

From a Texas Jail

## ***An Appeal for Political Asylum in United States***



Margaret Winter

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—Review Article by Ernest Mandel—

## **A Powerful Case Against Bureaucratism**

## Save Héctor Marroquín Manríquez!

By Arnold Weissberg

[The following are excerpts from an article scheduled to appear in the October 28 issue of the *Militant*.]

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has launched an urgent appeal to save the life of Héctor Marroquín Manríquez, a former Mexican student activist, now held in a Texas jail, seeking political asylum in the United States.

The Mexican government has falsely charged Marroquín with several murders, and has indicted him on charges of "conspiracy" and "subversion," accusing him of membership in a guerrilla group.

There is a real danger that the Mexican government would summarily execute Marroquín if it succeeds in getting its hands on him. Or he might just disappear while in police custody, as have at least 250 other political prisoners in the last few years.

USLA is circulating an appeal to U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service Director Leonel Castillo, calling on him to grant Marroquín asylum.

The U.S. State Department, in an official report to Congress on human rights in Mexico, commented that "cruel and degrading treatment are not infrequent."

"Arbitrary arrests and detentions occasionally occur of political oppositionists accused of illegal activities," the report went on.

"There is well-documented evidence," the *Washington Post* reported last March, "that leftist activists—and often their families and friends—frequently are kidnapped by the authorities rather than arrested, are kept incommunicado, are severely tortured during interrogation and held without trial indefinitely."

In his request for asylum filed with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), Marroquín explained: "My intention in coming to the United States was to escape torture and to wait until such time as I can demonstrate in a court of law the falsity of the accusations against me."

"I have not committed a single one of the crimes of which I was accused. I was terrified that the police would torture me by placing me on an electrical bed or in an electrical bath to force a false confession—something that happens on a regular basis and is characteristic of the crushing of democratic liberties in Mexico."

Héctor Marroquín Manríquez entered the Autonomous University of Nuevo León, in Monterrey, in 1969 at the age of sixteen. Monterrey, Mexico's second largest city, is located in the northern state of Nuevo León.

In his first year at the University, Marroquín actively participated in a movement to democratize the school under the control of students and faculty.

The students relied on mass peaceful demonstrations to make their points. The government attacked some of the demonstrations, and several activists were arrested.

The movement won some concessions, Marroquín said, but failed to win real student/faculty control of the campus.

In January 1972 several Monterrey banks were robbed. The police went on a big manhunt, and the press began a screaming campaign against the entire radical movement.

One of the students the cops went after was Marroquín's roommate, Jesús Rivera, whom Marroquín remembers as "a brilliant student and a dedicated activist in the student movement."

Trying to "arrest" Rivera, the cops pumped fourteen bullets into him. He had no part in the robberies.

The cops arrested three students for the bank robberies, and claimed that their statements implicated all of them and Rivera as well.

But when the three were presented to the press, they were covered with bruises and had lost several teeth. Their lips and other parts of their bodies had been burned with cigarettes, and they had suffered electric shock treatment.

Aside from these "confessions," there was no evidence to link Jesús Rivera to the bank robberies.

In March 1973, Marroquín joined a discussion group. The students talked about the political and economic crisis facing Mexico, and the political alternatives for newly radicalizing workers and students.

The group developed into the *Comité Estudiantil Revolucionario* (Revolutionary Student Committee—CER).

Other students joined. Soon the local press was writing about the "red menace" on campus.

By August 1973, many members of the CER had begun to support the idea of guerrilla warfare. Marroquín disagreed with the notion that armed actions by

small groups could bring about basic social change, so he left the CER.

(The CER later merged into the September 23 Communist League, which was founded as a guerrilla organization. Despite his 1973 break with the CER, Marroquín is accused by the Mexican government of membership in this group.)

On January 17, 1974, a university librarian was shot down in the streets of Monterrey. Police arrested several students, tortured them, and extracted "confessions" that the CER was responsible.

Two days later, the Monterrey papers carried the names and pictures of the "guilty" ones: Carlos Rentería Medina, Héctor Camero Haro, Jesús Piedra Ibarra, Miguel Angel Rodríguez Medina, and Héctor Marroquín Manríquez.

After consulting an attorney, Marroquín decided against turning himself in and challenging the accusations.

"Carlos Solana, the police chief, was infamous for his bestial police practices," Marroquín explained. "He was known to have tortured prisoners, raped women prisoners, and crippled others mentally or physically."

Marroquín decided to seek refuge in the United States, and left Mexico in April 1974.

Since he left Mexico, two of the students accused with him in Monterrey have been gunned down by the police under pretext of trying to arrest them.

A third, Jesús Piedra Ibarra, was arrested by the police in April 1975. No one has heard from him since.

The Mexican cops claim to have wounded Marroquín Manríquez in a Monterrey shootout in June 1974—two months after he left the country!

They also claim he took part in a guerrilla attack on a bakery in Monterrey in August 1974. At the time of the attack he was in a Texas hospital, recovering from an automobile accident.

Marroquín Manríquez has lived in the United States since 1974. He is married and has a son who was born in Chicago in 1975. He has been active in the movement against deportation of "illegal aliens."

Marroquín returned to Mexico briefly in September to consult a lawyer, and was arrested by the Border Patrol as he tried to reenter the United States at Eagle Pass, Texas.

He was sentenced to two months and twenty-eight days in jail on a charge of trying to enter the country illegally, a sentence he is now serving in the Maverick County Jail in Eagle Pass.

He could be sent back to Mexico at any time.

Because Marroquín was arrested trying to come back into the United States, the government is, technically, "excluding" him, not deporting him.

Although he is entitled to a hearing under INS procedures, he won't be allowed to raise his asylum request at this hearing.

And although he can appeal a decision to keep him out, the INS says it will send him back to Mexico at once if he loses the first round.

Under these circumstances, his "right to appeal" is meaningless, since he would already have been turned over to the Mexican authorities.

This would be a violation of the INS's own rules, which bar any "final action" in a case pending appeal.

Also, under the INS rules, Marroquín does not have the right to a hearing on his request for asylum. That decision is left up to the district director of the INS, who need not hear witnesses, examine documents, or allow cross-examination. By law, all he has to do is seek the opinion of the State Department.

INS practice does not allow for an appeal of the decision. If it goes against Marroquín, he can be returned to Mexico at once.

Turning down Marroquín's request for asylum would be in clear violation of United States law.

Washington is a signatory to the United Nations Protocol and Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and it has the force of law in the United States.

Sending Marroquín back to Mexico would be a clear violation of Article 33 of the protocol, which declares that a refugee has the right not to be "expelled or returned in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his . . . political opinion."

Marroquín's attorney, Margaret Winter, is fighting to change the INS's blatantly unfair procedures.

Winter has filed suit in federal court in Washington, D.C., to block any move by the INS to return Marroquín to Mexico. The suit challenges the right of the INS district director to make a decision on asylum without so much as a hearing. The court action also challenges the right of the INS to send Marroquín back to Mexico before he has a chance to present his case and to appeal to the federal courts for a review of any unfavorable decision.

Despite the firm legal footing for Marroquín's request for asylum, the government's record on asylum shows that only a massive nationwide campaign can make it adhere to its own laws.

Immediate action is necessary to keep Marroquín in the United States and save his life. Telegrams and letters should be addressed to: Leonel Castillo, Immigration and Naturalization Service Director, Washington, D.C., 20536.

To circulate the USLA petition and obtain more information on the case, write to USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003. □

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### Ethiopian Junta Under Heavy Strains

By Ernest Harsch

The Ethiopian military junta, known as the Dergue, is now facing the most serious challenges to its rule since it seized power more than three years ago. At the same time that it is trying to maintain control over the restive population in Addis Ababa, the capital, it has suffered major reverses at the hands of the Eritrean independence fighters in the north and the Somali insurgents, backed by the neighboring Somalian regime, in the south and east.

The mounting strains on the junta are evident, both in its public declarations and in its increasingly desperate measures to maintain Ethiopia's "sacred unity."

In August, Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, the head of the junta, admitted for the first time that Ethiopian forces had lost control of the major towns of Nakfa, Karora, and Keren to the Eritrean freedom fighters. Since then, the Eritreans have made further gains, capturing the strategic town of Agordat.

In the Ogaden region, which is populated largely by Somali-speaking nomads, the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), with the direct support of the Somalian regime in Mogadishu, has been successful so far in driving the government troops back to the immediate areas around Harar and Dire Dawa, the two major cities in the east. The WSLF favors the separation of the Ogaden from Ethiopia and its incorporation into Somalia.

The Somali forces captured Jijiga, which had been the Ethiopian army's main tank base, in early September, but Addis Ababa has tried to cover up its loss for fear of further damaging the already low Ethiopian morale. *New York Times* correspondent John Darnton, who visited Jijiga, reported September 27:

The debris of the fighting, a substantial arms cache and heavy weaponry left behind indicate that the Ethiopian Third Division and the three battalions of the 10th Brigade broke and ran. . . .

The same pattern, suggesting a low level of morale among Ethiopian troops, has been found in other towns in Ogaden visited by Western correspondents.

In an effort to strengthen its military forces, the Mengistu regime established a so-called People's Militia earlier this year, composed largely of conscripted peasants.

Mengistu is now extending this military mobilization to the cities, with the formation of a "Workers Militia." Every factory and company has been ordered to supply between 7 and 8 percent of its workforce, either as "volunteers" or by lot. The re-



MENGISTU: Bids for arms from Pentagon.

maining workers are required to maintain normal, and even increased, production, with no overtime pay. Annual leaves have been canceled.

On top of this, the urban masses are suffering from shortages of some basic food items, largely because of disruptions in the normal distribution system caused by the fighting and by the Dergue's requisitioning of transport for military purposes.

To divert the urban masses from their economic problems and to rally support for its military campaigns, the Dergue, which calls itself "Marxist-Leninist," has escalated its demagogic efforts to whip up chauvinist sentiment against the Eritreans, Somalis, and other oppressed nationalities. On September 12, during the anniversary celebrations of the Dergue's seizure of power, Mengistu sought to portray the struggles for self-determination by the Eritreans and Somalis as having been engineered by foreign powers:

The encirclement mounted on the eve of the revolution by international imperialism in collusion with reactionaries dispossessed of their means of exploitation having been transformed into an open war of aggression, the struggle against secessionist groups seeking to sell Ethiopia's Northern region to reactionary Arab regimes and the fascistic Mogadishu regime which has sparked off a war against us to take one-fifth of our land has become the great and decisive confrontation of the revolution. [Quoted

in the September 13 *Ethiopian Herald*]

One of the Dergue's main slogans is "Revolutionary Motherland or Death!"

Despite the junta's nationalist rhetoric and its promises to establish a "democratic republic," there are signs that it is becoming increasingly isolated within the country, even from some of its most ardent supporters.

According to a number of news reports, there has been a rift between the Dergue and Me'ison (All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement), a Maoist group that had backed the junta until recently. Me'ison had played an important role in the regime's crackdown against the underground Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party earlier this year, in which hundreds of young activists were gunned down in the streets of Addis Ababa.

The Dergue now charges Me'ison with having plotted to seize power. Many Me'ison supporters have been purged from their positions in the regime's civilian apparatus. According to a report by correspondent David Ottaway in the October 8 *Washington Post*, "the All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement, has joined the ranks of the opposition now and 200 of its top officials have either gone underground, fled the country, been killed or captured in the past six weeks."

One of those who fled but was later captured was Haile Fida, the central leader of Me'ison and the former head of the Provisional Office for Mass Organizational Affairs, a body that had sought to mobilize civilian support for the regime.

The Dergue has at the same time made renewed overtures to Washington, with the apparent aim of broadening its sources of foreign assistance. The American imperialists, who had armed and trained the Ethiopian military since the early 1950s, cut back their aid earlier this year because of the Dergue's instability and its failure to contain the various struggles going on there. This impelled Mengistu to turn to Moscow for political and military support.

Ottaway reported in the September 23 *Washington Post*, however, that "in early August, the government ordered the local media to stop attacking 'American imperialism' . . ." Ethiopian military sources told Ottaway that Addis Ababa was seeking F-5E jet fighters, M-60 heavy tanks, jeeps, trucks, armored personnel carriers, and other equipment that had been ordered from Washington earlier but has not yet been delivered.

So far, Washington has agreed to provide \$200,000 in economic assistance and is discussing an additional \$10 million aid package.

The Dergue may also be getting indirect American military assistance through the U.S.'s Israeli client state. According to numerous reports, the Israeli regime has supplied spare parts for the Dergue's American-made F-5 jet fighters and has helped train some military units. □

## New Labor Storm Forecast for Colombia

By Eduardo Medrano

A new labor storm, it seems, is about to break over the hated, already weak López Michelsen government. The October 11 edition of the liberal daily *El Tiempo* reported that the presidents of the country's four trade-union federations<sup>1</sup> have been meeting in Bogotá "to lay the basis for a new public protest against the government's treatment of the Colombian workers."

This protest would take the form of nationwide demonstrations on October 28 "to protest the deaths, detentions, and disappearances of workers resulting from the September 14 strike," according to union leaders quoted in *El Tiempo*.

So the possibility is opening for another day of united struggle initiated by the workers federations. This has great political importance, since the unions and the left organizations (with the sole exception of the Maoists) were totally successful in carrying out the citizens' national general strike against the government on September 14-15, which had the support of all the workers and popular sectors of the country. (See *Intercontinental Press*, September 26, p. 1036.)

The September strike dealt the government some severe political blows. The bloody repression it unleashed has made the government more and more unpopular and has created other problems it will have to contend with for months. It should be added that the intransigence the regime has exhibited in the Consejo Nacional de Salarios (CNS—National Salary Board) is bound to lead to a new clash with the workers movement before long.

For example, on the same day that preparations were announced for the October 28 actions, the labor delegates to the CNS withdrew completely, according to an October 12 report in *El Espectador*. Their action resulted from the obstinate attitude of the government and the employers, who united to reject the overall wage increase of 50 percent demanded by the workers.

1. Colombia's four trade-union federations are the Unión de Trabajadores de Colombia (UTC—Union of Colombian Workers), the Confederación Sindical de Trabajadores de Colombia (CSTC—General Trade-Union Federation of Colombian Workers), the Confederación de Trabajadores de Colombia (CTC—Confederation of Colombian Workers), and the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT—General Confederation of Labor). The leaderships of these federations are associated, respectively, with the Conservative, Communist, Liberal, and Christian Democratic parties.

In view of the failure of the CNS, the government—with the bosses' blessings—produced a document in which it said it would decree a 36.4 percent increase in the minimum wage.

Such a unilateral decision falls far short of satisfying the workers' needs, however. The arbitrary amount divides the workers into three sectors—rural workers, workers in the smaller cities, and workers in the state capitals—as if inflation varied according to the region where one lives. Moreover, the increase decreed will only "benefit" one sector of wage earners. According to figures released by the government's National Planning Agency, cited in the October 3 issue of the left weekly *Alternativa*, the minimum-wage laws cover only 63 percent of the currently employed urban work force. Workers in the larger plants, through their recent economic struggles, have won wage levels higher than the announced legal minimum.

Thus the increases declared by the government in its demagogic display do nothing to better the living conditions of these workers. Nor do they affect the profit rates of the dominant sectors of the nation's economy.

It cannot be said either that such an increase means anything for the unemployed workers and youth. For all these reasons, the union movement has rejected such methods and is demanding instead a general wage increase.

On the other hand, large numbers of workers are being fired as the employers take revenge against participants in the citizens strike. According to William Salazar of the UTC, the firings throughout the country have reached 350 (*Alternativa*, October 3). Another union leader, Rozo Osorio of the CSTC, told *Alternativa* that the government has withdrawn legal recognition from eight CSTC unions, and from one CGT union and one UTC union as well—despite statements by the deputy minister of labor that the government had not outlawed the national citizens strike. (It did not outlaw the strike—it only shot down more than thirty persons in the streets of Bogotá alone!)

To the strikes already in progress by teachers, cement workers, and the workers of ECOPETROL<sup>2</sup> must be added a similar movement in the Finance Ministry, in support of petitions submitted by the union

2. Colombian Petroleum Enterprise, a semigovernmental body that controls the extraction of crude oil in the nationalized sector.

there. Another strike may develop in the Justice Ministry and in the judicial branch, if no agreement is reached concerning petitions presented by the workers.

The possibility also exists for a transport strike, since the employers in urban and intercity transportation have rejected one of the main points raised by the United Committee of Transport Workers: an eight-hour day (*El Tiempo*, October 11).

A good indication of the malaise affecting the ruling class as it faces the growing assertiveness of the workers and people can be found in the following passage by a well-known reactionary columnist that appeared in the October 11 issue of *El Tiempo*:

The strike epidemic is continuing throughout the country. Banks and cement factories, in addition to the forty-eight-hour strike declared in Barranca. Also, dynamite attacks on oil pipelines; and a new trick—setting fire to official vehicles. All this can be found on the order of the day. But no solution to the labor problems is in sight, nor has any accord been reached on wage increases. Warnings are heard everywhere. Citizens ask each other daily: Who is going to call strikes today?

The columnist concludes gloomily:

One cannot live in tranquility in a country where unrest is out of control. The tension we are being submitted to must come to an end for the rulers as well as the ruled.

But with a government such as López Michelsen's, reducing tension is almost impossible. On the contrary—the country lives from one tense moment to the next. For example, no sooner did Finance Minister Abdón Espinosa resign than he opened his mouth to say that even López had considered resigning not too long ago. Many people were undoubtedly alarmed at this news.

Now the capitalists themselves are holding the government responsible for the workers' agitation. Alberto Vásquez Restrepo, director of Camacol,<sup>3</sup> said October 9 that the agitation sweeping the country is carried out "under the protection of the government's negligence in complying with the law" (*El Tiempo*, October 11).

Another representative of private enterprise, Aurelio Caicedo Ayerbe, recently summed up the situation in eight words: "No government, no foresight—we just drift along."

So it is the workers who have the initiative. □

3. Cámara Colombiana de la Construcción (Colombian Council on Construction).

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# AROUND THE WORLD



## Gandhi Charged With Corruption

Former Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and four of her cabinet members were arrested October 3 on charges of corruption. Gandhi was taken into police custody in New Delhi after refusing to post bail.

The government of Morarji Desai, who defeated Gandhi in national elections last March, charged the former head of state with two specific offenses. One was that she used her influence to illegally obtain 104 Jeep vehicles for use in her election campaign.

She was also charged with influencing the award of an oil exploration contract to a French firm, although an American company had submitted a lower bid.

Gandhi was released eighteen hours after her arrest by a magistrate who said he found "no grounds for believing the accusation is well-founded." Although the charges still stand, the magistrate's action was a political setback for the Desai government.

During her court hearing, thousands of Gandhi's Congress Party supporters gathered in New Delhi's streets. Police used tear gas and steel-tipped truncheons to disperse the demonstrators. Scores of arrests and injuries were reported. Strikes and protests were also reported in Bombay and cities in the northern province of Uttar Pradesh.

Despite the widespread rejection of Gandhi's twenty-one month emergency rule that led to her defeat at the polls, in recent months the former prime minister has been engineering a political comeback. Her arrest followed a number of speaking engagements and rallies around the country.

Shortly after her release, Gandhi flew to Bombay for a rally that attracted an estimated 25,000 of her supporters.

## Peru Devalues After Talks With IMF

The military regime in Peru has devalued the country's currency by relaxing strict foreign-exchange controls and allowing the sol to float against other currencies. A drop of 20-25% in the sol's value in dollars is expected, according to an Associated Press dispatch in the October 11 *Wall Street Journal*.

The devaluation will further boost prices, which jumped 34% last year and were rising at an even higher rate this year.

"The change comes when Peru needs vast amounts of foreign exchange to pay

its heavy foreign debt, currently estimated at about \$5 billion," AP said. "The relaxation of [controls] also follows a tough round of negotiations with the International Monetary Fund, in which Peru sought an IMF standby loan package of \$120 million and IMF backing in future negotiations with banks to refinance its debt."

## Nigerian Unionists Face Victimization

Three trade-union leaders and eleven other persons have been charged with violation of the 1976 Trades Disputes Decree in a magistrate's court in Lagos, Nigeria. The three unionists are all from the African Workers Associated Union: Stephen Bediare, the president; Pedro Erhomosole, a branch secretary; and Saula Oduntan, the general secretary.

They have been charged with illegally calling a strike June 16 against G.B. Ollivant, a section of the United Africa Company group, which is controlled by the British giant Unilever.

## Capitalists Raking It In

There were 172 dividend increases by U.S. corporations in September, according to Standard & Poors, an investment advisory firm. This is the most for a September since it began keeping track in 1955, and the total for the first nine months of the year also set a record. Stockholders received dividends totaling \$35.8 billion in 1976.

## E. Germany Condemned on Human Rights

Thousands of political, religious, or cultural dissidents are being held prisoner in East Germany, according to a "briefing paper" made public October 10 by Amnesty International.

The release of the report unintentionally coincided with the announcement that the London-based human rights organization had been awarded the 1977 Nobel Peace Prize.

East Germany's regime continues to arrest, place in long pretrial detention, and imprison citizens who criticize official government policy. In addition, the report said, simply requesting to leave the country has become a punishable offense.

Under East Germany's penal code, those who seek official permission to emigrate could be charged with "incitement hostile

to the state" or "economic sabotage." From 100,000 to 200,000 persons had requested to leave the country by 1976, the report said, adding that most had been refused.

"Currently it is estimated that there are several thousand political prisoners in the German Democratic Republic, a high proportion of them serving relatively short sentences of between one and three years for trying to leave the country without permission," Amnesty said.

## Seeks Expert Advice

Jean-Bédél Bokassa, the former colonel who seized power in the Central African Republic in 1965, has taken steps to crown himself "emperor" and has renamed the impoverished country the Central African Empire. He is now seeking an outside advisor to help him plan his glorification projects.

According to the October 10 *West Africa*, "Emperor Bokassa's preparations for his coronation in December now include the dispatch of an emissary to North Korea to seek inspiration for a personality cult in his empire, according to informed sources in Peking. The source said that the envoy was particularly interested in the architectural style of President Kim Il Sung's palace and the many statues of the North Korean leader which are to be found all over the country."

## Malian Junta Offers Political Sop

The military dictator of Mali, Col. Moussa Traoré, pledged in a major speech September 22—the seventeenth anniversary of the West African country's independence from France—that the junta would allow some political activities to resume by next year. Virtually all political activity has been banned in Mali since the 1968 military coup that overthrew the regime of Modibo Keita.

Traoré made it clear, however, that the only political activity that would be allowed would be within the framework of a single legal party, the Union Démocratique du Peuple Malien (Democratic Union of the Malian People).

Traoré's promise appears designed to dampen the opposition to his regime that erupted earlier this year in a series of student demonstrations from February through May. Also in May, several thousand persons attending the funeral for Keita, who died May 16, raised a considerable number of antigovernment slogans.

### Crackdown on Immigrant Workers in France

By Susan Wald

Under cover of demagogic rhetoric about finding solutions to unemployment, the French government has launched a xenophobic campaign aimed at substantially reducing the number of immigrant workers in France and terrorizing into submissiveness those who are allowed to remain.

On September 27, Lionel Stoléru, secretary of state for immigrant workers, announced the following measures:

1. Beginning October 1, the government would stop issuing work permits to foreign-born workers. This would include not only those entering the country for the first time, but also those who have been holding down jobs illegally while trying unsuccessfully to obtain legal status.

2. For the next three years, immigrants would be prohibited from bringing their families to live with them in France.

3. The "re-entry aid" of 10,000 francs [US\$2,000] offered by the government in June to unemployed immigrants who would voluntarily agree to return permanently to their own countries would be extended to all immigrants, whether employed or unemployed, who have resided in France for at least five years.

In attempting to create a climate of opinion favorable to the acceptance of these measures, Stoléru openly appealed to racist and chauvinist sentiments on the part of French workers:

Economic conditions are such that a steady influx of new job requests from persons of foreign birth must be considered as liable to cause a severe upset in the labor market, in view of the acute character that the unemployment problem has taken on across the country.

Knowing that the proposal to deny immigrants the right to send for their families would probably arouse a huge outcry, Stoléru attempted to pass this off as a "humanitarian" gesture, while at the same time playing on racist fears. Since work permits would only be issued to heads of households, allowing workers' families to immigrate to France "would almost inevitably drive foreign teen-agers who have completed their schooling but are forbidden to work to the verge of delinquency."

Stoléru left no doubt that the government's decision to clamp down on work permits would mean giving the green light to all forms of police harassment of immigrants. "Increasingly," he warned, "there will be those who are on the right side of the law and those who are not."

The French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* summed up the meaning of the new policy in its September 28 issue: "The govern-

ment has opened season on immigrants."

The government has been trying for some time to pin the blame for the economic crisis on the immigrant workers. They make a convenient target since they constitute a highly visible part of the population.

Last year, for example, Jacques Chirac, who was premier at the time, signaled the opening of this campaign by declaring, "A country with 900,000 unemployed and 2,000,000 immigrants should be able to solve its unemployment problem."

Then, in June 1977, the government launched its bonus program with the declared aim of persuading 100,000 immigrants to "voluntarily" leave France, thus ostensibly providing job openings for French workers. However, so far only 1,500 immigrants have taken advantage of the offer.

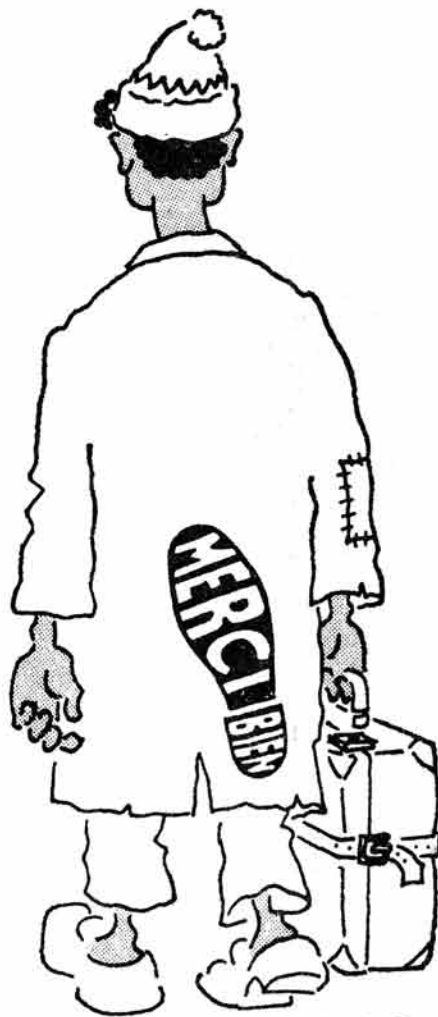
It is not hard to see why most immigrants think the government is getting the better of the bargain. Many of them come from former French colonies in Africa, where the French imperialists left behind them a legacy of poverty and unemployment. Furthermore, the lump payment of 10,000 francs does not even equal the amount of unemployment compensation a French worker is entitled to—nor are the immigrants reimbursed for the Social Security taxes they have paid.

At the same time, a recently published official study pointed out that if 160,000 immigrants left France, this would only create 13,000 jobs, because few French workers would be willing to take the jobs that are held by immigrants. Foreign workers are overwhelmingly concentrated in the lowest-paying, most menial, and dangerous occupations.

The need from the capitalists' standpoint to change this situation undoubtedly entered into the government's calculations. In its October 1 issue, the Trotskyist weekly *Lutte Ouvrière* wrote:

Aside from hoping to cheaply get rid of several thousand or tens of thousands of unemployed workers in this way, the government is also seeking to convince French workers that it is concerned about unemployment and fighting to preserve their jobs. . . .

But the campaign against immigrant workers is also aimed at French workers. The government wants to force French workers to take the immigrants' places, which it can scarcely hope to do nowadays. What French engineer, technician, or even professional would voluntarily accept the work and especially the pay that the bosses usually reserve for immigrant workers? The government may be hoping in the near future to



Konk/Le Monde

"Thanks a lot."

convince French workers to take the lowest-paying, most backbreaking jobs—or else it is only looking for an excuse to take away their unemployment compensation.

The government's crackdown on immigrants comes at a time when immigrant workers have been the victims of a number of racist attacks. In September, for example, a residence for immigrant workers in Paris burned down, killing three persons and injuring fifty others. No one disputed that the fire had been set deliberately. Early morning police raids on immigrant residences to ferret out "illegals" (those without work permits) are becoming more and more frequent.

To counter the government's racist hysteria, a united response in defense of the rights of immigrant workers will be necessary. There are indications that such a response may be forthcoming. *Rouge* reported in its September 29 issue that the two main trade-union federations, the CGT (General Confederation of Labor) and CFDT (French Democratic Confederation of Labor) have sharply condemned the new measures as "racist" and pledged to combat them. □

# Selections From the Left

## Socialist Challenge

Newspaper sponsored by the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International. Published weekly in London.

Recent issues of *Socialist Challenge* have reported on actions to build a national abortion rights demonstration in Birmingham October 29.

On October 1 a Day of Inquiry was organized by the Birmingham National Abortion Campaign to hear evidence on the difficulty of obtaining National Health Service (NHS) abortions in Birmingham. According to the October 6 *Socialist Challenge*, more than 100 people heard testimony from feminists, political figures, and health-care workers.

Because of the tight control exercised by antiabortion gynecologists, Birmingham has the worst record in the country for providing abortion services. In South Birmingham, only two women obtained NHS abortions in all of 1974 and 1975. Hugh McLaren, Birmingham's head gynecologist, once boasted "I wouldn't sit down to lunch with an abortionist."

The Labour Abortion Rights Campaign organized a lobby of the Labour Party national conference October 5, around support for "future Government legislation which would ensure women's right of choice on abortion."

A National Abortion Campaign caravan and theater group is also touring England and Wales to build support for the October 29 action in Birmingham.

The demands of the upcoming national demonstration are "No Restrictive Laws," "Women's Choice, Not Doctors' Choice," "NHS Abortion—Every Woman's Right," and "Out Patient Abortion Clinics Now."

## ПРАВДА

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

The October 2 issue comments on the speculation in France that the Kremlin prompted the French Communist Party to split the Union of the Left.

"Significantly, the discussion in the Union of the Left is taking place against the background of a new anti-Communist campaign that is being conducted now by the bourgeois mass media in France. The opponents of the Union of the Left obviously fear the result of the coming

elections and are trying to whip up an anti-Communist hysteria in the country. They are accusing the Communists of every kind of mortal sin and trying to incite the ranks of the Socialist and Left Radical parties against them. Ultrarightist newspapers such as *L'Aurore* are crying crocodile tears about the sad fate of the Union of the Left, which is supposed to be collapsing because of the stubbornness of the Communist Party.

"The anti-Communist campaign unleashed by the reactionaries, as often happens, is leading to a parallel anti-Soviet campaign. In the pages of the newspapers the words 'the hand of Moscow' have suddenly appeared. It seems that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was responsible for the break off in negotiations within the Union of the Left. Moscow, it seems, does not really want the victory of the left in France, and so it has forced the French Communists to take a stubborn attitude. And in order to 'confirm' such absurd claims, the reactionary press is dragging out all sorts of fairy tales and provocative gossip.

"If such slanderous articles appeared only in the yellow press such as *Paris-Match*, we could attribute this simply to the 'specialty' of these rags. But when the slanderous claim about the 'hand of Moscow' is picked up by André Fontaine, one of the main editors of *Le Monde*, this raises the possibility of a coordinated and organized provocation designed to compromise both the French Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to drive a wedge between them.

"The authors of anti-Soviet provocations are not interested in the fact that every Communist Party determines its own policy and takes the responsibility for it in complete independence. As regards the Soviet people, while they do not conceal their sympathies with the struggles of the workers in the capitalist countries, they do not interfere in the internal affairs of other peoples and their parties, or in the political struggle in other countries.

"Speaking on September 28 at a meeting attended by many thousands of persons in the biggest hall in Paris, in the La Villette district, General Secretary of the French CP Georges Marchais said that implementing a program of the Union of the Left corresponding to the demands of the French working people remained the task of the French Communists. He called on the working people, on all French men and women, to join in action to strengthen the Union of the Left."

## la gauche

"The Left," French weekly paper of the Revolutionary Workers League, Belgian section of the Fourth International.

A front-page article in the September 7 issue reports on the reaction by Belgian trade unions to the recent death of a steelworker caused by overwork:

"Marie-Jeanne Bodson, aged twenty-eight, a worker at FN [National Manufacturing]-Herstal, died on the morning of August 31. The news spread like wildfire through the plant, resulting in a spontaneous walkout by the entire work force. Hundreds of angry women and men workers then stormed the medical center, destroying some of the medical records.

"Marie-Jeanne had been very ill. So what! The medical center, following the orders of the steel bosses, sent her back to the plant twice, in spite of her illness. Last Wednesday, she died.

"This tragedy was the spark that lit the fuse. The walkout at FN was followed by one at ACEC [electrical shops] at Herstal, at Mémorex, and the copper and zinc plants. Workers at the Charleroi cable-manufacturing plants decided to send an hour's wages to the family of the deceased. Put on the defensive, the medical center for the Liège metals industry stated the following day that it was 'not possible to establish a cause-and-effect relationship between the return to work of the person in question and her death.' This communiqué was also signed by the medical adviser of the FGTB [Belgian General Federation of Workers] and by the examining physician.

"Naturally! As recently shown by the autopsy, there was no 'cause-and-effect relationship' between this shocking death and the medical examination . . . ! There is no 'cause-and-effect relationship' between torturous speed-up on the assembly line and hypertension and nervous breakdowns! No 'cause-and-effect relationship' between working conditions and all those cases of silicosis, mutilation, and death, or those overworked young women at FN, Salik, and elsewhere, who are worn out by the age of thirty! . . .

"FN's crime must not go unpunished. The common front of the FGTB and the CSC [Confederation of Christian Trade Unions] at the Charleroi ACEC-CDC shops thinks that the FN tragedy is the business of the entire work force, and it therefore appeals to the leading trade-union bodies to call a national day of mourning and action against the medical examination system."



## Promising Start for New Canadian Trotskyist Paper

By Susan Wald

The first issue of *Socialist Voice* rolled off the press and hit the streets of a dozen cities in Québec and English Canada in September.

The new fortnightly presents the views of the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire, the Canadian section of the Fourth International formed by the fusion in August of the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire, the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, and the Revolutionary Marxist Group.

A front-page editorial explains:

We chose a new name because we are a new paper—we believe our unified efforts will make the paper much different from either of its predecessors; much more effective than they could be.

We aim to be the voice of all the movements against exploitation and oppression. We will make known all the key developments of the labor movement; of the struggles of the Québécois, of women, gays, students, of Native people and immigrant workers; of the movement for socialism around the world.

The *Voice* will publish the news that big business considers not "fit to print"—the real news about this society that never appears in the capitalist media.

An article by Peter Duncan on Ottawa's attempts to encourage the English-speaking minority in Québec to defy the Parti Québécois government's new law establishing French as the language of instruction also appears on page 1. Duncan writes:

In supporting defiance of the Parti Québécois government's legislation, [Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott] Trudeau and the federal government clearly hope to develop a political base within Québec from which to pursue their fight against Québec independence.

Premier René Levesque aptly termed the Protestant [school] board's action [voting to open its doors to all those seeking education in English] "administrative civil disobedience." But the PQ government has simply retreated in the face of this powerful challenge to its own legitimacy. . . .

An effective strategy would seek to mobilize the French-speaking majority in Québec in mass demonstrations and other visible actions in support of French-language schools and against the anglophone [English-speaking] defiance.

Such actions could create a climate of political support for a French Québec among English-speaking workers and the immigrant community, by holding out to them the positive perspective of joining with their fellow Québécois in struggle against institutions, like the English schools, whose sole function is to protect the privileges of English-speaking big business.

On page 4, Richard Fidler reports on recent disclosures of illegal surveillance and harassment by the Royal Canadian

Mounted Police against a wide spectrum of organizations.

In a series of articles in August, the *Toronto Globe and Mail* reported that under cover of investigating allegedly "violence-prone" and "subversive" organizations, the RCMP has compiled extensive files on trade unions, farmers organizations, the New Democratic Party, native groups, and others.

Some of this information, the *Globe* reported, is edited and summarized by the federal cabinet's Police and Security Planning and Analysis Branch of the solicitor general's department, and made available to cabinet ministers, other government officials, and "industrialists."

The disclosures have provoked a public outcry and led to calls for a full exposure of the RCMP's covert activities. Fidler suggests how this could be organized:

The acknowledged victims of those activities—the unions and the NDP, above all—face a particular challenge in this respect. They could mobilize their resources to initiate the formation of a real, citizens' inquiry into antidemocratic police activities.

Full disclosure of RCMP covert operations would reveal that the current attacks on unions, native peoples, and other mass organizations, far from being "exceptional and isolated," have been the stock in trade of Canada's political police force since its foundation more than a century ago.

On page 3, Jim Pringle reports from Winnipeg on the issues in the upcoming Manitoba provincial elections.

The New Democratic Party seems assured of overwhelming labor support in the October 11 Manitoba elections. But it won't be a happy choice for the workers and oppressed of Manitoba.

## Blade in PLO's Back Given Fresh Twist

The Arab regimes not only oppose the creation of an independent Palestinian state but are actively seeking to help Washington and Israel destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization.

This is the conclusion drawn by Egyptian journalist Michel Kamel from an assessment of the current Mideast negotiations.

Writing in the October issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Kamel states that the essence of the strategy adopted by the Arab regimes is to "win the Americans' good will by competing with Israel to serve U.S. interests."

Part of the plan, he writes, is "to exclude the PLO from negotiations by seeking to crush it militarily so as to reduce its

Capitalist economic forecasters project even more unemployment and more inflation for Manitoba. Trudeau proclaims that wage controls will continue.

But NDP Premier Ed Schreyer offers no solution for these mounting problems.

Rather, he is banking on the slogan, "Leadership you can trust."

The NDP government can be trusted only to defend big-business rule.

But labor should work to re-elect the NDP government. The New Democratic Party is the only mass party of the working class in these elections.

In an accompanying article, Greg McMaster reports on the campaign of Larry Johnston, a union activist and leader of the RWL, who is running in one of the Winnipeg election districts.

While supporting the reelection of the New Democratic Party, the Revolutionary Workers League is running in the Manitoba elections to present a socialist alternative.

The bulk of Manitoba workers identify with the NDP against the Conservatives, and support reelection of the NDP government.

But the Schreyer regime's procapitalist program has made some NDP supporters begin to consider the need for a new course, for a program that identifies with their struggles and needs.

The issue also includes articles on opposition by Native organizations to plans by the Canadian and U.S. governments to build another Alaska pipeline; a victory in the fight by Toronto public health nurses for equal pay; and several pages of international news.

The paper's centerfold is devoted to a report on the intensive political discussions and debates that prepared the way for the fusion of the three Trotskyist groups in August. Future articles will examine particular aspects of the debate.

An introductory subscription (ten issues) to *Socialist Voice* can be obtained by sending \$2 to Socialist Voice Publishing, 25 Bulwer St., Toronto, Ont., M5T 1A1, Canada. □

political influence, and to substitute for it 'moderate' Palestinian 'replacements' who do not belong to the organization."

A second aspect is to fan factional struggles inside the PLO, using the pressure of the Saudi and Egyptian regimes in particular to push forward elements more amenable to making concessions to Israel.

Recent efforts to force the PLO to accept United Nations resolutions acknowledging the legitimacy of the Israeli state represent an additional attempt to undermine the organization's present leadership, Kamel says.

"To shake the confidence enjoyed by the Palestinian leaders, they are being pressed to give up fundamental principles of their struggle. . . ." □

## Healyites Betray Bakke Struggle

By Matilde Zimmermann

The Healyites in the United States finally broke their long silence on the *Bakke* case, in which the California Supreme Court ruled that affirmative-action quotas were "reverse discrimination" against whites. (See *Intercontinental Press*, October 3, p. 1074.)

*Bakke* is today the issue around which supporters of Black rights are doing battle against some of the most reactionary protagonists of the capitalist system. The Workers League's position: a plague on both your houses!

An editorial in the September 27 issue of their paper, the *Bulletin*, labels the *Bakke* case "a reactionary diversion" and calls on workers "to reject with contempt the efforts by the sinister forces on both sides of this case to seek to whip up racial tensions. . . ."

If it weren't for all the fuss over *Bakke*, American capitalism might be in deep trouble, according to the Healyites. They call *Bakke* "a desperate attempt to divert the enormous movement building up in the working class in defense of jobs, education, and social services."

The Healyites think that the laws passed favoring affirmative action constituted a ruling-class maneuver from the start: ". . . the working class has no interest in squabbling over the crumbs of capitalism through preferential hiring, quotas, or any other means of instigating a struggle of one section of workers against another."

If affirmative action is bad, then the fact that people are struggling in favor of it is even worse, to believe these dyed-in-the-wool sectarians. Only the bosses gain "because racial divisions can be used to try to disrupt the powerful offensive of the working class that has already thrown the Carter administration into deep crisis."

The Healyites consider "uniting the working class in political struggle" to be incompatible with defending the rights of Blacks and women to preferential treatment. They refuse to call on white workers to unite with Blacks in a concrete political struggle to overturn the *Bakke* decision.

The *Bulletin* offers a most peculiar view of the class struggle in the United States: that the exacerbation of racial tensions is caused by Black workers trying to catch up with whites.

The Workers League condemns the NAACP and other civil-rights organizations that defend affirmative action as "middle-class blacks" interested only in lining their own pockets: "They could care

less about the seniority rights won in bitter struggles by black and white trade unionists."

Saying that socialists should defend job seniority over affirmative action hardly puts the Workers League on the side of Black workers. In fact, by abstaining from the struggle for affirmative action, the Healyites place themselves in the same camp on this question as the U.S. Supreme Court, racist union bureaucrats, and employers. It is a striking example of how a sectarian course can lead to betrayal.

The *Bulletin* criticizes the Communist Party for taking up the *Bakke* issue. The real target, however, is the Socialist Workers Party. According to the editors, the SWP is "even more reactionary" on this question than the CP—precisely because of its more forthright and vigorous defense of affirmative action and quotas.

By attacking the SWP and labeling *Bakke* a "diversion," the Healyites hope to justify to their own ranks the fact that the Workers League looks on disapprovingly from the sidelines while the SWP stands in the forefront of the struggle.

## Kruger Begins Frame-up of Biko's Followers

The racist Vorster regime in South Africa has begun a concerted campaign to pin the label "terrorist" on Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness movement of which he was a leader. This propaganda effort comes in response to the continuing Black protests against the murder of Biko while in police custody September 12. Considerable evidence has surfaced showing that Biko was beaten to death by the police.

While avoiding most direct references to Biko, the government officials have focused their attacks against the groups that he helped to found, such as the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC).

The sharpest attacks have been made by Justice Minister James T. Kruger. In a countrywide broadcast in early October, he referred to "the black-power movement, which really amounts to terrorism," explaining that Black Consciousness was another term for "black power."

He claimed that SASO, the BPC, and other Black Consciousness groups were infiltrated by members of the outlawed African National Congress, and that the

The attack also helps cover up their own reactionary role in this sector of the class struggle.

The editorial implies that the uproar over *Bakke* is designed to divert attention from soaring Black unemployment. The truth is that the *Bakke* ruling against affirmative action, the cutoff of federal funds for abortion, and soaring Black unemployment are all part of the government's drive to wipe out the gains Blacks and women made in the 1960s. To abstain from fighting on these fronts—as the Workers League urges Blacks to do in the case of *Bakke*—would only invite further attacks.

This is not the first time the Workers League has turned its back on a concrete political struggle of the working class under the excuse that it interfered with or went counter to some more "advanced" or "enormous" movement, or "powerful offensive."

In Boston, for instance, the June 3 *Bulletin* hailed "a powerful movement developing against the attacks on education and social services" and insisted that the busing controversy was simply irrelevant.

The Workers League also called the busing struggle a "diversion" and attacked a probing demonstration as "a march against the workers of Boston."

Thus the Healyites' position on *Bakke* is just one more example of the sectarian course they are determined to follow, even if it lands them in the camp of the enemies of labor. □

alleged infiltrators were using these groups as a cover to promote acts of "terrorism." He added that the police had done "a magnificent job" in combating "terrorism."

In an effort to substantiate these allegations against the Black Consciousness movement, Kruger quoted from a pamphlet with which Biko allegedly had something to do, leading to his arrest. According to Kruger, the purported pamphlet stated, "Organize yourselves into groups to deal with those who do not heed this plea. Beat them, burn their books, burn their cars and shops. Show no mercy to informers and collaborators. They must all be killed."

Such statements are totally out of character with everything the main leaders of the Black Consciousness groups have published so far.

As it has done in the past, it appears that the Vorster regime is preparing a frame-up against the Black Consciousness movement with the aim of justifying the repression against it and possibly with the intention of banning it entirely. □

# Capitalism Fouls Things Up

## U. S. Agency Helped Cover Up Earthquake Danger to Nuclear Plant



An investigation by the U.S. Department of Justice has concluded that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) actively participated in a 1973 cover-up effort by the Virginia Electric and Power Company (Veeco).

In April 1973 Veeco gained solid evidence that an earthquake fault ran through the construction site of a four-reactor power plant being built at North Anna, Virginia. The company notified the NRC of this three weeks later, but in the meantime Veeco engineer W. C. Spencer had testified at a public hearing that geologic faulting at the site "was neither suspected nor known."

During May, June, and July of 1973, Veeco altered documents and made misleading statements to prevent knowledge of the fault from becoming public. At the same time, top NRC officials who were aware of the fault decided against bringing it to the attention of the NRC's Atomic Safety and Licensing Board. According to a former NRC attorney, deputy director of reactor regulation Edward Case "was interested primarily in avoiding further delay in the construction permit and . . . his view ultimately prevailed."

Information about the fault was finally ferreted out by June Allen of the North Anna Environmental Coalition, and on August 6, 1973, local newspapers broke the story. The plant was granted a construction permit in 1974, although questions remained about its safety. "I would keep my fingers crossed, and would not want to live near North Anna," a U.S. Geological Survey employee said.

The Justice Department's investigation was carried out to determine whether Veeco could be prosecuted for concealing information. According to the department's memo on the case, prosecution was rejected because "Veeco would call as witnesses virtually the entire Office of Regulation of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to testify that they were well aware of the fault and had determined not to take any immediate action to halt construction or to reopen the [Atomic Safety and Licensing Board] hearings."

(Ironically, the NRC later fined Veeco \$32,000 for making "material false state-

ments" about the earthquake fault.)

One of the top NRC participants in the cover-up was John O'Leary, then director of reactor regulation. O'Leary went on to become head of the Federal Energy Administration. He has just been nominated as Carter's deputy secretary of energy.

### La Hague, Barsebäck to Shut Down?

One of the very few operating nuclear fuel reprocessing plants is located at La Hague, near Cherbourg, France. The plant may soon be closed temporarily for extensive reconstruction, however. The *Christian Science Monitor* reported September 28 that a "management-employee work environment panel" at La Hague has recommended forty-seven major alterations in the plant.

News of this development prompted Swedish Energy Minister Olof Johansson to declare that his government might have to shut down its nuclear plant at Barsebäck. Spent fuel from that reactor is reprocessed at La Hague.

The Barsebäck plant was recently the target of a demonstration by 15,000 opponents of nuclear development from all over northern Europe (see *Intercontinental Press*, September 26, p. 1051).

### Yellowcake Spill

In the largest known accident of its kind, 15,000 pounds of "yellowcake" uranium was spilled on a highway in rural Colorado September 27.

"Yellowcake" contains 85 percent uranium by weight. It is a key intermediate product in the manufacture of fuel for nuclear power plants. Although low in radioactivity, it is highly poisonous. If inhaled, minute amounts are sufficient to damage the kidneys and liver.

The Colorado spill involved a shipment of 42,000 pounds of yellowcake packed in fifty steel drums being transported from an Exxon Corporation mill in Casper, Wyoming, to a processing plant in Gore, Oklahoma. When the truck collided with three horses on the highway, thirty-two of the drums were thrown off. "Some were squashed flat," a Colorado state health official said.

The fine yellow powder contaminated an

area of 5,000 square feet. The area was covered with plastic several hours after the accident to prevent the dust from spreading further. Exxon workers wearing special clothing and respirators spent several days shoveling up the yellowcake and contaminated soil.

"If this had happened in the middle of Denver," said Congressman Timothy Wirth of Colorado, "a lot of people would have been exposed to a very dangerous substance."

An official of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission disputed Wirth's assessment with the following comment: "There is basically no health hazard involved. . . . You'd be sick to your stomach before you could inhale enough to do any damage to yourself."

### Utility Fined for Nuclear Errors

Three operating errors at the Zion, Illinois, nuclear plant in July caused the Commonwealth Edison Company to be fined \$21,000 by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

The fine was assessed for two incidents in which too much water was pumped into the reactor's cooling system, and a third incident involving a forty-minute breakdown in the safety of the cooling system.

The NRC also cited Com Ed for "continuing management inadequacies," and asked the company's president to meet with NRC officials to discuss plans "to identify and correct the causes of management's control deficiencies and personnel errors."

The fine was the fourth against Com Ed since 1974, bringing the total to \$84,500.

### Teller's Alternatives: Nuclear Power or War

Dr. Edward Teller—"the father of the H-bomb"—says that nuclear power is the key to economic development for poor countries.

Speaking at a conference of the Society of Research Administrators in Texas October 10, Teller warned that unless nuclear energy was used to aid underdeveloped countries, their situation of poverty, which "leads to despair which inevitably leads to war," would continue.

## Counterinsurgency and Terror Against the African Masses

By Jim Atkinson

[*Seventh of a series*]

"If villagers harbour terrorists and terrorists are found running about in villages, naturally they will be bombed and destroyed in any manner which the commander on the spot considers to be desirable in the suitable prosecution of a successful campaign . . . Where the civilian population involves itself with terrorism, then somebody is bound to get hurt and one can have little sympathy for those who are mixed up with terrorists when finally they receive the wrath of the security forces." P.K. Van der Byl, Rhodesian minister of defence and minister of foreign affairs, July 2, 1976.<sup>71</sup>

In 1974, Rhodesian troops burned to the ground the homes of 200 Africans in the villages of Musiyiwa-Koto and Gurure in the Madziwa Tribal Trust Land (TTL). The villagers' cattle were impounded and sold and their crops were destroyed. The unfortunate victims of this counterinsurgency operation were then forcibly removed from Madziwa and dumped 450 miles south near the South African border—as a "punishment" for aiding freedom fighters.<sup>72</sup>

According to Amnesty International, regulations published under Rhodesia's seventeen-year-old state of emergency "empower the minister for law and order to declare any part of Rhodesia a 'protected area' if he believes it is 'in the interest of public safety or the maintenance of public order' to do so. The 'protecting authority' appointed by the minister, who may be a senior police officer or a district commissioner, is then able to restrict or regulate entry and movement within this designated area, seize and control all livestock and foodstuffs, prohibit the publication of any document, impose curfews, carry out searches of individuals and property, enforce compulsory labor, destroy or confiscate moveable property without compensation, and designate the areas in which people must live."<sup>73</sup>

Commenting on these regulations, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), a body appointed by the Rhodesian Catholic Bishops Conference, has asked: "What does all this mean as far as the individual Rhodesian is concerned? It means that people can be detained without trial, their homes and property, burnt to the ground, a curfew imposed, businesses closed, crops destroyed—in fact, that the very fabric of life can be utterly destroyed."<sup>74</sup>

In a "protected area," the regime's officials can set up "protected villages" (PVs), the white Rhodesians' version of the "strategic hamlets" used by the United States's puppet regimes in South Vietnam and the *aldeamentos* constructed by the Portuguese colonialists during the 1964-74 independence war in Mozambique.

The PV program was started in 1973 in the Zambezi valley, the area first affected by the nationalist insurgency. By mid-1974, the government had announced that some 43,000 to 47,000 people, the entire population of the Chiweshe TTL, some 40 miles north of Salisbury, had been removed from their homes and placed in 21 PVs. Soon after, in another operation, 13,500 people were herded into 10 PVs in Madziwa TTL, 45 miles northeast of Salisbury.

Then, the government set up PVs in the Mrewa, Mudzi, and Mtoko areas, between Salisbury and the Mozambique border. The program has since been extended throughout the eastern part of the country. In a report published in September 1977, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia (CCJP) revealed that by the end of May 1977 there were approximately 203 PVs in Zimbabwe, housing about 580,000 Africans, more than double the government's official figure of 250,000.<sup>75</sup>

The purpose of the PV program was aptly summed up by a government spokesman briefing the press in Salisbury on April 6, 1977. "We are satisfied," he explained, "that the control of the population will be one of the causes of a successful conclusion of the counter-insurgency war."<sup>76</sup>

A typical PV covers 100 acres and holds up to 2,000 people. Each family is allocated just 15 square yards to build a home. The village is surrounded by a seven-foot barbed-wire fence and the perimeter is floodlit at night and surrounded by armed guards—members of the Guard Force, which is recruited by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In the heart of the PV is an administrative "keep," surrounded by an earth parapet and sandbags, housing two white officials and up to twenty Black district assistants, all of whom are armed. There is a dusk-to-dawn curfew.<sup>77</sup>

According to Bridget Bloom, a *Financial Times* correspondent who visited a PV in Madziwa in March 1976, all males in the PVs are forced to wear numbered identification bracelets, which are checked when they leave and enter their PV between curfew hours.<sup>78</sup> An *Observer* correspondent reported in April 1976 that the district assistants search Africans leaving PVs to check that they are not carrying food that could be given to freedom fighters.

The forced resettlement program means major economic losses for the Africans affected. The PVs are often located up to ten miles from their fields, so that agricultural productivity has suffered drastically. In many cases, villagers have been forced to abandon homes and shops without any compensation. The program, which is basically designed to cut off the liberation fighters from the rural masses and from food supplies, has been combined with extensive aerial defoliation campaigns to destroy crops.

Not surprisingly, PVs have become important targets for the freedom fighters, as one government official admitted in April 1977. He complained that guerrillas are "going at the protected villages continually," and said that "they try to rip down the wires and have a go at Guard Force men and district assistants." In a moment of honesty, the official admitted that the forced resettlement campaign is bitterly resented by the Africans affected. Describing a campaign in April in which the entire African population of the Honde Valley, near the Mozambique border, was uprooted and shifted into PVs, he said: "They refuse to budge. But we have been forced to press-gang them. We take a truck to them and say: 'Get your sewing machine on the back of that truck. You are moving whether you like it or not.'"<sup>79</sup>

71. Quoted in *Civil War in Rhodesia* (Salisbury: Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia, 1976), p. 84.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

73. *Rhodesia/Zimbabwe* (London: Amnesty International, 1976).

74. *Civil War in Rhodesia*, p. 82.

75. *Rhodesia, The Propaganda War* (Salisbury: Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia, 1977; and London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1977).

76. *Ibid.*

77. *The Observer* (London), April 4, 1977.

78. *Financial Times* (London), March 17, 1976.

79. *Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), April 7, 1977.

The CCJP has revealed details of what happened when the settler regime forced Africans in the Tanda TTL to leave their homes and enter PVs. "The people there had been given notice to move. They refused, saying they were quite safe and there was no reason to leave their villages. On 4 July 1977, the security forces came and burned down six villages containing approximately 60 families each—Dzikiti, Shuwa, Ngurunde, Nufunde, Chatambudza and Huta. As a result of this incident, an estimated 2,880 people are now living in the bush. They maintain that they are prepared to stay in the bush rather than live in a protected village."

The dusk-to-dawn curfews that operate in "protected areas" are imposed to turn these areas into no-go or free-fire zones during the night. Anything that moves can be shot on sight with no questions asked.

Rhodesian law states that anyone who breaks the curfew is liable for a jail sentence of up to two years. "In fact, however," the CCJP states, "the security forces have orders not to arrest but to open fire on curfew breakers on sight."<sup>80</sup> By December 1, 1976, a total of 133 "curfew-breakers" had been shot dead by the Rhodesian army, according to government statistics that no doubt gravely underestimate the real numbers killed. When questioned in the Rhodesian Parliament on July 31, 1975, about the large numbers of civilians being killed for breaking the curfew, the then minister of defence (now foreign minister), P. K. Van der Byl, replied: "I have no intention of doing anything about this and as far as I am concerned the more curfew-breakers that are shot the better."<sup>81</sup>

In any case, under Rhodesian law government troops can murder and torture Africans in the operational areas with impunity. As the CCJP explains: "A soldier can, in good faith, shoot and kill any person whom he thinks supports terrorism. He has the Indemnity and Compensation Act to protect him and the man he shoots has to prove the soldier's bad faith. The result is that rural Africans live under a virtual martial law and are at the mercy of the troops."<sup>82</sup>

Though it has backfired in this objective, the killings and atrocities committed by the Rhodesian army in the rural areas are designed to terrorize the African population into submission. This is evident from the way in which the regime habitually displays in villages the bodies, often revoltingly mutilated, of dead freedom fighters. The leaflets dropped from the air into villages, promising terrible retribution if villagers support the insurgency, speak the same language. On June 7, 1977, for instance, a leaflet dropped in Makoni TTL stated: "There are still some people who continue to help the terrorists and a few even try to do their evil work for them. These people are counted as terrorists and will be killed by the security forces."

Furthermore, torture is common. According to the CCJP, "schools are frequent targets of interrogation campaigns. One common method of torturing students which leaves no tell-tale marks is the towel and hose method. The students are stripped naked, a towel is put over their faces and running water is sprayed in their mouths and noses through a hose. 'It gives the impression of suffocating or drowning,' one headmaster explained.

"Any area in which there has been guerrilla activity can also expect a grueling interrogation session. The emergency powers allow the government to detain anyone for questioning up to 60 days without pressing any charges. No one is exempt, including priests and sisters who have been questioned and beaten like everyone else."

According to Amnesty International, torture methods include "beating on the body with fists and sticks and the application of electric shocks by means of electrodes or cattle goads.

80. *Civil War in Rhodesia*, p. 30.

81. *Hansard*, Salisbury, vol. 90, no. 21, July 31, 1975.

82. *Civil War in Rhodesia*, p. 2.

"In addition, torture victims have been threatened with castration or immersed headfirst in barrels of water until unconscious."<sup>83</sup>

Another tactic of the settler regime is to send groups of Black soldiers, usually members of the crack counterinsurgency unit known as the Selous Scouts, into villages, posing as guerrillas. If the villagers cooperate, they are held to be aiding "terrorism" and face arrest at best or full-scale military attack at worst. One of the bloodiest and most recent civilian massacres took place at Dabwa in the Ndongwa TTL on May 6, 1977. Thirty-five civilians, including twelve children, were killed when government troops opened fire on a village meeting attended by 200 persons.<sup>84</sup> The Selous Scouts are also widely believed by Zimbabweans to be responsible for selective assassinations and for atrocities pinned on the freedom fighters by the racist regime for propaganda purposes.

These are not the only methods used by the regime in its drive to cow the African masses. Another is its practice of imposing collective fines on entire villages, "guilty" and innocent alike, without any trial, where the government officials believe that villagers have assisted the insurgency. Under the Emergency Powers (Collective Fines) Regulations 1973, collective fines can be imposed in the form of cash payments or through confiscation of cattle and movable property. In April 1977, the regime imposed collective fines on villages in the Chibi and Nyajena TTLs, south of Fort Victoria, and sent troops to collect half the herd from each kraal. The fine was imposed after cattle had been rustled from a nearby white-owned ranch and its manager murdered.

All of these brutal counterinsurgency methods (which also include the widespread use of napalm against villages) come on top of the standard repressive measures that the regime has employed for years to curb Black political activity—measures like the Unlawful Organisations Act of 1959, which has been used successively to ban almost all Black nationalist parties; the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, which allows the government to ban publications and political meetings; and numerous regulations proclaimed under the State of Emergency, a product in turn of the Emergency Powers Act of 1960. According to a paper published by the International Defence and Aid Fund in October 1976, *Ian Smith's Hostages*, the settler regime holds about 3,000 political prisoners. The paper lists 1,700 of them.<sup>85</sup>

One of the most savage features of the regime's arsenal of repression is the use of the mandatory death sentence for a series of "crimes" under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. The Salisbury regime openly declares its refusal to abide by the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners of war and sends captured guerrilla fighters to the gallows. On April 21, 1977, Amnesty International announced that the settler regime had hanged over 120 people since its unilateral declaration of independence from Britain in 1965, more than 100 of them since April 22, 1975. Many of these unknown heroes of the liberation struggle are sentenced in "Special Courts," first set up in April 1976 as roving kangaroo courts to try prisoners captured in the operational areas.

[Next: Imperialism: In Search of a Neocolonial 'Settlement']

83. Quoted in *International Herald Tribune* (Paris), March 30, 1976.

84. *Rhodesian Herald* (Salisbury), May 10, 1977.

85. *The Guardian* (London), October 30, 1976.

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## 'Triumph' of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

Interview With Peng Shu-tse

[Continued from last week]

*Q. Why did Mao launch the Cultural Revolution?*

A. The Cultural Revolution in China was precipitated by the tragic events in Indonesia in October 1965. The Indonesian Communist Party had been the largest in the capitalist world, with 3 million members and 10 million sympathizers. Since early 1960 Mao had tried desperately to win this party to his side in the Sino-Soviet dispute.

Mao invited Indonesian CP leader D.N. Aidit to Peking many times for discussions, during which Mao proposed CP cooperation with the Sukarno government, modeled upon the CCP-KMT collaboration during the second Chinese revolution. The Indonesian CP adopted this opportunist policy, which paved the way to a coup d'état in October 1965, during which 250,000 to 500,000 Communists and militants were slaughtered, including Aidit.

This tragedy horrified the entire world and dealt a heavy blow to the credibility of the Chinese Communist Party and Mao himself. Many leaders in the CCP were dissatisfied with Mao's policies at that juncture, which compelled Mao to call a special meeting of the CCP in September-October 1965. At the meeting, some party leaders blamed the Indonesian defeat on the CCP's influence. One speaker, P'eng Chen, said, "Everyone is equal before the truth, and if Chairman Mao made some mistakes he should be criticized."

After this setback, Mao left Peking for Shanghai to regroup his forces, among them Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, director of the Shanghai Cultural Board, and Yao Wen-yuan, editor of *Wenhui Pao*. Yao Wen-yuan, under Mao's direction, wrote a criticism for his paper of the play *The Dismissal of Hai Jui*, the publication of which can be considered the first "shot" fired in the Cultural Revolution.

A campaign to propagandize Mao's thought was begun in the *Liberation Army Daily* under the direction of Lin Piao, using such slogans as, "One must study the thinking of Mao Tse-tung and raise high the banner of Mao's thought," and "Mao's thought is the beacon of revolution for the world's people." An editorial on January 1, 1966, stated, "Every word of Chairman Mao is truth. . . . We must firmly support and carry out everything conforming to Mao Tse-tung's thought and

we must firmly resist and oppose everything which does not conform to Mao's thought." This message was aimed against the authority of Liu Shao-ch'i and the Central Committee.

A few writers in Peking and Shanghai continued to defend Wu Han against his detractors until Lin Piao gave orders for an all-out assault on the "antiparty" tendency. The *Liberation Army Daily* was used to wage this campaign, which went so far as to suggest physical elimination of the opposition. Army cadres were mobilized.

Even after Wu and his supporters stopped writing, Mao continued to accuse them of "antisocialist," "antiparty," "counterrevolutionary," and "capitalist restorationist" activity—all of which left Wu thoroughly disgraced.

In April, Yao Wen-yuan wrote another article condemning *Notes From Three Family Village* and *Evening Talks at Yenshan*. Soon after, Ten T'o and the other authors of these articles were expelled from the party.

At the end of April, Lin Piao sent troops to occupy the office of the Peking municipal government. Mao returned to Peking from the South and formally proclaimed the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." He also established the Cultural Revolution Group (CRG) with Ch'en Po-ta as first chairman and Chiang Ch'ing as second chairman.

The Peking municipal government, headed by P'eng Chen, was formally dismissed in early June 1966. Lu Ting-yi, head of the party's propaganda department, Chou Yang, vice-minister of culture, and other high-ranking cadres in cultural institutions were removed. Lo Jui-ch'ing, chief of staff, was arrested and by mid-June all schools from elementary to university level were closed in the name of the Cultural Revolution.

Almost all presidents and principals of universities and middle schools, as well as many teachers and professors, were attacked by their students under the direction of the CRG headed by Ch'en Po-ta and Chiang Ch'ing.

Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing attempted to reverse the course of events by calling an emergency meeting of the Central Committee. But Mao refused to attend, since his plan for purging Liu and Teng was not yet complete.

When Mao returned to Peking, he ordered Lin to surround the city with army troops. Then he called a special plenum of the Central Committee in early August,

which adopted "A Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." The major points were: "to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road" and to reorganize the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. Thus Liu Shao-ch'i was removed from his post of first vice-chairman of the party and replaced by Lin Piao.

The plenum also called for all the students in the country to be organized into the Red Guards. Their first project was a campaign to destroy the "Four Olds"—old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits—and to establish the "Four News." At the end of August, at a mass rally in Peking, Lin Piao instructed the Red Guards "to isolate and purge those party officials who are taking the capitalist road." Demonstrations and wall posters attacking local leaders poured forth.

Some local leaders organized their own Red Guards to counter Mao's forces, resulting in violent clashes in several areas of the country.

On September 15, Lin Piao, acting for Mao, made a speech to a large gathering of Red Guards, in which he assured them of the army's support in their attacks on those officials who resisted Mao's thought. This speech removed all restraints. The Red Guards unleashed a wall poster campaign in Peking, naming leading party members and accusing them of "taking the capitalist road." They singled out regional leaders such as Li Ch'ing-ch'uan, first secretary of the Southwest Bureau; Liu Lan-t'ao, first secretary of the Northwest Bureau; and Li Hsueh-feng, secretary of the North Bureau. Officials of the state were also attacked, and finally the accusations were leveled against Liu Shao-ch'i, chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, general secretary of the CCP.

In the latter part of October a special seventeen-day meeting was held where Liu and Teng were forced to make self-criticisms. After the meeting P'eng Chen and Lu Ting-yi were arrested.

*Q. Did this mean Mao had succeeded in crushing his opponents?*

A. Mao thought so. On December 26 a large victory celebration of the Red Guards took place in Peking, and journals like *Red Flag* proclaimed the triumph of the Cultural Revolution. Subsequent events revealed

that the opposition was far from broken, however.

In the autumn of 1966, a powerful group of Red Guards was organized by Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Yao Wen-yuan, and Wang Hung-wen to attack the local Shanghai authorities. The Shanghai party and government, led by Mayor Tsao Ti-ch'iu and First Secretary of the Municipal Committee Chen P'ei-hsien, responded by offering concessions to the workers to win their allegiance. By the first week of January 1967, the antagonisms were so intense that a general strike broke out, which Mao recognized as directed against the Red Guards and the Cultural Revolution as a whole. The party Central Committee, under Mao's orders, instructed the "left" Red Guards to seize power in Shanghai.

This enabled a part of the army, under Lin Piao, to suppress the strike. Mao then purged the entire leadership of the party and the government, and cadres in Shanghai's factories, trade unions, and educational and cultural institutions. The wage increases and working conditions so recently won were rescinded, and the entire economic structure of the city was paralyzed.

Chou En-lai intervened with a proposal to establish a Revolutionary Committee, made up of army cadres, Red Guards, and a few of the original Shanghai public officials. This so-called Triple Alliance was the first Revolutionary Committee established to replace the old governmental system.

The party and the government in Shanghai were firmly in the hands of Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Yao Wen-yuan, and Wang Hung-wen (recently branded as members of the "gang of four"), who kept Shanghai a stronghold of Mao's faction until Hua Kuo-feng's purges last fall.

Meanwhile, a serious clash between rival Red Guards took place in Nanking. Approximately fifty people were killed and more than a hundred were wounded. Mao was unable to support his Red Guards with the army because the opposition Red Guards were backed by the local Nanking officials, as well as the army commander Hsu Shih-yu. Again Chou En-lai intervened and worked out a compromise.

In the province of Honan, the Red Guards, who called themselves the "February 7 Commune," attempted to follow the Shanghai example by proclaiming the seizure of power. The local authorities followed the Nanking example and resisted, with support from the army. The struggle for power lasted from February to June 1967, and many were killed and wounded. The "February 7 Commune" was defeated and some army officers purged, but power remained in the hands of the original authorities.

The most dramatic episode took place in Wuhan in July when a strong Red Guard group, supported by the Peking CRG, attempted to seize power. The local author-

ities organized a resistance force calling itself "A Million Brave Troops." They were backed by Ch'en Tsai-tao, the area army commander.

The Maoist Red Guards had to ask Peking for assistance, and the CRG sent Hsieh Fu-chih, minister of public security, and Wang Li, acting head of the party Propaganda Department. They arrived in Wuhan on July 14 and condemned the army for supporting the "conservatives." They were promptly arrested by the army.

Lin Piao arrived with warships to deliver an ultimatum that the Wuhan authorities must surrender and release their prisoners or face an armed assault. The authorities were forced to surrender, after which many party and government leaders were dismissed, including Ch'en Tsai-tao. The "Million Brave Troops" were dissolved.

It seemed a victory for Mao but again, the situation was far from stable.

*Q. Did the Red Guards ever unite the campaigns against government officials or did they continue to physically battle among themselves?*

A. Following the events in Wuhan, Mu Hsin and Wang Li, under the direction of Chiang Ch'ing and Ch'en Po-ta, wrote an article in *Red Flag* ordering the Red Guards to attack "a handful of the military" and "to seize the weapons from military arsenals." This forced a counter-attack by military officials, who joined with local party and government people in organizing their own Red Guards.

An account of these events was given by Chen Pi-lan at the 1969 World Congress of the Fourth International:

Since Mao organized the Red Guards to seize power in early January, 1967, no part of China has been spared the spectacle of huge and brutal clashes between the different factions and tendencies. It is specifically these clashes which characterize the dramatic new stage in the so-called cultural revolution. The high point of these sanguinary events took place between April and July, 1968, mainly in the provinces of Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Yunnan, Tibet, Sinkiang, and Fukien. The scale of these clashes could in reality be considered as a local civil war.

For example, in Kwangsi, the Red Guards were divided into two different groups. One called itself "The 22nd of April Rebel Army," the cadres of which were composed of students, a few workers and some army units, and was under the direct leadership of the Cultural Revolutionary Group in Peking. The other referred to itself as the "Kwangsi United Rebel Headquarters," the cadres of which were composed mainly of workers and peasants, army units, party functionaries, and students. This latter group was organized and controlled behind the scenes by the First Kwangsi provincial secretary, Wei Kuo-ching, as well as by a top army commander.

The struggle between these two groups reached the crucial stage in a clash during May in Wuchow. The most modern weapons were used—from modern rifles and machine guns to heavy artillery and tanks—by both sides, which left

thousands of dead and wounded from each group. According to reports published in the *Angry West River Tide* (Hsi Chiang Lu Ch'ao) put out by the "22nd of April Rebel Army" group, their side suffered several thousand killed and wounded, more than 3,000 captured, of whom 317 were executed. They also reported that over 2,000 homes were destroyed. Similar battles also took place in other Kwangsi cities, such as Nanning, Liuchow, and Kweilin, as well as in those provinces I noted earlier. For example, in the province of Yunnan, the Kunming (capital of the province) army commander Tang Fu-chen said on July 3, 1968, in his personal report to Mao in Peking that over 30,000 had been killed throughout the province of Yunnan. Mao replied that he estimated the number to be closer to 80,000. "According to the local papers," Mao said, "160,000 were killed. This is perhaps exaggerated. I would judge that at least 80,000 have been killed" (*People's Daily*).

As a result of the serious situation I have just described, Mao was forced to take certain measures to alleviate his precarious position. First, on July 3, 1968, an emergency order was published, and then on July 24, an emergency appeal was issued. These demanded immediate cessation of all struggles between the different Red Guard and workers' groups. At the same time, army detachments from Peking were sent to such areas as Kwangsi, Yunnan, Fukien, and Sinkiang in order to intervene in the struggle. It was only in this way that Mao was able to put a stop to the local civil-war situation. Mao also demanded that revolutionary committees be established in the five remaining provinces of Kwangsi, Yunnan, Tibet, Fukien, and Sinkiang, as well as in their principal cities.<sup>33</sup>

It should be noted that the Revolutionary Committees, the so-called Triple Alliances, were controlled by the military because most often the chairman of the committee would be the local army commander.

The Red Guards were forced to return to school or work and many of them were sent to the countryside. Official figures state ten million young people were exiled in this manner.

*Q. The Red Guards were certainly a powerful tool for Mao while they lasted.*

A. Yes. However, things did not always work out according to Mao's plan. For instance, in January 1967, just after the seizure of power in Shanghai and the purge of the entire leadership, several prominent old leaders—T'an Chen-lin, agricultural minister; Yeh Chien-ying, vice-chairman of the Central Committee's Military Commission; Nieh Jung-chen, head of the Science and Technology Committee; and Li Fu-ch'un, head of the Planning Committee—all members of the party Political Bureau, openly criticized the Cultural Revolutionary Group for instigating the purge. The Maoists labeled their influential critics the "February adverse current."

It was only through the intervention of

33. *Internal Information Bulletin*, no. 8, May 1969 (New York: Socialist Workers Party), p. 9.

Chou En-lai that a compromise ended the stalemate between Mao and the old leaders. Tan Chen-lin, agricultural minister, was removed from office, but otherwise the old leaders scored a minor victory.

Another event concerned the "May 16 Army Corps," a group of Peking Red Guards under Ch'i Pen-yü, Wang Li, and the CRG. They waged a campaign against ministers in the central government in hopes of replacing them with Mao's supporters. Chou En-lai led a stiff resistance to this maneuver, in direct conflict with Chiang Ch'ing and Ch'en Po-ta. Mao was forced to retreat and remove from the CRG Ch'i Pen-yü, Wang Li, and his other hand-picked replacements.

In Hunan in the summer of 1967, a powerful group of Red Guards called the *Sheng-wu-lien* (Proletarian Revolutionary Great Alliance) attacked local officials and seized weapons from the army. They even occupied some factories and financial institutions.

Backed by Chiang Ch'ing and Ch'en Po-ta, they issued a proclamation called "Whither China?" which attacked the Revolutionary Committee as a bureaucratic apparatus of the "new bourgeoisie" and called Chou En-lai a representative of the "new bourgeoisie." They called for the formation of genuine "people's communes" in China as the only revolutionary perspective for the country.

Despite their confused and ambiguous ideas, the Red Guards reflected a revolutionary tendency among the masses. For this reason Chiang Ch'ing and Ch'en Po-ta abandoned them. Mao sent a representative of the Politburo Standing Committee, K'ang Sheng, to disband the "Proletarian Revolutionaries Great Alliance," which was branded as counterrevolutionary, and cruelly suppressed by the Hunan authorities (including Hua Kuo-feng).

A fourth event which got out of Mao's control occurred in August 1968. A struggle in Canton broke out between Red Guards backed by the CRG in Peking and Red Guards backed by Kwangtung's local authorities and the military commander Huang Yung-sheng. Huang was Lin Piao's man and was thus immune from direct attack by the CRG. In fact, he was elevated to chief of staff in Peking.

*Q. Can the mass mobilizations during the Cultural Revolution be considered a revolutionary movement against the bureaucracy?*

A. This question has been in dispute among radicals and even some Trotskyists for the last ten years. The answer lies in how the Red Guards were organized and what methods were used to fight the bureaucracy. The following excerpt from an article by George Novack and Joseph Hansen supplies some of this information:

Schools were shut down and millions of youth

turned loose. They were then offered a special privilege that would be attractive even in a wealthy capitalist country; namely, taking a trip at government expense to Peking [in fact, to anywhere in China—P.S.]. Transportation, free lodging and free meals were provided to a large proportion of these prospective candidates for the new organization.

The policy was to line up these youth on the side of one of the contending factions by such means and inveigle them into adopting its factional platform without being informed of what was intended, without giving the opposition currents an opportunity to present their views in a fair debate, and, in fact, with the opposition smeared and branded from the beginning without a hearing as disloyal and even counterrevolutionary, a "miserable handful" of monsters, demons and ghosts. . . .

The real "crime" of the accused leaders is not that they have been plotting to bring back capitalism but that they have serious differences with the Mao-Lin faction. Their views are falsified to discredit them in the eyes of the masses and to destroy them politically, if not physically.

These polemical methods, which Mao and his men learned in the school of Stalinism, were first applied against the Trotskyists, later against the Khrushchevists and their allies, and now invoked against some of their oldest comrades-in-arms. There are no innovations in the pattern beyond peculiarities of style in applying it and even these are not very novel. (See the pamphlet *Behind China's "Great Cultural Revolution,"* by Peng Shu-tse, Pierre Frank, Joseph Hansen, and George Novack [New York: Merit Publishers, 1967; pp. 47-48, 52].)

I would only add that Mao organized the Red Guards to aid in destroying the Liu Shao-ch'i/Teng Hsiao-p'ing faction. When the faction was destroyed, Mao quickly dispersed the Red Guards, with the aid of the army under Lin Piao. Then Lin himself became Mao's next target.

*Q. What was the overall outcome of the Cultural Revolution?*

A. Chinese society was thrown into utter

turmoil, as if from a devastating war. The CCP and its youth organization were smashed to pieces. Mao's orders and quotations replaced party statutes and governmental laws. The central government maintained its outward appearance; yet government at all levels had been transformed. The newly established Revolutionary Committee wielded state power under the control of military officers, except in a few cities like Shanghai and Peking.

Almost all the old leaders who had struggled alongside Mao before and during the third Chinese revolution had been betrayed and suffered severe attack at the hands of the Red Guards. Most were purged and some were sent to labor camps and prisons.

The educational system and cultural life of the country had been destroyed. Thousands of educators, artists, and writers had been purged from the party and dismissed from their jobs.

Millions of rebel Red Guards had been exiled to the countryside and the mountains.

The economy was in a state of stagnation, productivity having drastically declined. Workers, peasants, technicians, and party cadres who had participated in the Cultural Revolution or who had associated with anyone who had been purged, were themselves purged.

Mao's foreign policy became extremely sectarian, as evidenced by the fact that he refused to join a united front with the other workers' states against U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. On the other hand, he permitted Red Guards in Peking to storm the British and Soviet embassies.

In the wake of the Cultural Revolution, China became extremely isolated in the eyes of the world. This isolation and China's devastating internal crises were the backdrop to the Ninth Congress of the CCP.

[To be continued]

## Army Admits It Tortured Black GI

The Pentagon has been forced to acknowledge that it tortured and gave the hallucinogenic drug LSD to a Black army private in 1961, according to a report in the October 8 *Washington Post*.

Documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act by James Thornwell prove his allegations that while serving as an enlisted soldier in Orleans, France, he was brutally "interrogated" for three months after being accused of stealing classified papers. No charges were ever brought against him.

Throughout the course of his interrogation, he was intermittently denied food, sleep, and bathroom facilities while he was questioned remorselessly.

Not satisfied with these torture methods, Thornwell's interrogators (the army "Spe-

cial Purposes Team") gave him mind-altering LSD without his knowledge. They then threatened "to extend this state indefinitely even to a permanent condition of insanity . . ." unless Thornwell confessed.

Since his discharge, Thornwell, now forty, has been unable to hold a job for more than several months at a time or to deal with any situation involving stress or pressure. The Veterans Administration has twice denied him disability payments.

Thornwell's attorney has asked Congress to pass a private bill compensating his client. A similar measure was recently passed compensating the family of Frank Olson, an army scientist who committed suicide in 1953 after being given LSD without his consent. □



## A Powerful Case Against Bureaucratism

Reviewed by Ernest Mandel



[The following review article appeared in the September 29 issue of *Inprecor*.]

\* \* \*

*The Alternative*, by Rudolf Bahro, is the most important theoretical work to come out of the countries that have abolished capitalism since Leon Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*. From the weak *New Class* by Milovan Djilas to the *Open Letter* of Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski to the writings on bureaucracy by former Hungarian Prime Minister Hegedus to the books of the "liberal" Czechoslovak Communists to the works of the Pole Brzus to Roy Medvedev's *Let History Judge*, the progression to Rudolf Bahro is striking and undeniable.

Rudolf Bahro's work ties together three different strands of the thought and action of our time. Its fabric is woven of threads of three different origins. First, there is the practical experience of the antibureaucratic movements, immensely richer now than at the beginning of the 1950s. The winds of the Prague Spring and the revolt of the Polish workers in the Baltic ports are felt in the analysis of Bahro.

Next there is the progress, and contradictions, of international Marxist thought over the past twenty years. Bahro's work resounds with reverberations of the polemic between the Stalinists and the Yugoslav Communists, of the Sino-Soviet polemics, of the flowering of western revolutionary-Marxist thought particularly since May 1968, of the international debate among Marxists on the "nature of the USSR," and of the debates around Eurocommunism.

Finally, Bahro is also a product of the German theoretical tradition, a tradition which has certainly been weakened, but not extinguished, by the tragic fate of the German workers movement over the past forty-five years, first its strangulation by Hitler and Stalin, then its arduous struggle against a second wave of strangulation by the combination of integration and repression in the West and repressive bureaucrat-ossification in the East.

This is perhaps the first important lesson—and source of elation—that must be drawn from the publication of this

astonishing work; the German Marxist theoretical tradition is being reborn in East Germany. We may be sure that the echoes of this renaissance will reverberate for a long time. They will arouse great joy among the opponents of the exploitation and oppression of man by man in all their

*Die Alternative—Zur Kritik des realexistierenden Sozialismus*, by Rudolf Bahro (Frankfurt: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1977).

forms. And they will provoke tears and the grinding of teeth in many circles, including some unexpected ones.

It is precisely Bahro's solid theoretical heritage—the best traditions of Marxism, of Marx himself, all of Marx, not only the economic works—that lends *The Alternative* a historical, almost "universal," dimension, an attraction to which any Marxist, any revolutionary, and even any humanist, may well succumb, despite the fact that doubt, aided by the critical spirit, must arise on various occasions.

Bahro himself does not succumb to the danger of missing the forest for the trees. "The devil is generally not found in the details," he writes, not without reason. It is the fundamental problem that interests him above all else. Since in spite of the overthrow of capitalism, the societies of the USSR, East Germany, China, and Yugoslavia have manifestly not achieved social equality, and since in dealing with these societies we are obviously not dealing with classless societies or ones without constricting social stratification, two essential questions arise: Is the advent of a classless society a utopia? If not, why has it not yet seen the light of day in the East European countries?

A good Marxist, Bahro answers the first question with a categorical "No." And his answer to the second goes directly to the root of the problem.

For Bahro, the ultimate source of social inequality is the social division of labor, which freezes one section of society into specific tasks linked to the reproduction of material resources for all society. (This notion is a much broader one than that of

manual labor. Nonmanual labor can be as repetitive and alienating as manual labor. Activities of manual production can be just as creative and satisfying to the producer as the activities of scientists or artists, under certain precise conditions.) This social division of labor means that only a minority can enjoy access to spheres of activity which Bahro, like Hegel and Marx, calls "general labor" ("die allgemeine Arbeit," as opposed to specific labor), activities which permit the flowering of the full human personality.

In this connection Bahro uses two concepts, "psychologically productive labor" and "psychologically unproductive labor," which may appear "idealist" at first sight but are profoundly materialist in reality.

Moreover, integrating an essential dimension of historical materialism into his study, that of the inextricable unity of "production-communication" in the social activity of humanity, Bahro demonstrates that any social division of labor is inevitably accompanied by differentiated access to information: exclusively fragmentary, specific, and limited information for the "producers" in the strict sense of the term; general and increasingly universal information for those who devote themselves to "general labor."

These two information systems, parallel to the two basic social activities, generate two systems of education of children from the earliest flowering of intelligence, a stifling one for the children of the toilers, a stimulating one for the children of the privileged. This in turn powerfully contributes to the reproduction of social inequality (although Bahro understands quite well that one must not generalize this phenomenon nor attribute decisive importance to it. The ruling classes command institutional and economic mechanisms for the reproduction of inequality, to which the above phenomenon must simply be added).

Hence, the vast expansion of the productive forces effected by the industrial revolution and nineteenth century capitalism and the subsequent abolition of bourgeois private property are merely indispensable but not at all sufficient preconditions for the inauguration of a socialist society. The latter requires, in addition to a social surplus product extensive enough to des-

stroy the material base that made the existence of the old privileged ruling classes inevitable, systematic and deliberate efforts to abolish the social division of labor. If this division is maintained or even ossified, which is manifestly the case in the countries of East Europe, then society itself becomes frozen midway between class society and classless society. The root of the evil, the historic significance of the bureaucratic dictatorship, is the totality of postcapitalist mechanisms and institutions which maintain the *monopoly of administration and management* in all spheres of social life, the monopoly of "general labor," in the hands of a privileged minority.

Bahro thus reverses the link between material privilege and the monopoly of access to management and administrative functions that mechanistic Marxists have generally been tempted to establish independently of specific historic circumstances. He even strives to effect a parallel "reversal" when he compares the conditions for the *emergence* of an original ruling class within classless society in decomposition (we would say: during the phase of transition from classless society to class society) with the conditions for the *disappearance* of social inequality in postcapitalist society (we would put it: during the phase of transition from capitalist to socialist society).

It is not the privileges that produce the monopoly, but the monopoly that secretes the privileges. We believe that Bahro is entirely correct on this point, that in this regard he is simply repeating what Rakovsky, Trotsky, and other Bolshevik leaders ceaselessly repeated during the 1920s and 1930s (although Bahro seems not to have read all their works).

It is not because they wanted to defend already acquired material privileges that the masters of the Stalinist apparatus "conspired" to expropriate the working class politically. Rather, it is because they expropriated the working class politically, and thus eliminated any possibility of mass control over the mode of distribution, that they were able little by little to appropriate increasingly exorbitant material privileges and wound up creating institutions that allow them to conserve and reproduce both the monopoly of power and the privilege.

### **A Striking Condemnation of the Bureaucracy**

It is in dealing with the question of the character of the USSR that Bahro's superiority over most "revisionist" Marxist theoreticians is clearest. Bahro rejects both the thesis of "state capitalism" and that of the "new class." He returns to the original Leninist conception, which distinguishes three phases of postcapitalist society: the phase of transition, the socialist phase (the first stage of communism), and the com-

munist phase. In Bahro's view, the USSR, East Germany, and the other countries of the "socialist camp" are still in the first phase, the transitional one, which he defines by the somewhat "scholarly" term "protosocialist" (postcapitalist but presocialist).

We should not split hairs. In essence, this is the very thesis defended by revolutionary Marxists against hell and high water. That Bahro has arrived at it in spite of insufficient access to the rich discussions of this point that have taken place both in the West and in opposition circles in the East is a further astonishing reflection of the capacities of this Marxist theoretician of exceptional talent.

Closely linked to a correct definition of the social (socioeconomic) character of the East European countries is the question of a critical scientific analysis of the character of the bureaucracy and its precise articulation with the postcapitalist system as it functions in these countries.

Although the formula so dear to Stalinists of all stripes in all the East European countries ("actually existing socialism") appears as a subtitle to his work, Bahro forcefully takes the field against this thesis. In this domain as well, he returns to the origins of Marxist thought. A "socialism" with market production and a money economy, with remuneration paid "as a function of the quantity and quality" of the labor of each person (here Bahro cites the famous passage of *Anti-Dühring* in which Engels denies that there can be such a "socialism") and with social inequalities and growing monstrous political constraints is the antithesis of everything Marxist tradition defines as socialist. Of course, definitions can be modified at will. You can call a piece of furniture on which you put plates a "chair," or you can call a piece of furniture that serves as a footrest for someone sitting before a fire or watching television a "bed." But if you operate that way, then you must at least admit that the society that "actually" exists in the USSR, China, Yugoslavia, and all the countries of the "socialist bloc" is *not* (or not yet) the society of the "freely associated producers" described (too briefly, alas) by Marx and Engels.

There is nothing at all "moralistic," "normative," or "idealistic" about contrasting a *definition derived from a scientific analysis of social structures* (and not ethical axioms) with a reality to which it does not conform. One could equally well denounce as "moralizers" or "normative analysts" those Marxist historians who correctly explained that in spite of their progressive integration into the world capitalist market neither China nor Iran nor Ethiopia during the latter half of the nineteenth century was characterized by capitalist relations of production. Thought veers away from science into moralizing idealism not when it *notes* this difference—which is an obvious one—but

when it *contents itself* with condemning it without explaining the origins of reality or the means by which it can be changed.

The definition of the precise place of the bureaucracy in postcapitalist society (or "protosocialist" society) *today* constitutes one of the most successful and attractive sections of Bahro's work. The analysis is rigorous, but the condemnation is brilliant. Many passages could be cited. For example: "The historic function of the post-Stalinist apparatus lies in its effort to prevent the peoples of East Europe from progressing toward socialism" (p. 402). "The replacement of the political dictatorship of the bureaucracy is a socioeconomic necessity" (p. 306). "What the Soviet Union is suffering from . . . is the misdeeds of apparatchiks and their 'superiors' (natchalniki), among whom the old patriarchy of the peasantry and the new patriarchy of the industrial despot are amalgamated with party discipline and congealed into a sort of religious obeisance" (p. 267). "Just as our pedagogical science has rediscovered the traditional conspiracy of authorities against the independence and imagination of children, in the form of the 'united collective of educators,' our political education speaks to the people, down to the last street cleaner, *with a single voice*: 'We educate you so that you may remain ignorant' (Rainer Kurze). The masses have 'assimilated' this into their consciousness to the extent that they demonstrate conformism" (p. 356).

Or: "Waste and shortages of material resources go hand in hand (with bureaucratic planning)" (p. 183). "Edward Gierek deserves thanks for the honesty with which he summed up the problem of our societies after the Polish crisis of December, when he linked together the two ends of the problem: 'You work well and we govern well'" (p. 207).

The list could go on: "The bureaucratic centralist form of planning, under which the summit receives from below only passive factual information and 'questions,' while active information about what must be produced is transmitted from the top down, determines the manner in which 'instructions' are given to individuals. As a matter of principle, individuals have no business looking for tasks to carry out, recognizing problems, or seeking to solve them; they simply receive 'instructions' to do this or that. Resources are allocated as a function of this method, according to a system of balances which increasingly boils down to the rationing of strict necessity" (p. 252). It is necessary to "mercilessly trace a line of demarcation between loyalty to the noncapitalist base and loyalty to the obsolete superstructure" (p. 411).

"Because of the character of our superstructure, it has become usual that explosive material accumulated over a long period is detonated 'suddenly,' since the mounting contradictions find no organs through which they can express themselves

in time. Even in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, where many things could have been foreseen in 1966 and 1967, the pace, breadth, and depth of the transformations surprised everyone" (p. 397). "The possibilities of opposition activity have risen considerably in recent times" (p. 395). "The point is to develop a socialist model as an alternative (to the existing model), in a thoroughly public manner, without conspiracy" (pp. 359 and 405).

Such is a small sample of an anthology that could be expanded at will.

### The Social Content of the Political Revolution

Some of the above quotations could give the impression that Bahro holds that the revolution required in the bureaucratized workers states should be limited to the superstructure. But this is clearly not at all the case. In this domain as well, Bahro remains in the framework of the most pronounced Marxist orthodoxy. While correctly calling for the maintenance and consolidation of the noncapitalist base of these states, he also perceives, precisely because of his "totalizing" Marxist analysis, that the coming revolution will make radical changes in the sphere of the infrastructure as well as the superstructure and that it will above all overturn the mediation between the two.

Bahro's contribution in this area is fertile and impressive, although in the end it is less original than it may seem at first sight. What is most striking in his programmatic analysis—the "alternative" that gives the work its title—is its close relationship to the picture of "the socialism we want" which revolutionary Marxists have elaborated in the industrially advanced capitalist countries. This may be seen by examining the central points of this "alternative":

1. Generalization of a system of self-management and self-administration, conceived as a process covering *all* aspects of reproduction (p. 523) and structured around a federation of communes founded (although this is not very clear) on councils (*Räte*) (pp. 528-531).

2. A radical struggle against the vertical division of labor, a struggle centered on two major fronts: the radical reduction of the duration of mechanical and repetitive work ("psychologically unproductive" labor), particularly through the massive reintroduction of white-collar workers into industrial labor and services for a certain number of hours each week. (Bahro offers the following, quite significant, figures on the social structure of East Germany: 3 million workers in production; 1 million cadres in universities and institutions of professional higher education; 4 million white-collar workers [p. 504]; generalization of university and parauniversity higher education, that is, extension of

compulsory education to twenty-three years of age [pp. 334-5]).<sup>1</sup>

3. A generalized transition to calculating the objectives and achievements of the economic plan in working hours instead of prices, in order to make the division of social product between consumption funds and accumulation funds more transparent (pp. 517-520). Bahro also strikingly establishes the obvious correlation between this method of calculating the plan on the basis of quantities of labor and the "actual expenditure of individual time" by the producers; this creates a clear and generalized dynamic of socioeconomic progress measurable by each individual. Let us add that a *double accounting system*, in both labor time and prices, will be necessary so long as the economy remains linked to the international capitalist economy and as long as the monetary system of remuneration persists.

4. Radical abolition of individual production quotas and piecework, for obvious reasons we need not go into (pp. 462-68). Bahro also demonstrates that the "savings" made by such production quotas usually do not even compensate for the losses in production caused by the employment of timekeepers who do not participate in productive labor properly so-called.

5. Harmonization of reproduction, particularly by more sharply emphasizing simple reproduction, repair of machinery, tool maintenance, savings on raw materials and energy, and a radical transformation of "technological innovation," which should be subordinated to saving time for producers and genuinely improving the quality of life for consumers (pp. 512-513).

6. Radical abolition of all material privileges, especially those related to the exercise of particular functions and accorded in the form of usufruct or advantages in access to material goods. At the same time, reduction of the wage gap, which admittedly is not as wide in East Germany as it is in the USSR (pp. 458-60).

7. Entirely new determination of priorities in the domain of consumption, ordered from the standpoint of maximum human development and not greater and greater accumulation of material goods (p. 485). Particular priority to spending on education and health.

8. Generalized access of all citizens to the mass of centralized information (particularly with the aid of computers to which citizens should be linked by telephone). Radical elimination of "state secrets" in the realm of economic, political, and cultural information.

1. In order to prevent the *habits* of alienated labor from giving rise to practices of alienating and alienated leisure, Bahro insists on the importance of an education for all children which is not solely physical and technical but also scientific-philosophical and aesthetic.

9. Radical abolition of all hierarchical structures based on bureaucratic centralism. These structures exude the generalized phenomenon of "underlingism," which in Bahro's view is one of the major characteristics of the societies of the East European countries.

10. Radical attack on the patriarchal family. Here Bahro centers his criticism much more on the nefarious effects this institution has on children than on its function in oppressing women. The two points of view are obviously complementary and in no way contradictory.

If bourgeois and petty-bourgeois commentators (including Stalinists and Social Democrats) have insisted on the allegedly "utopian" and even "demagogic" character of these ideas, they thereby reveal only their own lack of social realism and the conservative desperation of their own thought, imprisoned by mental constructions that correspond to the reality of the nineteenth century in the best of cases. One may say without risk of error that Bahro's proposals are not only not "utopian" but also perfectly correspond to the possibilities offered by the contemporary productive forces, as well as to the aspirations of hundreds of millions of human beings. Most important, their realization is an indispensable precondition for saving the human race from destruction of material civilization and a new fall into barbarism.

### A Refreshing 'Worldwide' Vision

A similar remark applies to the other positive aspect of Bahro's analysis, unexpected coming from an East European Communist oppositionist: its resolutely internationalist dimension. We say "unexpected" because most of the East European "dissidents," even the leftists, have reacted to Stalinist-type "proletarian internationalism" (that is, the identification of "proletarian internationalism" with blind subordination to the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy) by preaching a nationalist or seminationalist turning inward which is not only extremely dangerous but also sterile and inoperative given the present state of social forces everywhere in the world. We say "unexpected" rather than "surprising," since a theoretician who places himself in the tradition of classical German Marxism and has a minimum of practical experience in economic management<sup>2</sup> could not help but integrate into his

2. In 1952 Bahro was a candidate member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), the name the East German Communist Party has used since its "fusion" with the Social Democratic Party of eastern Germany after the Second World War. He became a full member in 1954. Between 1954 and 1959 he studied philosophy at Humboldt University in East Berlin. In 1959 and 1960 he actively participated in the movement for agrarian collectivization. From 1962 to 1965

thought the *worldwide* character of economics, politics, and social contradictions in our epoch. Several aspects of Bahro's analysis in this regard ought to be highlighted.

Rudolf Bahro thoroughly understands the utopian and reactionary character of the idea that the building of socialism can be completed in one country, although he does not refer to this controversy explicitly. He understands the political, social, and economic pressure the world market exerts on the pace and orientation of accumulation in the East European countries. He presents a gripping theoretical analysis of what underlies the famous theory of "economic competition between the two systems." In fact one of the images he uses repeats what Trotsky predicted half a century ago: This "competition" resembles the fable about the race between the tortoise and the hare in which the hare, in spite of his vastly superior "cruising speed," is compelled to note that even after ten "technological revolutions" and a hundred "new consumer goods," the tortoise is already approaching the finish line.

Bahro likewise fully understands the seriousness and explosive character of the North-South contradiction, the key problem underdevelopment poses for the socialist future of humanity. In this regard he pleads for the necessity for rational education in favor of solidarity and nonwasteful use of world resources; many "ecological" considerations are integrated into his program.

Bahro has at least a presentiment of the correlation between the rise of the workers movement in West Europe and the possibilities of revolutionary overturns in the East European countries. The "Prague Spring," of which Bahro is in some sense the natural offspring, had already shaken East European society as a whole. The realization of an "alternative socialist model" in the West would multiply the shock waves tenfold.

But above all, Bahro rigorously opposes any purely defensive or even indifferent attitude toward the Soviet Union on the part of Communist oppositionists in East Europe. He sees the *essential* function of the opposition in East Europe as being to "detonate" a similar evolution in the Soviet Union. And he correctly accuses the ruling bureaucracy in East Germany and elsewhere, in spite of all their sermons about "friendship with the Soviet Union," of systematically provoking the spread of

anti-Soviet sentiment not only among the masses but even within sections of the apparatus, sentiments whose consequences for peace in Europe could be disastrous in the event of a victorious political revolution.

Although we do not accept all the premises of Bahro's analysis in this regard, it is clear that it does contain a large kernel of truth.

### Two Stages in the History of the Bureaucracy?

In sum, important sections of Bahro's book must be assessed positively. But a positive assessment cannot be made of the whole of his analysis, far from it. *This is not a Trotskyist, revolutionary Marxist book.* It contains essential weaknesses, much more serious than the spoonful of tar in the barrel of honey in the Russian proverb cited by Lenin. In fact, a central portion of the "alternative" is invalid at bottom.

The explanation of this contradictory phenomenon—that an author of Bahro's great talent and vision has not succeeded in developing a correct *overall view* of the correlation of contending social forces East and West—may be boiled down to noting the lack of information from which Bahro suffers (in regard to both facts and theory). It is simply impossible for a single brain to "reproduce the universal reality" on its own, isolated from collective critical work and universal revolutionary practice—in other words, isolated from an international revolutionary organization. This explanation is undoubtedly sufficient—as far as explanations go. But we have too much respect for Bahro's talents and capacities to be content with merely explaining the weaknesses of his analysis. We believe that a critical discussion—an impassioned one commensurate with the grandeur of the problems posed (and let us repeat, they are problems that are decisive for the future of humanity)—is indispensable. Thus, if we include in this article a strong and detailed criticism of all that we find false in Bahro's theses, it is not at all with the intention of "shooting him down." On the contrary, it is in the hope that a real dialogue can occur and that a genuine rectification will be possible, both for him and for those who will be inspired by his writings (and they will not be few in number). It is incontestable that we ourselves will learn something from such a discussion, for in no way do we have a "definitive" position on the precise content of the antibureaucratic political revolution; such a definitive position could be elaborated only after the first decisive victories.

There are two complementary, mutually determined roots to the weaknesses of Bahro's position: a hazy conception of the historic role of the bureaucracy and a

radically false position on the revolutionary potential of the working class.

Bahro's essential thesis on the bureaucracy is marked by an "objectivist," even fatalistic, vision of what happens after the socialist revolution in the less industrialized countries. Since the writings of Preobrazhensky, we have been aware that the USSR, isolated from a victorious socialist revolution in the West, was condemned to "primitive socialist accumulation." But it does not at all follow that the only instrument available for this process was the bureaucracy (the state apparatus, the economic apparatus, and the party, ever increasingly melded into a single social layer) or that this accumulation necessarily had to occur at the cost of an absolute decline in the living standards of the workers and the majority of the peasants. Now, the "materialist explanation" of the Stalinist dictatorship is based on *these* precise socioeconomic features and not on the logic of "primitive socialist accumulation" per se. Thus, the "inevitability" of the bureaucratic dictatorship cannot be deduced from the particular historic conditions prevailing in Russia in 1917.

Indeed, Bahro recognizes that the alternative program of the Left Opposition would have permitted, if not a "painless industrialization," at least an enormous reduction in its costs and also could have avoided the barbarity of forced collectivization. But he avoids the obvious conclusion through a sleight of hand: "It is not by accident that this program was rejected by the immense majority of Russian Communists."

This brings us to the heart of the problem: the counterposition between "objectivist" historical fatalism and a correct understanding of the *dialectic of the objective and subjective factors*. From the standpoint of this dialectic it is just as absurd to claim that the bureaucratic dictatorship in Russia was inevitable after the victory of the October revolution "because of the objective circumstances of Russia" as it would be to claim that Hitler and Auschwitz were "inevitable" as of 1918, if not as of the founding of the German empire. A multitude of intermediary links exist between the "ultimate objective causes" and the practical result. These intermediary links are primarily expressions of the struggle of concrete social and political forces. To cite but one example: the deliberate betrayal of the German revolution in 1918, 1919, 1920 and 1923 by the Social Democratic leadership certainly had as important an effect on the fate of the Russian revolution as did Russia's "Asiatic" and "barbarous" past, for this betrayal resulted in the isolation of the Russian revolution, contrary to the projects and predictions of the Bolsheviks.

Any fatalistic conception of history arouses an apologetic temptation. Despite the fact that Bahro is perfectly conscious of this danger, he nevertheless succumbs

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he collaborated in the national leadership of the trade union of scientific personnel. From 1965 to 1967 he edited the publication *Forum*, a journal for youth and students. Since 1967 he has worked in various enterprises as an engineer specializing in the implementation of projects of industrial rationalization and scientific organization of labor.

to it in part. At bottom, it is his thesis that the bureaucracy was inevitable—and therefore progressive—in effecting “primitive socialist accumulation.” The bureaucracy became reactionary only when the possibility of “extensive industrialization” was replaced by the necessity for “intensive industrialization.” The influence of the tradition of Brandler, who upheld similar theses (recently taken up again by Ellenstein in the French Communist Party), a tradition which has never been wholly absent from the East German Communist Party, is undeniable here.

Bahro commits a flagrant injustice against Trotsky and the Trotskyists when he accuses them of “historic subjectivism” because of their concepts of “deformation” and “bureaucratic degeneration.” In reality, all the objective factors which Bahro believes determined the victory of the bureaucracy had been enumerated by Trotsky in *The Revolution Betrayed*. Bahro adds nothing original in this domain.

The difference is not that Trotsky “underestimated” these objective factors, but that he believed that a politically correct reaction by the worker cadres of the party, the vanguard of the proletariat, could have caused a change in the international and national configuration of social and political forces which would have averted Stalinism. A good Leninist, he believed in the relative autonomy of the subjective factor. Bahro rejects this in his analysis of Stalinism, although he returns to it, even in an exaggerated manner, in his conclusions. This is a great fault in his method.

#### Does the Working Class Have a Revolutionary Potential?

More serious than this semiapologetic attitude toward the bureaucracy is the skepticism Bahro manifests in regard to the revolutionary potential of the working class. Granted, when he stresses the extreme atomization of the working class in East Europe he is underscoring a factor which we and others have highlighted before him. When he adds that under the present conditions (that is, under the bureaucratic dictatorship) it is virtually impossible for the working class to reconstitute its organized cadres by itself (pp. 223-4), he is not entirely wrong. But the only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that a “detonator” external to the working class is probably necessary to set the process of political revolution in motion. There are various possibilities: a division in the apparatus, a revolt of intellectuals or even technicians, a major stimulus from abroad, etc.

Nevertheless, to conclude that since the working class faces great difficulties in triggering the process of political revolution, it will not be able to play the role of protagonist during the process, and especially at its culmination, (p. 388) is to fail to assimilate the real lessons of the Hun-

garian revolution, the “Prague Spring,” and the Polish events. Now, these are three countries in which the objective social weight and political traditions of the working class were inferior to what they are in East Germany. In light of this, Bahro’s skepticism has no socio-economic foundation; it simply expresses a political prejudice.

What is disastrous in this whole section of the book is that Bahro, in an attempt to lend greater coherence to his analysis, extends his skepticism about the working class in the East to skepticism about the working class in the West and generally revises the Marxist theory of the key role the working class must play in the overthrow of capitalism and the inauguration of a classless, socialist society. “All Marxist discussions since 1914,” Bahro writes, “lead to the conclusion that the interests the workers actually act on are not their real interests” (p. 224). Now, these interests on which the workers actually act, according to Bahro, do not go beyond the limits of the “petty-bourgeois” and “corporatist” betterment of their lot. Thus, the “naturally reformist” (trade-unionist) working class cannot be the bearer of a genuine socialist program. Such a program can be developed only by a “historic bloc” within which intellectuals, technicians, and highly skilled white-collar workers will play a much more dynamic role than the workers.

The bridge to Eurocommunism has thus been laid. Eurocommunism justifies its strategy on the basis of the same alleged necessity of creating a “historic bloc” capable of achieving the “alternative” Bahro preaches. This part of Bahro’s work does have the merit of a brutal frankness which is scarcely found among most of the leaders of the Italian, French, and Spanish Communist parties (except, perhaps, among some of the more cynical ones, like Giorgio Amendola). The Eurocommunist strategy is, in fact, founded precisely on a rejection of the revolutionary potential of the working class. And it is highly significant of the dialectic between the rising socialist revolution in the West and the rising political revolution in the East that the contradiction between the immense opportunities now open to humanity and the resistance of the bureaucratic apparatus tears an oppositionist like Bahro between his instinct, which tells him that salvation will come from the revolution in the West, and his reason, apologetic as it is, which murmurs constantly in his ear: “Forget about the Marxist utopia of the supposedly revolutionary role of the proletariat.”

The argumentation is actually quite weak, apart from some abstract philosophical flights. It is simply not true that “since 1914” all the behavior of the European working class has consisted of a search for immediate material advantages of a “trade-unionist” or “corporatist” type.

What about the German revolution of 1918, when workers councils were created throughout the country? What about the general strike against the Kapp putsch in 1920? What about the great strikes and factory occupations in Italy in 1920? What about the general strike of June 1936 in France? What about the Spanish revolution of 1936-37? What about the great battles of the “liberation” in France and Italy, culminating in the Italian general strike of July 14, 1948? What about May 1968 in France and the “creeping May” in Italy in 1969? What about the Portuguese revolution of 1974-75 and the mounting Spanish revolution today?

After he assimilated the experience of the 1905 revolution, Lenin was more “realistic,” more “Marxist,” and more accurate than Bahro. The practical experience of the twentieth century has confirmed that although the working class is “spontaneously reformist” (trade-unionist) in “normal times,” it is “spontaneously anticapitalist” (revolutionary) during periods of revolutionary crisis. Moreover, this is the only materialist interpretation (and not conspiracy theory) that explains the alteration of “normal” situations and revolutionary crises throughout the twentieth century.

But there we are: preconceived ideas, prejudices, and “false consciousness” have an implacable logic, even (or especially) for a great theoretician like Bahro. The demon of false systemization lurks quietly behind the angel of necessary systemization.

As soon as one considers the revolution impossible, “since there is no revolutionary subject,” one is compelled by “political realism” to curb and stifle a real revolution when it begins to unfold before one’s eyes. Bahro does not reproach Cunhal for his policy of “antimonopoly alliance,” which enabled Portuguese capitalism to save itself during the worst moments of the capitalist crisis in the first half of 1975. No, he reproaches him for having provoked a futile “left/right” polarization, including within the army. This is the same reproach Edouard Bernstein addressed to the German revolutionaries in 1918, even extending it against the French revolutionaries (and Karl Marx himself) by criticizing their behavior in 1848. This sort of “political wisdom” as a substitute for comprehension of the objective dynamic of class struggles is unworthy of you, Comrade Bahro, unworthy of your vision and your Communist passion.

#### Three Programmatic Ambiguities

These analytic weaknesses determine programmatic ambiguities which would be laden with consequences if extended to their ultimate conclusions. (Let us hope that the discussion, even if it must be conducted through prison bars, will prevent Bahro from going that far.)

The first concerns the political and so-

cial conclusions of Bahro's whole critique. Yes or no, *does the political power of the toiling masses* have to be established, or must we content ourselves with hoping for a protracted transformation subsequent to the substitution of the power of the technocrats for that of the political bureaucracy?

Bahro is neither hypocritical nor blind. He fully understands the terms of the problem. In spite of all his enthusiasm for the "Prague Spring" and the Yugoslav experience, he does not hesitate to write: "It is no accident that the major economic theoretician of the reform, Ota Sik, wanted *not* real workers councils, but a regime of directors to whom the councils would be linked" (p. 116). And: "If the Czechoslovak reform movement had succeeded (in whatever form), the workers would have regained control of their unions, and that would have improved their sociopolitical conditions. But precisely this restoration would have more clearly exposed their subordinate position in a state maintained by a bureaucracy" (p. 224). Exactly, exactly. That is the choice: reform of the bureaucratic system or antibureaucratic political revolution. Since Bahro is skeptical about the revolutionary potential of the working class, he does not (yet?) pronounce himself in favor of political revolution, but he does stress the inadequacy of reform. In any event, let us acknowledge that his constant reference to "cultural revolution" (instead of political revolution) is only a feint that enables him to dodge the difficulty but not to solve it.

Given the tragic experience of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, the conclusion must be even more definitive. There is no genuine abolition of the monopoly of power of the "bureaucratic caste" (the term utilized by Bahro on page 13) without the establishment of the *political power* of the proletariat, of the toiling masses.

The second ambiguity concerns the relationship between the communes, which constitute the "administrative" basis of the "state in process of withering away" as projected by Bahro, and the workers councils. All the passages in the book dealing with this question are suspiciously vague. Granted, the "principle of association" is highly laudable. But what does it mean concretely, especially in light of the enormous powers Bahro attributes to the communes? Will they be elected by universal suffrage? Or constituted by delegates of the councils? Territorial councils and factory councils, or only the former? How can it be guaranteed that the nonproducers will not again impose sacrifices on the producers? Bahro scarcely offers any precise answers to these questions, which nonetheless flow logically from all the premises developed at great length in his book.

The third ambiguity, perhaps the most serious, relates to the problem of the single party. The most striking paradox in Bahro's thought is that after concentrating his

fire, initially directed against the bureaucracy as a whole, solely on the "political" faction of the bureaucracy ("die Politbürokratie"), he does not clearly come out against the principle of the single party and for a multiparty system. The most he calls for is the creation of a "League of Communists." It is not clear whether this is supposed to be a second party, a single party, or not a party at all.

Once again, Bahro is neither naive nor a dupe. On several occasions he reaffirms that in spite of self-management at the



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RUDOLF BAHRO

factory level and in spite of the "association of communes," Yugoslavia is still governed by a bureaucracy. Nor does he believe that the state can disappear overnight. He recognizes the powerful centralizing tendency of the contemporary productive forces. He has even an excessive respect for the "objectively indispensable" role of the state. Who, then, will pin the tail on the donkey? Can thousands of communes acting "through free association" decide the exact proportions of the division of the national or even international income? Can the toiling masses decide among thousands of variants? Rank-and-file initiative is hailed, but in vain. If one does not accept the necessity of the masses' making coherent choices among a series of alternative strategies of economic, social, cultural, and political growth—that is, among different parties and tendencies—then one is back to the combination of a nice anarchistic spontaneity at the rank-and-file level and a *regime of a bureaucratized single party at the top*. These are the only possible solu-

tions, at least so long as the transitional phase lasts and the state persists.

Criticizing Lenin's antibureaucratic struggle as insufficient, Bahro uses the formula: "You cannot fight the apparatus with the aid of another apparatus." Agreed. But the obvious conclusion is that the bureaucratic dictatorship cannot be abolished if it continues to hold a monopoly on *central* decision-making, which means the political decisions. Nor can we harbor the illusion that "politics"—that is, the central decisions—will disappear like magic under the pressure of "associations." Thus, it is the *processes of central decision-making that must be resolutely democratized*. And there is no way to do this except by interlocking the political regime of the councils of toilers with the institutions of the communes and with a multiplicity of parties and associations on a *national and international scale*.

Having formulated these harsh criticisms, let us conclude by once again stressing the important contribution Bahro has made to the discussion of the problems of political revolution. And let us above all reiterate our indignation at the East German bureaucracy, which has placed such a thinker behind bars—on charges of spying for imperialist espionage agencies!

In his letter to Bebel in which he protested against the censorship the leadership of the German Social Democratic Party was trying to exercise over the publication of the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, Engels exclaimed: "What makes you any different from Puttkamer (Bismarck's minister) if you introduce a *Sozialistengesetz* (law against socialists) in your own ranks?" The imprisonment of Bahro is not merely a *Sozialistengesetz* within the workers movement. It is Bastille-style absolutist arbitrariness on the part of the bureaucracy. But the Bastilles will some day be stormed by the toiling masses.

Free Rudolf Bahro!

No *Berufsverbot* in East or West Germany!

Grant Rudolf Bahro a chair at the University of Jena!

September 20, 1977

### More Charter 77 Supporters Sentenced

Two supporters of Charter 77, Vladimir Lastuvka and Ales Machacek, were sentenced on September 28 to three and a half years in prison for "subversion."

Lastuvka and Machacek were arrested last January by the Husak regime for having circulated copies of the Czechoslovak human rights manifesto. In addition, they were charged with possession of political material and a duplicating machine turned up during searches of their homes by the Czechoslovak police. Neither Lastuvka nor Machacek is a signer of Charter 77.

## Cuban Edition of Malcolm X's Autobiography

[A Spanish translation of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, published in Havana in 1974, has just been called to our attention.

[Besides the *Autobiography*, which was written with the assistance of Alex Haley, the Cuban edition includes an appendix consisting of extracts from *Malcolm X Speaks* and *By Any Means Necessary* by Malcolm X. Both of the latter two books are Pathfinder Press publications edited with prefatory material by George Breitman. The Cuban edition, *Autobiografía Malcolm X*, carries full credit lines on the source of the material.

[The extracts from the Pathfinder Press books include statements made by Malcolm X at the Militant Labor Forum in New York and in a January 18, 1965, interview granted by Malcolm X to Jack Barnes and Barry Sheppard as representatives of the Young Socialist Alliance. Among photographs featured in the book is one of Malcolm X speaking at the Militant Labor Forum on April 8, 1964.

[The translation and publication was done under the auspices of Editorial de Ciencias Sociales del Instituto Cubano del Libro. The address is Calle G número 505, Vedado, Habana 4, Cuba.

[We have translated the foreword to the Cuban edition written by Juana Carrasco. She explains why the Cubans think Malcolm X is an important revolutionary figure whose views should be studied.

[The footnotes have been supplied by *Intercontinental Press*.]

"I do not expect to live long enough to read this book in its finished form,"<sup>1</sup> he once said. In fact, his prediction that he might be assassinated before his autobiography was published became a tragic reality on the afternoon of February 21, 1965, as he was starting to address an audience composed of some 400 Blacks and half a dozen whites.

Two men, taking advantage of the disturbance created by their accomplices, jumped up from the first row of seats in the Audubon Hall and fired their weapons at Malcolm X. For a few seconds he remained on his feet, facing his murderers' bullets; then he fell to the floor, fatally wounded, while one of the criminals emptied his revolver into his body.

Betty Shabazz, Malcolm X's wife, was in the auditorium with their four small children. Betty ran to the podium, crying,



MALCOLM X

"My husband! They're killing my husband!"<sup>2</sup>

At 3:45 p.m., in Columbia Presbyterian Hospital, the following announcement was made: "The gentleman you know as Malcolm X is dead."<sup>3</sup>

The reaction of white America, with the press in the lead, was to identify the murderers and the motive for the assassination as bitter revenge on the part of another Black group, the Black Muslims, the organization Malcolm X had separated from around the beginning of 1964.

However, the reaction in the Black ghettos and among Malcolm X's closest followers was quite different. Little by little, they became convinced that powerful forces, including the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) were involved in the assassination, because they were worried about Malcolm X's growing influence, and particularly by his efforts to internationalize the problem of racial discrimination in the United States by trying to get African diplomats to raise this problem with the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

Some time later, a trial of two members of the Black Muslim organization was staged, with false testimony from lying or bribed witnesses. This was to prove that the assassination had involved a fight "between Blacks," and the inquest and investigations that were supposed to look

into the facts and incidents were never carried out.

In fact, incidents occurred that clearly proved that the Muslims could not have carried out the actions taken against Malcolm X—intercepting all his telephone calls and taping them, following him during his travels to Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, to name only a few.

Evidence that came to light years later helps to show that the murderers were acting on orders from the United States government. Gene Roberts, one of Malcolm X's bodyguards who was part of his defense team in Audubon Hall, was a member of BOSS (Bureau of Special Services), a top-secret police agency. On April 4, 1964, he had infiltrated the OAAU, the organization founded by Malcolm X.

Malcolm X was assassinated while Gene Roberts was supposed to be guarding him. And the majority of members of the OAAU are in prison or dead. Gene Roberts later penetrated another Black nationalist organization, the Revolutionary Action Movement, and a group known as the Mau Mau. As the crowning achievement of his career as an agent inside the most radical Black organizations, he infiltrated the Harlem branch of the Black Panther Party in July 1968. His testimony and actions as a provocateur resulted in the jailing of twenty-one Black Panthers in New York, who were in danger of being sentenced to long prison terms for "conspiracy" to rob several stores in that big city. Gene Roberts was finally exposed in 1970.

Some day it will be known exactly what role he played in the assassination of Malcolm X.

The events of 1965 prove that Malcolm X was right when he told his wife, Betty, that the American power structure was plotting against his life.

This is why the *New York Times* wrote in December 1965: "The majority of Malcolm's followers are beginning to believe that he was assassinated by order of the U.S. government."<sup>4</sup>

But who was this man who represented a threat to the American government, to the so-called power structure?

Malcolm Little—for this was the name he was given by his father—was born on May 19, 1925, in Omaha, Nebraska. He became a thief, a drug addict, a professional gambler, and a pimp in the ghettos of the big Northern cities where he spent most of his life from the age of fifteen onward. He sank to the lowest rung of the human ladder. From there, he later transformed himself into the most outstanding leader of the Black revolution in the United States. His life was an impressive example; this is why he was dangerous.

"I have given to this book so much of whatever time I have because I feel, and I hope, that if I honestly and fully tell my life's account, read objectively it might

1. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, with the assistance of Alex Haley (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1965), p. 387.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 434.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 435.

4. Retranslated from the Spanish.

prove to be a testimony of some social value. [ . . . ]

"I think, I hope, that the objective reader, in following my life—the life of only one ghetto-created Negro—may gain a better picture and understanding than he has previously had of the black ghettos which are shaping the lives and the thinking of almost all of the 22 million Negroes who live in America."<sup>5</sup>

Today, he is known all over the world as Malcolm X, the name he acquired in 1952 when he left Charlestown prison and became a Black Muslim. In this Black nationalist organization, he revealed his talents as a speaker, winning thousands of new members to it. But at the same time, he was becoming a symbol of freedom and independence to ghetto Blacks. Continuing the process of gaining political consciousness, which was ultimately what had brought him close to the Black Muslim religion, Malcolm X deepened his understanding of the oppression and discrimination faced by his Black brothers and sisters, and in 1963 began to have doubts about the movement that he proselytized for. Clear political differences led him to break with this organization on March 12, 1964.

From his autobiography, dictated to the Black journalist Alex Haley, a stereotyped picture emerges of a Black assimilated into white culture up to when, in prison, through the doctrine of Islam, he was transformed into a sensitive human being, proud of his black skin and kinky hair, identifying with his African origins and with the suffering of his people, becoming politicized and initiated into revolutionary thought, becoming a *man*.

"I believe that it would be almost impossible to find anywhere in America a black man who has lived further down in the mud of human society than I have; or a black man who has been any more ignorant than I have been; or a black man who has suffered more anguish during his life than I have. But it is only after the deepest darkness that the greatest light can come; it is only after extreme grief that the greatest joy can come; it is only after slavery and prison that the sweetest appreciation of freedom can come."<sup>6</sup>

To understand the identity crisis, alienation, feelings of hostility, oppression, and loneliness faced by American Blacks, as well as the reason for their struggle, it is necessary to read the autobiography and the writings and speeches of Malcolm X.

"I gritted my teeth and tried to pull the sides of the kitchen table together. The comb felt as if it was raking my skin off. . . . How ridiculous I was! Stupid enough to stand there simply lost in admiration of my hair now looking 'white'. . . . This was my first really big step toward self-degradation. . . . I had

5. *The Autobiography*, p. 385.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 386.

joined that multitude of Negro men and women in America who are brainwashed into believing that the black people are 'inferior'—and white people 'superior'—that they will even violate and mutilate their God-created bodies. . . ."<sup>7</sup>

"I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being here in America doesn't make you an American. Being born here in America doesn't make you an American."<sup>8</sup>

These things that he said might not have been pleasant for many whites and some Blacks to hear, but it was the truth about the situation faced by his people.

Controversial figure that he was in his lifetime, activists in the Black freedom struggle today study his writings and speeches and autobiography, because the origins of today's militant activism in the United States must be sought in him. Each of them has interpreted these writings in his or her own way, but there they are, unshakable, but also flexible, reflecting the continual dialectical development that this revolutionist was undergoing, so that they can be put to good use in practice and enriched.

Malcolm X got laughter and applause not only because he said what the Black masses had been wanting to hear for a long time, but also because he was one of the most eloquent and brilliant political speakers of his time.

"I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare."<sup>9</sup> The bitterness, hatred, and hostility of white Americans' racial prejudice is all clearly present in his autobiography and speeches. So are his final political ideas, the basis of the action program of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, the organization he founded, and it is these ideas that actually led to his assassination.

He talked about the international context of the struggle of American Black people: ". . . and when the 22 million black Americans see that our problem is the same as the problem of the people who are being oppressed in South Vietnam and the Congo and Latin America, then—the oppressed people of this earth make up a majority, not a minority—then we approach our problem as a majority that can *demand*, not as a minority that has to beg."<sup>10</sup>

Many have tried to picture Malcolm X as a Black racist because he talked about Black nationalism. When Malcolm X talked about the people of Africa, Asia,

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

8. *Malcolm X Speaks*, edited with prefatory notes by George Breitman (New York: Merit Publishers [predecessor of Pathfinder Press], 1965), p. 26.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

and Latin America, he sometimes referred to them as Black. He used the word Black to symbolize all exploited peoples, but this does not constitute reverse racism: "It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter.

"The Negro revolution is not a racial revolt."<sup>11</sup>

To emphasize his feeling that discrimination is the product of an exploitative social system, he stressed: ". . . all of the countries that are emerging today from under the shackles of colonialism are turning toward socialism. I don't think it's an accident. Most of the countries that were colonial powers were capitalist countries, and the last bulwark of capitalism today is America. It's impossible for a white person to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism."<sup>12</sup>

The idea of instilling in Black people pride in themselves as human beings, in the highest sense of the word, and his internationalist conception of the struggle of American Black people, made him hated by imperialism, as did his opposition to and condemnation of the war of aggression in Vietnam, the Yankee invasion of Santo Domingo, and the sending of mercenary troops to the Congo. However, what was even more dangerous for the imperialists was that he saw the importance of violence and opened the eyes of young Black Americans to this. He gave extensive proof of what revolutionary violence had been able to accomplish in China, Algeria, and Cuba, what it was in the process of accomplishing in Vietnam, and predicted, therefore, the violence that would shake up the Black ghettos in the United States, advocating it as the necessary means to achieve freedom.

This edition, which the Cuban Publishing Institute has made of his autobiography and fragments of his speeches, enables us to become acquainted with the struggle of the American Black people, symbolized in the person of one of its most outstanding leaders, who, in direct, simple, plain, penetrating, and compelling language—for this book will be read and perhaps reread in one sitting—gives us a slice of history, a history that is still being written with the blood and sweat of Black and oppressed people in America. □

11. *Ibid.*, p. 217.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

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