic character of those meetings has made it



GEISEL: Scientists bite back at him.

possible to seriously discuss alternative solutions to the problems that afflict Brazil.

The Center of Rural and Urban Studies condemned the "suppression of the federal budget grant and other funds earmarked for the functioning of this body [SBPC]. . . ." It continued, "Since the very existence and continuation of (interdisciplinary) work that could be carried out inside the SBPC is threatened, we express our solidarity with the society, launch a most vehement protest, and place our resources at its disposal."

Statements of support were also given by the state Association of Sociologists, professors in the scientific methodology department at PUC, and student committees from the USP, PUC, and the Rio de Janeiro campus of the federal university.

Folha de São Paulo reported a number of meetings and protests organized in response to the government's action.

The May 1 Amnesty Committee met June 18 and voted to support and build the rescheduled SBPC meeting in São Paulo, and to organize wide-ranging debates on the question among scientists, professors, and students July 8 and 9. The amnesty committee is the group that has mobilized tens of thousands of students throughout Brazil in recent weeks. (See *Intercontinen-*

tal Press, June 13, p. 660, and July 4, p. 756.)

The São Paulo Association of Financial Writers issued a statement saying that "the free exchange of ideas is an indispensable condition for genuinely solving the country's serious economic, political and social problems." They pledged to help publicize the SBPC meeting and invited SBPC members to express their views at a public discussion to be organized for writers on economics.

The June 26 issue of *Folha de São Paulo* reported that "thousands of motions of support have reached the SBPC."

Members of the bourgeois opposition party, the MDB (Movimento Democrático Brasileiro—Brazilian Democratic Movement), condemned Geisel's decision:

MDB Deputy Horácio Ortiz called for the University of São Paulo to open its doors to the science society for its annual meeting.

MDB Senator Evelásio Vieira compared the government's action to steps taken in fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.

MDB Deputy Alberto Goldman called Geisel's decision "obscurantist, medieval, and unjustifiable" and suggested that all legislators open their homes to the scientists coming to São Paulo for the meeting.

Goldman added that the cancellation was an attempt "to gag scientists so that they will not talk about democracy, authoritarianism, nuclear policy . . . and, above all, to prevent scientists . . . from calling for amnesty; an end to the murders; defense of the environment, which is seriously threatened by the actions of the multinational corporations; the right of all sectors of society to organize and express themselves freely; and from once again protesting the censorship imposed recently on foreign publications, which are a vital element in the development of research in our country."

MDB leader Lelio Souza commented:

The government is confessing its fear of scientific debate . . . its fear of freely and loyally confronting Brazilian scientists in discussions of the problems regarding the social and economic development of our country.

On June 21, Professor Maurício Rocha e Silva, the honorary president of the SBPC, gave an interview to the press, in which he stated:

Since it will not be possible to hold the meeting in Fortaleza because of the lack of government support, the ideal spot to hold it would be São Paulo—at the USP, where we would have the protection of the university's autonomy. We would not be able to meet in other universities, especially in the federal universities, because of the large number of unidentified forces that would prevent the meeting. Nor would we be able to hold the meeting at the Law School on São Francisco Square, since we would be greeted by firemen with water hoses and people launching teargas bombs.

The references to the Law School were a

reminder of the regime's response to student demonstrations held there during May.

On June 24, the SBPC formally requested the use of USP facilities for its July meeting. Following the step, SBPC President Oscar Sala told the press:

First of all, it is necessary to make clear that the SBPC is not trying to mount a challenge or confrontation by insisting on holding its twenty-ninth annual meeting. What it is trying to do is give scientists the opportunity to present their work. It is an accounting to the government and, above all, to the public that pays for our work through taxes, of what they are doing.

Cops Attack Mass Picket Lines

The Grunwick Strike in Britain

By Ernest Harsch

In mid-June, a strike at a small photo processing plant just north of London that had been carried on for nearly a year suddenly captured the spotlight. The strike at the Grunwick plant became a focus for employer and rightist attacks on workers' rights to organize unions and effective picket lines.

In response to the strikers' call for mass pickets and the growing support they are receiving from other unions, the major capitalist newspapers have launched a slander campaign, charging the strikers with "violence." Police have attacked the strikers and their supporters, arresting more than 250 by the end of June. The Grunwick conflict has also been reflected in heated debates in Parliament.

The dispute at Grunwick began in August 1976. Most of the employees are women and Asian immigrants. Their wages are far lower than those of workers in other, unionized film processing plants. Overtime is compulsory, holidays restricted, and discipline strict. A statement by the strike committee declared that Grunwick boss George Ward was "an employer who pays poverty line wages and forces us to work in feudal like conditions—an employer more suited to the 19th century."

After a fellow worker was fired, more than 200 employees walked off their jobs. In addition to demanding higher wages and better working conditions, the strikers demanded recognition of the Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staffs (Apex), a union that many of them had joined. Ward refused to recognize the union and fired all the strikers.

Although the strikers continued picket-

An *Intercontinental Press* correspondent summed up the meaning of the protest by saying, "The attempt to prevent the SBPC meeting, in the current context, acted to radicalize the hitherto unradicalized." He pointed out that the SBPC's previous criticisms of government policy had been very timid. By canceling the conference, however, the regime "brought them to make statements and take positions that they almost never would have taken otherwise."

A significant factor in this process, he said, was "the courageous example of the student movement," which has been in the vanguard of the current upsurge in Brazil.

ing, the moderate leadership of Apex decided in October to try to win union recognition under the procedures of the 1975 Employment Protection Act. The government's arbitration service ruled that the union should be recognized, but Ward still refused and is taking the case before the High Court.

Forces on the right have rallied to Ward's aid. In November, the National Association for Freedom sought a court injunction to bar a decision of the postal union to boycott all mail to Grunwick, which receives most of its business through the mail. Although the union backed down and ordered its members to deliver the mail, the postal workers have decided to resume an unofficial boycott.

Tory members of Parliament have sought to cover up the Grunwick management's union-busting activities by raising a hue and cry about the "rights of nonunionists."

The police moved in to harass and intimidate the strikers. A number of pickets were arrested, including Jayaben Desai, a leading Asian woman militant in the strike.

In face of Ward's intransigence and these antilabor attacks, the Grunwick strikers called for mass picket lines beginning June 13. The call gained the early support of the Working Women's Charter Conference, which pledged to bring its members to the picket lines. The strikers won a massive response. On some days more than 1,000 supporters showed up to join the pickets.

It was with the beginning of the mass picketing that the press campaign against the strikers began. The June 25-July 1

issue of the London *Economist*, for example, referred to "1,500 excitable fanatics" and "the extreme left's rentacrowd."

The *Economist* also noted the broad support the strikers won, although in deprecating terms: "Trade unionists have travelled south from Scotland and Ulster; members of parliament have travelled north from Westminster; anybody who wanted to shout and make intimidatory noises, as a lot of Trotskyites do, went there by tube."

The police escalated their attack, beating, kicking, and pulling the hair of strikers and conducting arbitrary arrests. There was also at least one case in which agents provocateurs, masquerading as pickets, threw bottles at scabs. When questioned by strike stewards, one disappeared and the other jumped into a police car.

On the ninth day of mass picketing, the first major section of the trade-union movement, the Yorkshire mine workers, turned out in force in support of the Grunwick strikers. Led by Arthur Scargill, they swelled the picket lines to 2,000 persons.

A report in the June 30 issue of *Socialist Challenge*, the successor to the British Trotskyist *Red Weekly*, described the arrival of the mine workers: "Scargill makes the shortest speech of his life. Two minutes. The cheering lasts longer. As the Yorkshire miners march off to the back gate, the crowds on the pavements raise clenched fists in the air. The miners respond in kind. A huge red banner from the South Wales miners is left straddling the road near the front gate."

No sooner had the miners reached the back gate than they were attacked by police of the Special Patrol Group. Scargill and other miners were arrested.

Among other prominent strike supporters who were detained were Len Gristie, the London organizer of Apex; Karamat Hussein, a Labour Party councillor; and Audrey Wise, a Labour Party member of Parliament.

The Grunwick strikers have so far received no support from the main leadership of the Labour Party. In fact, the Labour government's only response to the police attacks has been to call for a judicial Court of Inquiry into the dispute. The *Economist* pointed out that the strike "is frightening and embarrassing the government and the TUC [Trades Union Congress]." It also noted that the TUC "has no stomach for a fight."

The Grunwick strikers, however, are more determined. In response to the Apex leadership's "mediation" efforts and its attempts to limit the picketing, Jayaben Desai declared, "I have no faith in the legal position. I only believe in the power of the trade union movement. Nothing happened for 44 weeks. We played cricket. The mass picket brought the issue to a head, and the mass picket will win it." □

The Crowned Cannibals

Reviewed by George Novack



History moves at an uneven pace in different parts of the world. Two hundred years after the American colonists declared their independence from the British crown, Iran groans under the tyranny of a corrupt, ignorant, and superstitious king. Yet the destinies of the two countries, so geographically distant, have forcibly intersected in the construction and maintenance of that regime. Its horrible realities are the theme of Reza Baraheni's *The Crowned Cannibals*.

The monarchical form of rule has towered over Iran for 2,500 years; it is probably the oldest surviving institution of its kind on earth. In the remarkable essay entitled "Masculine History" Baraheni recounts in chilling detail some of the highlights of its brutality through the ages. He also explains the economic basis

moved to nationalize the oil resources, the CIA once more imposed the rulership of Reza Khan's young son upon Iran. Washington conspired with the army command to depose the legally elected government and reinstall the shah on the throne he has since occupied as supreme lord and master of the land.

This coup, engineered for the benefit of the oil magnates and the Pentagon, set the pattern for subsequent State Department-CIA counterrevolutionary operations in Guatemala, Cuba, Vietnam, and Chile. Now the Iranian regime, which has bought \$10 billion in arms since 1972, plays a pivotal role in Washington's diplomatic and military plans in the Middle East. It is not by chance that former CIA head Richard Helms was posted by Nixon as U.S. Ambassador to Iran and that President Carter has appointed as the next envoy William Sullivan, who directed the daily bombings of Laos between 1964 and 1969 and has been ambassador to the Philippines since 1973 during a period of intensifying repression.

These circumstances make the publication of *The Crowned Cannibals* a significant political event. It presents a damning bill of particulars indicting the repression raging in Iran. Baraheni says in print and out loud for the whole world to hear what may only be whispered to a trusted confidant within the realm of the shah for fear of being caught up and taken away by SAVAK, the secret police. Iran has the highest rate of death penalties in the world and the estimated number of political prisoners ranges from 25,000 to 100,000.

Both the literary talents and personal experiences of the author equip him for the task of flinging this documented exposure squarely at the crowned head who orchestrates the dance of death. Born in Tabriz in 1935, Baraheni lifted himself from the abject condition of a poor working-class family to become a professor of English and dean of students at the University of Tehran after gaining his doctorate at the University of Istanbul, Turkey. He is a novelist and poet, the founder of modern literary criticism in Iran and the translator of Shakespeare, T.S. Eliot, Camus, and Fanon. His writings have appeared in six languages. He has taught and lectured at universities in the United States where he

lives with his family in exile in constant danger of assault by SAVAK's hit squads.

The writings in his book have a diversified character, encompassing several modes of composition. They open with the statement on terror in Iran, part of which he delivered to the congressional subcommittee on human rights in September 1976, and close with a set of poems, "Masks and Paragraphs." These contents are fused into a cohesive whole by the incandescence of his passion for justice and his bitter indignation at the atrocities committed in the name of the shah's spurious "White Revolution."

Here is an excerpt from a poem dedicated to the still imprisoned sociologist Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi:

*I stand in front of a nonexistent statue
in my room
And talk to you as if
We lived in post-revolutionary days
And we were to choose a suitable name
For a very rich wine
To honor the four years you spent in the
Shah's jail
You said a peasant taught
Was better than a peasant untaught
I agreed that a worker unbought
Was better than a worker bought
Then we said Cheers!
And thought of all the good days
We could have spent together
Instead of rotting down there in jail.
[Page 259.]*

As a victim of SAVAK, Baraheni is especially qualified to testify about the workings of its torture industry. In 1973 he was kidnapped, tortured, and jailed for 102 days at the Komité, one of SAVAK's stations in Tehran. The story of his incarceration is told in the section called "Prison Memoirs." His record of what goes on in that inferno is as bizarre as it is bloodcurdling.

Among the outrageous characters he encountered was a Captain Qatri, who was in charge of the electric shock machine. He "tells me that he used to paint when he was in the United States, but now he writes poetry. He even shows me some of his poems. Not bad at all, for a torturer. Why not publish them under the title *Love*

The Crowned Cannibals—Writings on Repression in Iran, by Reza Baraheni. Introduction by E. L. Doctorow. New York: Vintage Books, 1977. xv+281 pp. Paperback, \$3.95.

for the longevity and durability of the despotism and the peculiarities of its social structure in the persistence of the Asiatic mode of production. Whereas the earlier autocrats actually practiced cannibalism to intimidate everyone around them, their descendants are content to devour the liberties of the people and the flower of their culture through censorship and the systematic suppression of intellectuals and artists.

This somber past saddles a crushing burden of backwardness upon contemporary Iranian life from the plight of the peasantry and nomads at the bottom of the heap to the relations between the sexes. Recently a new phenomenon has been grafted upon the trunk of the monarchy—the imperial West greedy for oil and with no concern for the detrimental influences upon the development of the nation.

The current Pahlavi dynasty did not come by its sovereignty in any legitimate way. Its original head, Reza Khan, who served British interests after the Russian Revolution, had to flee the country in 1941. Then in August 1953, after Dr. Mossadegh

Poems of the Shah's Torturer? Qatri later asked him to translate for his wife, who was a student in the College of Translation, an article on Buddha by another prisoner, the famous Muslim theologian Ali Shariati.

Baraheni belongs to the Turkish-speaking Azerbaijanis and is thereby highly sensitive to the national question. Persians comprise less than half of the 34 million inhabitants of Iran; the rest are Azerbaijanis, Kurds, Arabs, Baluchis, and smaller ethnic minorities. All are compelled by law to learn the one official language, Persian. A telling sidelight on the privileges of the imperialists and the chauvinism of the rulers is the fact that the 3,000 American children brought to Iran by parents working for the Grumman Corporation can go to an English-speaking school. Yet millions of children born to the oppressed nationalities do not have a single school in which they can study everything in their native languages. Baraheni divulges what a mental handicap this was in his own education; only by dint of assiduous application was he able to master Persian as he later did English. He has since aspired, he says, "to be the tongue of my oppressed nationality in the language of the oppressor."

Phalocracy has gone hand in hand with autocracy in the Masculine History of Iran. The subjection of women has not substantially changed since the monarchy was founded by King Cyrus two and a half

millennia ago. Baraheni's description of the abuse of women by the ruling male sexual force and the effects this has had upon the psyches of women themselves is one of the most distinctive—and distressing—features of the book.

The prevailing derogation of the female sex was impressed upon him at an early age. "My father used to call my mother *bashmagh*, the Turkish word for 'shoes,' in the presence of other men. It sounded very funny: 'Tell shoes to bring a cup of tea for Mr. Mohammad.'" A man will not dare use the proper name of a housewife when walking into someone's house, although he may be quite aware of her name.

"Even a poor worker, who belongs to the most oppressed class of society, becomes a bourgeois as soon as he sets foot in his own house. His orders rain down upon his wife and daughter in the same fashion as the orders of the factory owner had fallen on him. Repression and oppression multiply oppressors."

All the women Baraheni saw in the cells of ward 3 in the Komité prison were educated women: university students, teachers, intellectuals, and artists. These politicized women were in revolt against the patriarchal traditions and customs suspended like a sword over the female part of the population, against the trashy imported Hollywood notions of femininity, and the court-sponsored women's liberation movement introduced by the shah's twin sister Princess Ashraf. Their striv-

ings to arrive at a new identity for themselves alarm the authorities.

"The reason that Iranian prison cells house an increasing number of women is that they, these women, are in search of an identity on the basis of equal rights with men in everything, and the government is aware that the politicization of women will lead to an even further politicization of men, which in turn will eventually lead to still greater tremors in the domain of Iranian monarchy."

The deep-rooted disdain for women and the unbridled egotism of the dominant male were crassly expressed by the shah when he said of women, in an interview with Oriana Fallaci: "You've never even produced a good chef. . . . You've produced nothing great, nothing!"

In Iran as in Russia poets have been trustees of the conscience of the masses, voicing their inarticulate feelings and grievances. Baraheni carries on that function. At the same time his orientation-in-exile stands out in contrast with the reactionary attitudes taken by many dissidents who have left the USSR, such as can be found in the latest productions of a Solzhenitsyn. He looks forward to a thoroughgoing reconstruction of Iranian society through the awakening, resurgence, and independent action of all its oppressed elements.

This is how he views the present situation:

Although she has witnessed the rise of a bourgeoisie during the last fifty years, Iran has not yet been able to oust the Shah and attain independence either from the venal monarchy or from world imperialism. At this moment in history the Iranian people are caught in a bizarre situation—a state of high tension in which the weight of the past traditions presses down on the new that are striving to be born. The prominent features of this situation are:

(1) the existence of a compradore system in which Iranians act as agents of foreign companies, pretending they are carrying forward the industrialization of the country;

(2) a superstitious monarchy glutted with wealth and luxury, standing on the peak of the pyramid of the ruling classes;

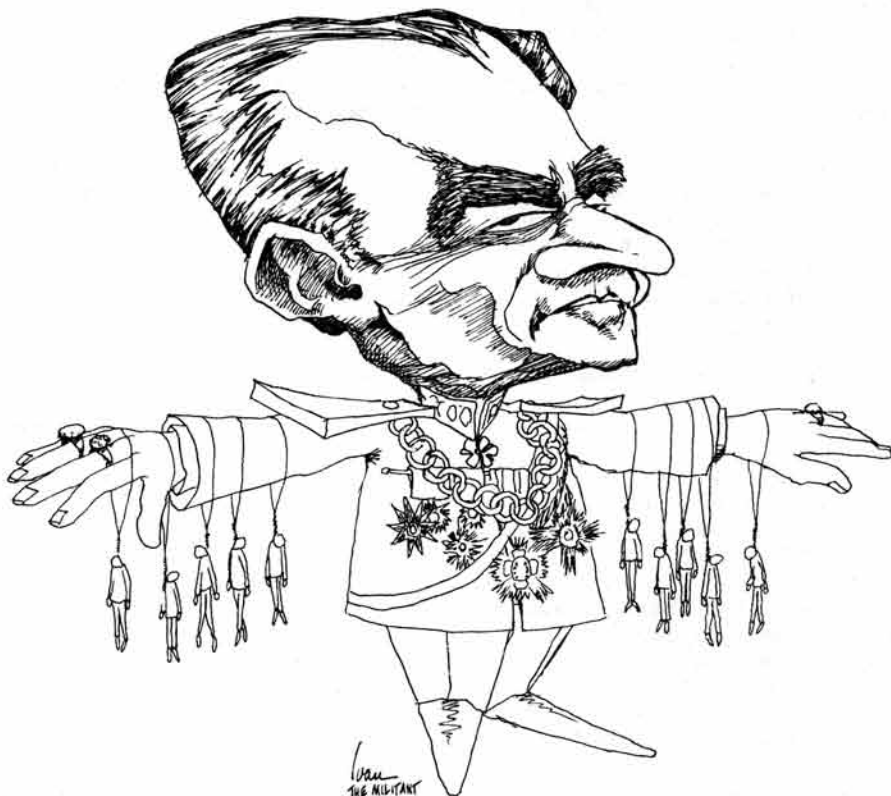
(3) the existence of a potentially explosive situation among the workers and students, without a political party that will bring them together under the rubric of an objectively conceived set of demands;

(4) the rapid migration of the peasantry to the urban areas and their desperate and usually unsuccessful efforts to join the ranks of workers, which generally results in their becoming either soldiers in the army or unskilled laborers on the verge of pauperism;

(5) a landlordism and waterlordism based on the Asiatic Mode of Production not yet entirely gone, with an industrialism not yet arrived;

(6) a racism based on Persian chauvinism, with 60 percent of the country's population (Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Baluchis) deprived of the use of their own national and ethnic cultures and languages;

(7) the existence of inhuman inequalities between men and women, a condition in which



women could be considered second-class citizens;

(8) the costly militarization of the country topped off by the amalgamation of a primeval apparatus of repression and bestiality with a sophisticated and modern structure of torture, repression, inquisition and censorship.

The terror from above has bred a clandestine guerrilla movement that has incurred heavy losses. While Baraheni pays tribute to the courage and devotion of these freedom-fighters, he doubts the efficacy of their methods:

The Shah's terrorism can hardly discourage these young men and women, whose average age does not exceed twenty-two and who are generally university students from all over the country. They have chosen the Revolutionary Path of the Intelligentsia, and their movement resembles the kind of student movement that appeared in Russia from 1860 to 1885 (which subsided only when Plekhanov and Lenin appeared on the political scene). But their losses have been far greater than those of their Russian counterparts and their successes fewer. They have yet to prove that they can assassinate the counterpart of the Czar in Iran; it is not even clear at this point whether such a deed could radically alter the political situation in Iran, in whose history, which is not completely devoid of regicide, no great radical changes ever came about as a result of assassination. It is quite clear that there will be no radical changes until the economic structure of the country is altered. The foundation for such a revolution is the underprivileged majority of society, not the intellectuals. This I say with all due respect to the heroic and costly attempts of these young men and women.

After having himself been rescued from the clutches of the torturers, no individual has been more effective than Baraheni in bringing the facts about the real situation in Iran to the attention of the English-speaking public. He has done so as an honorary chairman of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). Together with PEN, Amnesty International, and other civil liberties organizations, CAIFI has succeeded in generating enough pressure to force the release of several other prominent opponents of the regime. The circulation of *The Crowned Cannibals* should help reinforce the worldwide campaign on behalf of the thousands of political prisoners still held in the shah's jails.

These prisoners are as much the responsibility of Americans as they are the concern of Iranians. Not only has the Pahlavi butcher been put and kept in power by Washington; the leading members of the secret police have been trained and equipped by U.S. advisers. In one instance alone, on June 5, 1963, American-trained counterinsurgency troops of the Iranian army and SAVAK massacred more than 6,000 people!

The Middle East is rightly considered among the main flash points of international tensions. Baraheni warns about the grave consequences that may ensue from U.S. complicity with the shah:

The reason most of my countrymen would tell

you that they carry a grudge against the United States is that the U.S. government has given its unconditional support to a monarch who has terrorized a whole nation, plundered its wealth and bought billions of dollars' worth of military equipment which neither he nor our nation knows how to use. Iran is a dangerous quagmire in which the United States is sinking deeper and deeper. The future will speak for itself. But if

Iran becomes the new Vietnam, we can be sure that it was the inhumane and irresponsible policies of the U.S. government, the excessive greed of American arms corporations and the extreme stupidity and adventurism on the part of the present Iranian authorities that led to the creation of that crisis in the history of humanity.

This warning deserves to be heeded. □

DOCUMENTS

'Bureaucratic State'—New Term Debated by TMRI

[We have translated the following document from the December 1974 issue of *Sous le drapeau du Socialisme* (Under the Flag of Socialism), the organ of the Tendance Marxiste-Révolutionnaire Internationale (TMRI—International Revolutionary-Marxist Tendency), which is headed by Michel Pablo.

[The title of the document is "Considerations for a Reevaluation of the USSR, of the Soviet Bureaucracy, and of the 'Workers' States in General."

[The editors of *Sous le drapeau du Socialisme* explained that the document was submitted as part of the preparatory discussion for an international conference of the tendency to be held in March 1975. They added that the Bureau of the International Secretariat of the TMRI had not taken a vote on the text since it was only a "draft."

[As to what happened at the conference, the following issue of *Sous le drapeau du Socialisme*, which appeared in May 1975, reported: "Finally, the conference initiated a fundamental discussion on the theme of reevaluating the character of the 'workers' states and of the bureaucracy, particularly of the USSR and of the Soviet bureaucracy.

["This discussion will be public and will remain open to contributions from other revolutionary tendencies moving in the same direction."

[Whether a vote was taken on the document was not indicated. Apparently it is still under discussion, although up to January 1977, the date of the last issue received in our office, only five articles—four of them against the views expressed in the text—have appeared in *Sous le drapeau du Socialisme*.

[The opponents of the document argue that it contributes nothing new in substance to the issues that were debated in Trotsky's time. All that is new is the proposal to replace the designation "workers state" with "bureaucratic state."

[On the key problems, the document

slides toward the positions of those who consider the USSR and other workers states to be "state capitalist" in character, or toward the theory of "bureaucratic collectivism" expounded by the late Max Shachtman.

[Thus the document discards the fundamental economic criteria used by Trotsky to characterize the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state and its ruling bureaucracy as a "caste," not a class. Instead, it holds that in the absence of proletarian democracy and "self-management," it is improper to designate structures such as exist in the Soviet Union as "workers states."

[For Trotsky's views on this question, which was thoroughly debated in his time, see "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" in *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1933-34)*; "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" in *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1937-38)*; "Social Relations in the Soviet Union" in *The Revolution Betrayed*; "Once Again: The USSR and Its Defense" in *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1937-38)*.

[One of Trotsky's earliest analyses of this question is "Defense of the Soviet Republic and the Opposition." It can be found in *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1929)*. His final views were stated in a polemic with James Burnham and Max Shachtman, "The USSR in War" and "From a Scratch—to the Danger of Gangrene." Both articles are included in *In Defense of Marxism*.

[An essay dealing with profounder aspects of the question and the preceding debate can also be recommended. It is "The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism," included in the *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1934-35)*.]

* * *

The duration and reinforcement of the bureaucratic phenomenon in all the states that we have conventionally called "workers" states makes it absolutely

necessary for revolutionary Marxists to reevaluate this phenomenon.

This holds above all in the case of the Soviet bureaucracy, which offers the most compelling reasons for undertaking this. For it involves a phenomenon that has already lasted half a century and whose evolving trends pose again, in much graver terms, the set of interlocking problems [*problématique*] that we raised toward the end of the 1930s.

At that time, the time of the founding of the Fourth International and of the preparation and then the outbreak of World War II, the revolutionary Marxists, then unquestionably represented by the tendency initiated by Trotsky, based their revolutionary perspectives on the inevitable fall of the Soviet bureaucracy and the establishment of soviet democracy in the USSR during or immediately after the war. Failing that outcome, they expected to reconsider the whole question.

More than thirty years have passed by without the Soviet bureaucracy giving any credible signs that it is about to fall. On the contrary. Despite the abatement of the forms of Stalinist terror, the regime of the bureaucracy, in its economic and fundamental political characteristics, has undergone such a consolidation as to sharply pose the question of its nature and its perspectives.

On the other hand one should not minimize the influence that this regime has over all the states called "workers" states, including China. In fact, in the absence of another "model" of socialism in a culturally and economically advanced international sector, the strength of the Soviet bureaucracy and of the USSR guarantees the persistence and the aggravation of the bureaucratic phenomenon in the whole complex of states called "workers" states. And this multisided power can take on, if need be, the aspect of direct military intervention, as in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The revolutionary Marxists based their definition of the USSR as a "workers state" on the criteria of its origin and the relations of production, characterizing it as a social regime distinct from capitalism. The USSR is the historical product of a proletarian revolution that made it possible to establish a statized [*étatisée*], planned economy. But the revolutionary Marxists were compelled to add that the USSR, a "workers state" for those reasons, soon became deformed, after which it degenerated bureaucratically through the formation of a strong bureaucratic caste that politically expropriated the proletariat and the workers.

The argument about the historical origin of the USSR still retains its value, because for revolutionary Marxists it is impossible to completely statize the economy (which provides the basis for rational planning) without overthrowing capitalism, the work of a victorious proletarian revolution.

This thesis has always been advanced against the argument of those who confuse the *trend* toward "state capitalism," a characteristic of advanced monopoly capitalism and its grip on the state, with *the complete realization of this trend*. This realization is a qualitative leap and not the end of a quantitative evolutionary process. It is a leap that marks the victorious conclusion of a revolutionary process, a revolution.

As for the argument about the statized and planned economy, one is now compelled to make the following basic comments: It was used to justify, on the basis of the development of the productive forces and labor productivity, the superiority of the regime installed by the revolution over capitalism.

For underdeveloped countries it is still incontestable that the complete statization of the means of production and economic planning allow for a whole period the development of the productive forces and rapid industrialization. But the parallel formation of an all-powerful bureaucracy directing the statized and planned economy becomes, after a first phase of extensive development, a brake on further intensive, balanced and dynamic development of the economy, compatible with the new productive forces stemming from the incorporation of abstract science applied to material production.

The fetishism, then, of the "statized and planned economy" that held sway during the "Bolshevik" period of revolutionary Marxism from Lenin to Trotsky, must, in the light of the experience that has been gained, give way to more profound concepts. These must take into account not only the property and productive relations, but also the relations that govern how men relate to each other with regard to production and property.

Hence the capital importance of the concept of *socialization* and not simply statization of the economy, a concept that combines collective property with democratic management of this property by the workers themselves. The concept of socialization of the economy is an integral part of the more general concept of *socialist self-management*, with all the implications that this idea has on the conception of the state, on the "revolutionary party," on parties in general, on the unions, on planning, etc.

The concept of the "statized and planned" economy, linked to the sole criterion of the development of the productive forces and labor productivity, turned out to be too limited and inadequate to indicate the real content of the relations that determine the "working-class" character of the state established by the revolution and its socialist evolution. These relations are not limited to property forms, but must include the concrete relationship of men, producers and workers, to these forms.

In other words, knowing who really manages the collective property is, in the last analysis, decisive for determining the character of the state and its evolution.

This can become either the state of the bureaucracy, a new social formation managing the collective property for its own profit essentially, or the state of the associated workers who essentially manage it for themselves.

In the first case the socialist evolution of the bureaucracy's state is not automatically assured. It can just as well give way to a new social structure, crystallized as such, for a whole historical period between capitalism and socialism.

In the second case the evolution toward socialism is wide open and depends only on the extension of the international base of the revolution, which the national state promotes with all its might.

The bureaucracy's state poses a set of interlocking problems which can be resolved in two ways:

While the bureaucracy is still weak in relation to the internal and external revolutionary forces, it can, in a major national revolutionary crisis, split, even fall apart, thus facilitating the victorious outcome of a revolutionary process resulting in the socialization of the statized economy and the birth of socialist democracy.

But if the bureaucracy holds power for a long time on a relatively broad international base, and if the victory of the revolution in the advanced capitalist countries is delayed for a prolonged period, the regime of this bureaucracy congeals into an intermediary social formation between capitalism and socialism—the effect and the cause of a prolonged, unresolved historical situation.

Experience has shown that in the bureaucratically deformed "workers" states of the Soviet European buffer zone, the weakness of the bureaucracy still makes possible the process of political revolution in these states, which can even lead rapidly to the birth of a socialist democracy initiating socialist self-management. The experiences in Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland since the 1950s point to this conclusion.

On the contrary, the evolution of the USSR and of the Soviet bureaucracy raises a different set of interlocking problems:

The bureaucracy formed in the decade 1920-1930 institutionalized its power in the next decade by crushing all opposition to its regime with the bloodiest terror. It based itself on complete statization of the economy, on management by a privileged layer, on the monopoly of a "single, monolithic" party through which the entrenched political power of this layer is imposed on the whole of society.

The excess of terror in this period, while being both the cause and the effect of the bonapartistic ascension within the bureau-

cracy of the personal rule of Stalin, objectively laid the basis for the bureaucracy to consolidate itself and to institutionalize itself as a privileged social layer, directing and managing the statized property.

In the decades following the Second World War, the bureaucracy was weakened by the impact of the war on the whole of Soviet society. Faced with the permanent personal power of Stalin which had become both uneconomical and politically dangerous to the bureaucracy, it was forced to rationalize its rule with the reforms of the Khrushchev era.

These reforms also posed a threat to the bureaucracy during the whole crucial period when the relationship of forces between itself and the masses of the Soviet Union and the rest of the world (especially of the Soviet European buffer zone) could lend weight to a process not simply of "self-reform," but of a genuine political revolution.

However, the growing economic and political problems of capitalism, the persistent impossibility of a revolutionary victory in the advanced capitalist countries, and the economic and cultural progress achieved in the USSR, have in their complex interaction worked in favor of the Soviet bureaucracy since the early 1970s.

Its overall economic and military power is steadily growing against a capitalist system caught in the gravest crisis in its history, a new crisis which poses deepgoing questions about its survival as the dominant international system.

Despite the incapacity of the Soviet bureaucracy to take full advantage of the new forces of production because of its sclerotic bureaucratic structures, it still profits from the immense material resources of the USSR which are not yet fully known and above all not fully exploited, as well as the possibility of "automating" the nationalized economy for its benefit, thanks precisely to its monopoly on the means of production including data processing.

The historical tendency of the new forces of production which flow from the incorporation of abstract and applied science to material production is a rising cultural level of the workers and the democratization of socialized labor.

But this tendency develops, in a certain sense, more freely and effectively under advanced capitalism than in the USSR. There, the bureaucracy which manages the statized economy can all the more easily monopolize the management of the computer apparatus governing the planned economy of tomorrow.

This outcome is certainly not inevitable, but it is possible. It will depend on the evolution of the relationship of forces between the new human forces resulting from the economic and cultural development of the USSR itself, plus the world

revolutionary forces, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the forces of the bureaucracy, the party and, in particular, the army.

In effect the most conservative and authoritarian elements in the Soviet bureaucracy are those who hold political and military power.

There is a certain continuing antagonism between these two factions of the bureaucracy. The military bureaucracy acts largely autonomously, partly because of its very nature, but also because of its terrifying and growing apparatus of force.

The economic and scientific bureaucracy, while gaining in social weight in Soviet society as a whole, does not yet have decisive say over its future. An opposition seeking elementary democratic rights is developing among its ranks as well as among the intelligentsia and the student youth. The militants recruited from these sources are struggling effectively for this cause.

We must above all consider the following fact: Capitalism is entering an unprecedented, long-term crisis, accompanied by inflation, unemployment and the accelerated impoverishment of a number of "Third World" countries. This could make the bureaucratic order in the USSR and elsewhere, which assures a minimum of essential goods and job security, appear as a solution to hundreds of millions of people in other parts of the world held down by fear of insecurity, misery and, for some, outright famine.

Because capitalism offers nothing to this part of humanity, the "socialism" of the bureaucratic state can appear as a necessary historical stage. After all, in a world which is falling apart, the perspective of a sort of "neo-Asiatic" mode of production dominated by the bureaucratic state with a "collectivized and planned" economy can appear much more attractive to the masses of those regions threatened by the population explosion, ecological destruction, undernourishment, and famine, than it does to the masses of the advanced countries.

If that happens, the regime in the USSR, like those in other "workers" states, could figure in history as social regimes that assured the development of the productive forces of a number of underdeveloped countries, thus saving them from the extreme pauperization to which capitalism would have condemned them.

These states are the product both of the revolutionary process unleashed by the contradictions of capitalism and imperialism and of the weak development of the productive forces during a whole period, thus leading to the birth and consolidation of a bureaucracy.

Their appearance and consolidation reflect the uneven aspect of historical development both in the field of the productive forces and of the revolution.

Capitalist evolution, far from making the world uniform, aggravates the uneven character of the total process to the extreme. Thus it creates the conditions that enable certain countries and regions to escape the fate to which capitalism would condemn them, and enables them to undertake self-development. But it does this in a manner that is insufficient to also escape the birth and consolidation of a bureaucracy that manages the state.

These states, of "working-class," or rather "anticapitalist" origin are quickly deformed bureaucratically, but continue to develop the productive forces for an entire historical period, avoiding the pauperization of the masses. They thus fulfill a progressive historical role, however limited. Beyond a certain threshold of development the formation and consolidation of the power of the bureaucracy plays the role of a relative brake in relation to the development of new productive forces and an almost absolute brake in relation to an overall balanced development of the society. And that, without speaking of the out-and-out conservative and counterrevolutionary role of the bureaucracy on the international level where the ruling bureaucracy in practice acts like any other ruling class of a big national power.

Hence, we will have to distinguish between states of deformed anticapitalist origin, evolving bureaucratically, and states of degenerated anticapitalist origin with a crystallized bureaucracy.

All the states that we have conventionally called "workers" states, including China but not the USSR, belong in the first category. The USSR belongs in the second category.

In the states of the first category, the state, which manages society, is managed by the bureaucracy; because of this fact they merit being called "bureaucratic states." But since their bureaucracies are still weak and since they are going through the phase of progressive development and extensive industrialization, their evolution towards socialism based on self-management, by way of a political revolution, still remains possible.

The case of the USSR, to the contrary, is qualitatively different. The bureaucracy that manages the economy and the whole society through the state has congealed into a social formation that is as distinct from the bourgeoisie as from the proletariat, although it is closer to the bourgeoisie from the point of view of its material privileges and power as well as its mentality, mores, and aspirations.

It has lasted so long and acquired such power that it can be regarded practically as a ruling class of a new functional type, managing the statized but not yet socialized means of production.

In a certain sense, it is this specific base of the bureaucracy that determines its

particular structure, its stratification, its relatively loose internal cohesiveness, its dependence on a very narrow leadership that holds the real political power in the name of the state, equated to the national collectivity.

The statization of the means of production and the statism, as a form of management of the whole of society, engendered the bureaucracy and its omnipotence. Imperceptibly this system became the implacable enemy of any free association of producers and citizens; that is to say, of any form of social organization that progressively strips the state of its prerogatives and causes it to wither away.

Under statism and the bureaucracy the fundamental trend against socialist self-management (which is the same thing as the withering away of the state) is accentuated. From that flows the perspective of a stubborn struggle between those two tendencies as well as the magnitude of the transformations required in the bureaucratic society in the event of a victory over the bureaucracy.

But the difference between a political revolution and a new social revolution in the USSR has become practically insignificant. If, in overthrowing capitalism, a real social revolution is necessary to bring about the statization of the means of production, practically the same is required in overthrowing the bureaucratic state to achieve the socialization of the economy and the reorganization of the entire society along the lines of socialist self-management.

Under present historical conditions the perspective of the required new revolution in the USSR cannot be realized solely by the forces inside the country, a product of its economic and cultural development.

In excluding the possibility of a "solution" through a world atomic war, because such a world war would mean the destruction of all humanity (a threat that remains permanent), the problem of the USSR must be seen as follows: Either the revolution wins in time in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe, in Japan and in the United States—making possible the application of socialist self-management—or else the dislocations of the capitalist world will accelerate, threatening vast regions of the planet with unprecedented pauperization.

In the first case a new historical factor will emerge, capable of catalyzing the revolutionary energy of forces in the USSR sufficiently to overthrow the bureaucracy. That, in particular, would be the effect of a victorious socialist revolution in Europe.

In the other case we could see a new advance of "bureaucratic states" gravitating around the USSR, and, tomorrow, around China.

One last consideration concerning the

defense of the USSR remains. The slogan of unconditional defense of the USSR against imperialism and internal reaction made sense in a historical situation forever past. The USSR no longer risks being defeated in a war; it risks being simultaneously annihilated with imperialism (and all humanity) in the event of atomic war.

The domestic restorationist forces are also practically eliminated, strengthening the bureaucracy which derives its privileges and its power from the particular mode of production that it institutionalized.

Nevertheless, in the hypothetical case of an attempt to restore capitalism in the USSR, we will still defend the USSR, not as a "workers" state, but because decadent capitalism would tear down the present structures of the country, pauperize the masses, and consolidate itself.

Practically, what matters now is to defend the world revolution threatened not only by capitalism but likewise by the Soviet bureaucracy whose interests completely mesh with those of any ruling class of a big national power.

One can and one must, for example, seek to take advantage of the real, permanent American-Soviet antagonism, but without the least illusion about receiving disinterested, substantial aid from the bureaucracy to promote revolutionary projects.

In conclusion:

The price paid for the delay of the socialist revolution in the advanced countries, for the aggravation of the inequalities in world development, and for the putrefaction of a large part of capitalism is the appearance of a series of national states which, being of anticapitalist origin and having statized the means of production, have departed in varying degrees from a socialist evolution, meaning not a reinforcement of the state but society's own democratic administration.

In all these regimes* it is the state, constantly reinforced, that manages the economy and the society through the new social layer of the bureaucracy. These regimes continue in general to develop the productive forces and hence protect the masses from the danger of pauperization. They must be judged, then, as historically progressive in relation to this aspect, but retrogressive considering the level reached by the new productive forces and the actual objective possibilities.

October 1974

*With the exception of Yugoslavia, where the supremacy of the self-management tendency over the statist tendency has yet to be established.

In most of these regimes the ruling bureaucracy is still relatively weak and the perspective of its overthrow by political revolution, giving birth to socialist democracy and an evolution toward socialist self-management, still remains open.

But the case of the USSR is qualitatively different because of the age of the bureaucracy and its power acquired since institutionalizing its social and political regime. The road to socialism in the USSR, practically speaking, requires a new social revolution against the state that manages the economy and society, and against the bureaucracy that directs the state.

In general none of the states called "workers" or "socialist" states have the attributes justifying that characterization and none of them assures an evolution toward socialism—that is, toward the democratic administration of society in all domains and at all levels by the producers and citizens. Everywhere statism has the edge over this second tendency.

For these reasons we must call these regimes simply "bureaucratic states." The "bureaucratic state" is a new social regime of anticapitalist origin (the result of an anticapitalist revolution or of intervention by the USSR) in which the state manages the economy and the whole of society but is itself managed by its bureaucracy which is secreted, reinforced, consolidated by this role of the state.

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Capitalism Fouls Things Up



Scuba Divers Explore Floating Mountain of Sewage

One year ago, in June 1976, seventy miles of beaches along the southern shore of Long Island near New York City were closed. The cause was a massive invasion of sewage sludge and garbage. The *New York Daily News* reported at the time:

Among the debris were a large number of plastic objects associated with sewage systems. Other material found on the shore included large amounts of charred wood, some disposable diapers, food and food waste such as chicken heads and cabbage, and containers such as milk cartons from as far away as Texas.

Some of the beaches were quickly reopened, though warnings such as this one by a Nassau County health official were typical:

He cautioned beach-goers to avoid direct contact with any tar balls or other debris and to watch children to see that they do not put debris in their mouths.

He said food should not be eaten on beaches unless both hands are washed. In addition, food should be held in waxed paper or other wrappings to avoid contact with the hands.

The likelihood is great that such "sewage incursions" will be repeated, judging from an article by Bill Barada entitled "The Day the Ocean Died" in the June

1977 issue of *Skin Diver* magazine. He writes:

The New York Bight [see map] has been used as a garbage dump for human wastes ever since the early settlers bought Manhattan Island from the Indians. . . . By 1974 about two billion gallons a day of raw or partially treated sewage, combined with industrial wastes, were going into rivers that flowed into the bight. Coastal communities added additional millions of gallons a day through ocean outfalls.

In addition, around five to six million cubic yards a year of sewage sludge were barged into the bight apex. Millions of tons of construction rubble, acids and toxic chemicals were also barged to the ocean and dumped in the bight. On top of all this, when the sludge and muck on the bottom of New York Harbor builds up so high it hampers navigation, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers dredges it up and barges it out to dump it in the bight apex. The dredged material is almost as contaminated as raw sewage and the volume ranges between 15 to 120 million cubic yards per year.

In 1970 a study by the Sandy Hook Marine Laboratory found that sewage sludge dumping had created a twenty-square-mile "dead sea" in the bight, which was slowly moving toward shore.

The sludge was described as a tarry mass that

looked like black mayonaisse. It was devoid of oxygen, infested with dead marine life, loaded with disease-causing bacteria and toxic metals and the fish on its fringe were sick and diseased. . . .

Marine scientists from Brooklyn College . . . also reported that the sludge mass was moving toward shore. Dr. William H. Harris . . . published reports of the studies which show that in 1970 the edge of the sludge was eight miles off Long Island beaches. In May 1971 the edge was six miles offshore. In June 1972 it was only five miles out and pieces had broken off and contaminated the bottom within a half mile of shore.

In 1974 Harris reported further: "At this rate, the sludge will be up on the beaches by 1977. But even a year before that—the summer of 1976—the beaches will be unusable because of contamination from the sludge beds." The sludge arrived right on schedule last year, although none has been reported thus far in the New York summer of 1977.

But beach pollution, disgusting though it may be, pales in comparison to the destruction of marine ecology caused by dumping waste in the New York Bight. Baroda describes what scuba divers discovered in July 1976 when they swam below the layer of warm water that covers the colder bottom waters in summer:

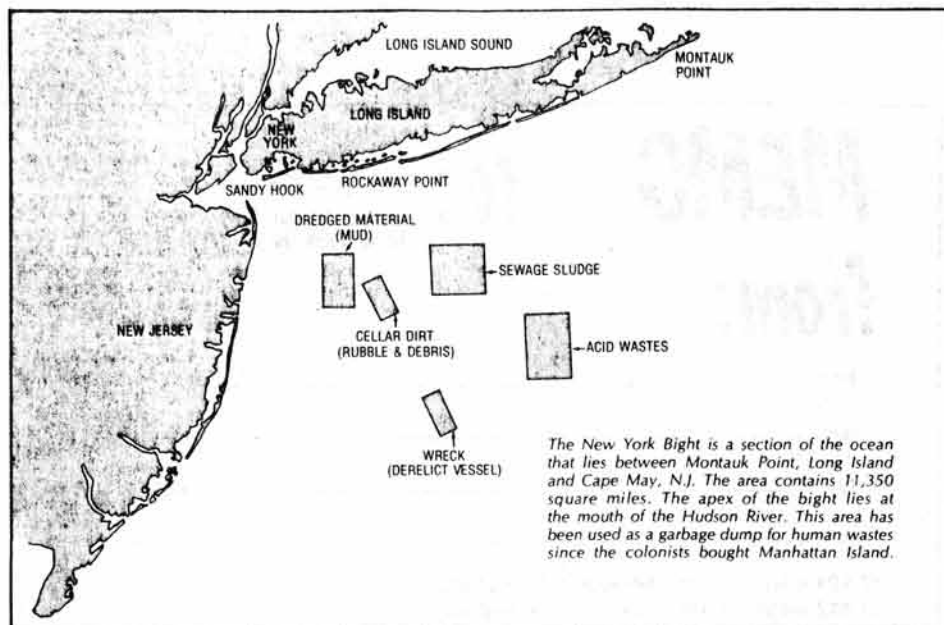
John Larson, a dive boat captain and member of the Marine Technology Society, said, "We encountered nothing unusual until we hit the thermocline at a depth of about 40 feet. Then we ran into a yellowish-brown cloud of junk. The water was full of chunks and globs of slimy brown and black goo that stuck to our gear. Soft, flaky brown stuff was so thick it felt like we were swimming through an underwater snow storm. In more than 20 years of diving I have never before seen anything like it." . . .

Larson said the stench was so vile he could smell it through his face mask. . . .

The divers said nothing was moving, absolutely nothing. There was no sign of life of any kind. . . .

Dead baitfish were so thick they filled bottom depressions. They must have died by the millions. Great tracts of mussels hung from wrecks by threads. Huge surf clams and sea worms had crawled out of their holes in the sand and lay dead on the bottom. Some of the dead lobsters were covered with a greenish mold and disintegrated when touched. . . .

Larson and his colleagues got in touch



Skin Diver

with other East Coast divers and a communications network was organized to follow the progress of this fishkill, which Barada calls "the greatest single pollution-caused disaster in American history."

They hit wrecks before they were contaminated, watched the poison pour in, and watched the fish and lobsters begin to die. By noting which wrecks were hit first, which were unaffected, and which direction the plague traveled, they pinpointed the source as the sewage sludge dump site. . . .

The kill continued all summer, moving southward as it progressed. At Sea Girt, Manasquan, Spring Lake and Beach Haven [New Jersey] the black plague washed ashore. Beaches were inundated with dead fish, black gunk, and grease balls. A nauseating stench of sewage swept through shoreside communities.

By the end of summer more than 3000 square miles of ocean bottom had been wiped out which may never again return to normal. At the latest reports, the plague . . . was expected to disperse as fall currents and temperatures shifted bottom water conditions. However, there is more than enough organic detritus (a polite term for sewage crud) on the bottom to trigger repeated massive die-offs—and nobody can predict if or when the plague will hit again.

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) issues yearly permits for sewer sludge dumping in the New York Bight. On May 25, permits for another year were granted to twelve cities and two private contractors.

Barada quotes a 1976 EPA report:

. . . the New York Bight is not a "dead sea" but responds to the high nutrient concentrations from sewage discharges in the harbor by supporting levels of productivity higher than normal for coastal ocean regions. . . .

"Thus," Barada says, "top officials of EPA Region II went on record as saying that sewage and sludge dumping are actually beneficial to fishing and to marine ecosystems. . . ."

"The EPA, Region II states that ocean dumping will be phased out by 1981, provided that environmentally acceptable, technically feasible, and economically viable land-based alternatives can be developed. [Barada's emphasis.]

"That is a whole mouthful of 'ifs' and, if past performance is an indicator of what we can expect from Region II as protectors of the environment, they will still be arguing that sewage is beneficial to fish and fishing in the year 2000."

Nonwhites in U.S. Hit Hardest by Cancer

Figures released June 14 by the U.S. National Center for Health Statistics showed a disproportionate rise in cancer deaths among nonwhite males from 1950 to 1975.

Dorothy Rice, the center's director, called the statistics "startling." Deaths among nonwhite adult males in the twenty-five-

year period totaled 288,436. Had the 1970 cancer death rate held steady, 74,049 of them, or 26 percent—would not have died of cancer.

During the same period, 2,379,860 adult white males died from cancer. If the 1950 rate had held steady, 284,907 (12 percent) would not have died from the disease.

According to the June 15 *Washington Post*, "Rice said at least part of the answer lay in the heavy migration of blacks from rural areas into industrialized cities where, in higher proportions than whites, they took jobs that exposed them to cancer-causing chemicals."

Worker Killed, Oil Spilled in Alaska Pipeline Blast

"Volatile crude oil began spewing onto the floor. The petroleum ignited when it hit the . . . turbine engine used to power the No. 1 pump. According to a pipeline fitter-foreman on the scene, the first explosion blew the roof some 50 to 70 feet in the air.

"The second blast less than a minute later blew out the walls and spewed a stream of burning oil northward. According to witnesses, the oil engulfed a nearby bus, a 50-ton crane, and burned some four acres of forest" (*Christian Science Monitor*, July 11).

One worker was killed and six injured in this July 8 explosion and fire at Pump Station No. 8 on the Alaska pipeline. Between 5,000 and 15,000 gallons of crude oil were spilled.

The pipeline itself apparently suffered no damage, so the Alyeska Pipeline Service Company hopes to divert the flow

of oil around the destroyed pump station and thus keep operations (and profits) going.

The blast was the most spectacular in a series of mishaps since oil began flowing south from Prudhoe Bay on June 20.

- On June 23, a machine pump shut down because an earthquake monitoring system had been improperly set.

- Shortly after that, a dump truck backed into the pipeline.

- A nitrogen leak on July 5, also at Pump Station No. 8, caused a sixty-four-hour shutdown of oil flow.

- And on July 9, about 8,000 gallons of gasoline were spilled at Pump Station No. 6.

Nevertheless, an Alyeska spokesman told the *Monitor* reporters that, considering the scale and sophistication of the Alaska pipeline, the process has been "remarkably flawless."

'Indefinite' Ban on Concorde

The New York Port Authority voted July 7 to extend indefinitely its ban on landings by the supersonic jetliner the Concorde at Kennedy airport.

The authority has been urged by a federal appeals court to "fix reasonable noise standards with dispatch." In not taking action to do so, the authority may be inviting the court to order Concorde landings and thus let it off the hook.

The next hearing in the suit filed against the Port Authority by Air France and British Airways will be July 12.

Healyite Line on Concorde Rings a Bell in Moscow

In April the American followers of Gerry Healy came to the defense of the beleaguered stockholders of the Concorde, the supersonic jetliner that has been shattering eardrums from London to Rio de Janeiro. The April 19 issue of the *Bulletin* denounced the campaign being waged by the victims of jet noise at New York's Kennedy airport as "hysterical actions to back up the Carter government's trade warfare."

In particular, the American Healyites denounced the Socialist Workers Party for opposing the Concorde. They alleged that the SWP's stand was "part of its pursuit of middle class elements in the environmental protest movement, never mentioning the trade war."

The *Bulletin* protested the fight to ban landings of the Concorde as an attempt "to bankrupt the British and French aircraft industry, to the profit of the American aerospace giants like Boeing and Lockheed."

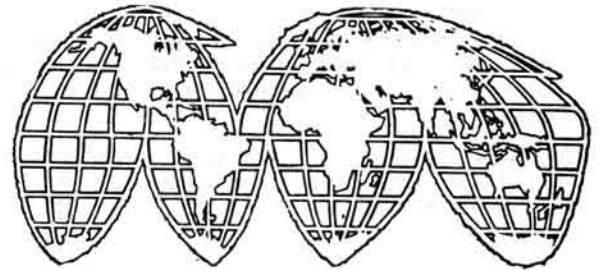
The Healyite position in this raging trade war has now been strongly reinforced. The July 9 *New York Post* quotes the Soviet news agency TASS as saying:

"By preventing the landing of the [Concorde] in the lucrative New York airport, influential American circles and air and aircraft building firms backing them strive to weaken the competitiveness of British Airways and Air France and undermine the manufacture of supersonic planes in western Europe."

TASS said the validity of French and British protests over delays in landing rights was borne out "by the whole history of the cut-throat competition" surrounding the Concorde.

The Healyites are to be congratulated for their success in getting Brezhnev to become a strange bedfellow in their struggle to let the Concorde deafen the residents of Long Island, thereby saving the British and French aircraft industry from bankruptcy. □

AROUND THE WORLD



Kremlin Calls Japan CP 'Chauvinist'

The Soviet Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* has condemned the Japanese CP for endorsing the Japanese government's claim to the Kurile Islands. Tokyo has demanded the return of the small archipelago off northern Japan, which was occupied by Soviet troops at the end of World War II.

A *Pravda* editorial June 12 said that "for a rather long time after the rout of Japanese militarism, the Communist Party of Japan understood correctly the significance of this historic event and saw the whole danger of revival of militarism in their country."

Now, however, the editorial said, the Japanese Communists are "adapting themselves to chauvinistic, nationalistic attitudes and fostering . . . hostile feelings toward the Soviet Union."

500 Freed in Philippines

Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos has ordered the release of 500 prisoners under military detention, according to a June 27 Reuters dispatch.

No charges had been laid against the detainees, 175 of whom were released unconditionally. The others were released pending further investigation.

In a speech to the Foreign Correspondents Association in June, Marcos announced his intention to phase out the special military tribunals set up after martial law was imposed in 1972.

While maintaining that his jails held no political prisoners, Marcos admitted that 4,624 persons were being detained without charge under the martial law powers.

Vietnam Still Suffers Effects of Pentagon's Chemical Warfare

The Vietnamese government has reported massive and lingering environmental damage from herbicides and defoliants used by the Pentagon during the war.

Quoting University of Hanoi chemistry professor Nguen Thac Cat, an Agence France-Presse dispatch in the June 14 *San Francisco Chronicle* said: "In southern Vietnam, rubber output has been cut by half. Forty per cent of fruit trees have died and farm produce has been slashed by 30 per cent. Only six per cent of devastated forests have been restored."

Defoliants are "weapons of genocide, biocide, and ecocide," Cat said. They have had "horrifying effects on animals and men; pregnant women affected by defoliants have given birth to still-born babies and monsters. Several categories of rare fauna and flora have been wiped out."

Referring to the Carter administration's refusal to provide postwar reconstruction aid, the dispatch said Vietnamese officials denounced Washington for trying to "disclaim responsibility for the destruction it has brought to the land and people of Vietnam."

UN Calls for Aid to Mozambique

The United Nations Security Council agreed unanimously June 30 to ask member countries of the UN to give "material" aid to the regime in Mozambique to help it defend itself from military attacks by the racist Rhodesian regime.

Two days earlier, Mozambican Minister of Development and Economic Planning Marcelino dos Santos testified before the council that the Rhodesian forces had carried out 150 raids, killing 1,432 civilians, leveling a number of border villages, and causing \$13 million in property damage. These attacks were in reprisal for assistance and sanctuary given to the Zimbabwean freedom fighters by the Mozambican regime.

The resolution passed by the Security Council was carefully worded. According to a report by *New York Times* correspondent Kathleen Teltsch, "The United States and other Western countries agreed to support the resolution on aid to Mozambique after African negotiators had modified their text to restrict the request to 'material' assistance rather than a more sweeping call for 'practical' assistance, which could have been seen as justifying intervention by foreign troops."

Moreover, U.S. representative Andrew Young tried to interpret the request for "material" aid as meaning only economic assistance, not weapons or other military equipment. African representatives disagreed, stating that the term included arms.

Coal Miners Out on Strike

About 23,000 coal miners in southern Appalachia walked off the job June 22 in a wildcat strike protesting reductions in

union health benefits. In eight West Virginia counties, 20,000 miners downed tools. Several thousand more were reported striking in eastern Kentucky and southern Ohio.

Most of Alabama's 17,000 miners were already striking over local issues for about a week when word of the benefit cuts reached them.

Funds for the United Mine Workers health and retirement plan are paid by coal operators, based on production and hours worked. In retaliation for wildcat strikes over the past three years, mine operators have deducted \$65 million in payments, UMW officials report, leaving insufficient funds to maintain the level of benefits.

British Unemployment Soars

Britain's unemployment figure rose to 6.2 percent in mid-June, approaching the worst level since World War II. Government statistics showed 1,450,000 persons out of work—an increase of 0.5 percent over the previous month. The majority of those joining the jobless ranks in June were students leaving school.

Chile Sit-In Wins Concessions

A hunger strike and sit-in by twenty-six Chileans at the Santiago offices of the United Nations has forced the Pinochet regime to meet at least two of the protesters' demands.

The twenty-four women and two men are all relatives of political prisoners who have "disappeared." The group had vowed to continue their sit-in until the Chilean dictatorship "cleared up once and for all" the fate of those who "disappeared"; allowed an international commission to investigate human-rights violations in Chile; and agreed not to take reprisals against the hunger strikers.

United Nations officials were compelled to negotiate on behalf of the demonstrators. Support actions took place in Paris, Mexico, San Francisco, Norway, and elsewhere.

The sit-in ended June 23 after Pinochet promised U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to provide information concerning the whereabouts of the protesters' relatives and not to retaliate against the twenty-six.