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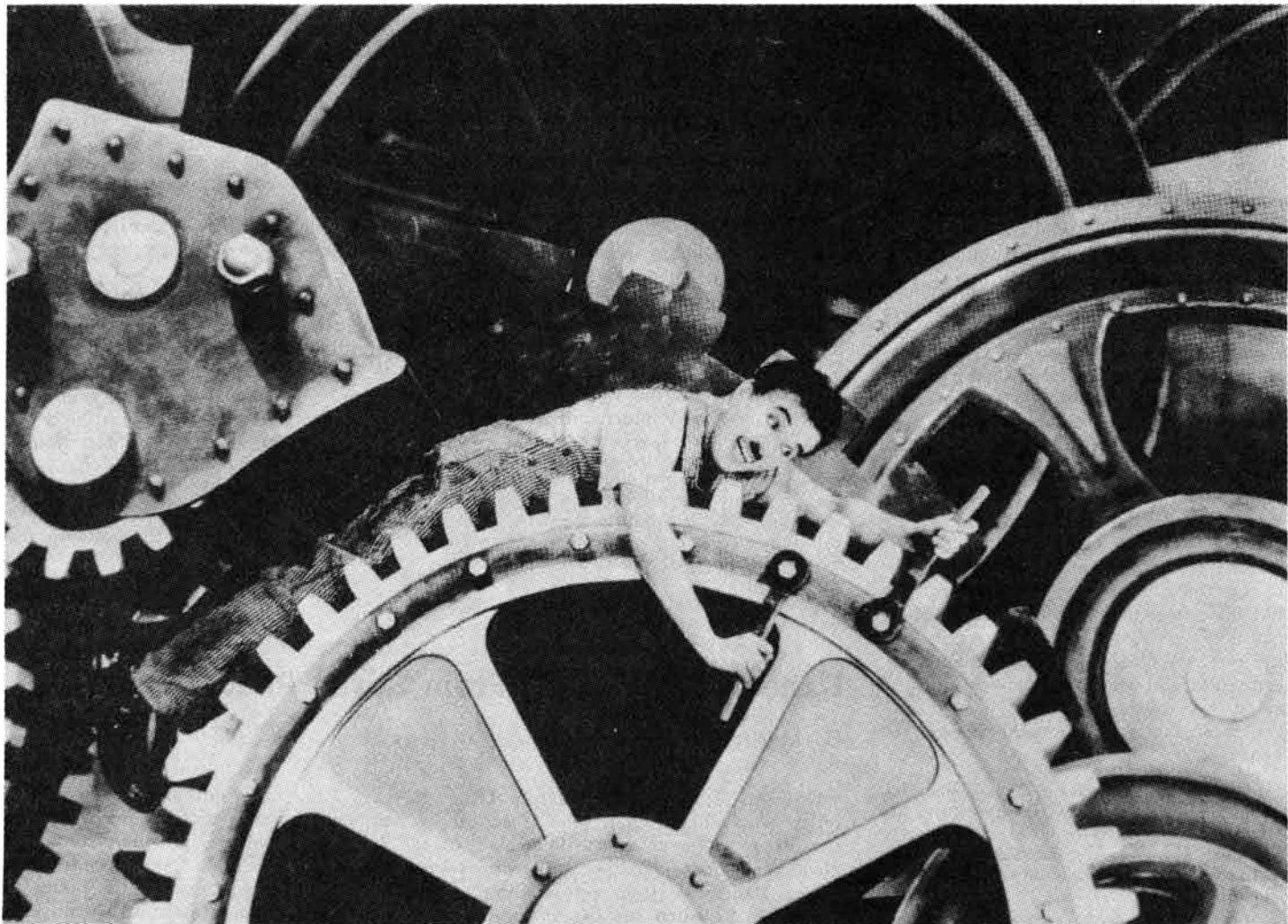
the Americas

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January 9, 1978

75¢



A scene from "Modern Times." Charlie Chaplin plays the role of a highly exploited worker in a typical

American plant. Such biting satire made him a special target of the witch-hunters. See p. 14.

## A Chapter in the Life of a Great Artist

## **Chaplin—Victim of McCarthyite Witch-hunt**

# NEWS ANALYSIS

## Save Héctor Marroquín!

By Judy White

The campaign to save the life of Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican political refugee who is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, received new impetus during the last week of December.

At a news conference jointly called by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and the YSA in Detroit December 28, USLA spokesman Barry Fatland explained why the committee was taking up the case:

We think that this case is important not only to save Héctor Marroquín's life, but also to challenge the discriminatory treatment of political refugees from countries who are allies of the U.S. government and to establish the right to political asylum, regardless of one's political beliefs or affiliations.

Marroquín is seeking political asylum in the United States where he has been living for three and a half years. If Washington decides to deport him, at a January 17 hearing, he will be returned to Mexico where he faces fabricated charges of "guerrilla activity." Worse yet, he may end up like his college roommate or other political activists accused of similar crimes—tortured, missing, or killed—without ever coming to trial where the frame-up charges could be exposed.

Fatland explained where the case stands at present:

By launching a massive national public campaign on his behalf three months ago, and winning support from hundreds of people from all walks of life, we won our first victory—his right to a deportation hearing with his lawyers present.

After spending over three months in jail, USLA was able to raise the extremely high bail of \$10,000 and on December 22 he was released from jail. . . .

Marroquín has been placed under virtual house arrest, however, as he has to request permission from the INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service] before he can leave Houston, and he was denied a work permit. . . .

With only weeks to go before the hearing that could result in Marroquín's return to Mexico, USLA urges that immediate messages be sent to the INS demanding that he not be deported and that he be granted political asylum.

Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson of the YSA, pledged the support of her organization to the defense effort:

We are confident that we can win massive support for his right to asylum. And this will help expand the rights of others who flee to this

country to seek refuge from torture, repression, and death at the hands of the governments of their countries.

Marroquín himself was present at the news conference and addressed the YSA national convention, which opened that day in Detroit.

"The Mexican government has accused me of conspiracy, homicide, terrorism, and guerrilla warfare," he told the press. "I am totally innocent of all these charges. I, like thousands of others in my country, was active in fighting for democratic rights and student-faculty control of the Mexican universities. I do not, and have never, believed in terrorism."

The following day, USLA held a public rally for Marroquín in Detroit.

Margaret Winter, Marroquín's attorney, spoke about one aspect of the fight:

I wrote to the district director [of the INS] in Harris County and asked him if Héctor could come to Detroit to speak to the YSA. Then I called the district director on the telephone. The district director said, "I got your express letter

requesting permission, but I'm not going to touch this. There's a ten thousand dollar bond on this man, so there's got to be more to this case than meets the eye. I don't want to get involved in this."

So I called the district director in San Antonio, the one who is considering Héctor's asylum petition. . . . I mentioned that there was this old-time custom, called the First Amendment, and that as far as I could make out even "illegals" have First Amendment rights.

Now, District Director Staley is personally a very courteous gentleman. But the INS is a very *macho* government agency. In fact, it's *machosísmo*. . . . The INS is used to dealing with aliens without paying attention to any sissy stuff like due process of law or First Amendment rights.

So, the district director said he'd think about it and give me his decision in the morning. He must have done some hard thinking. Maybe he was thinking about the appeal we have pending on those travel restrictions and how some judge might even think the travel restriction was arbitrary and capricious if the INS didn't let Héctor go to Detroit. At any rate, he gave permission. . . .

Hugo Blanco, a Peruvian revolutionist currently exiled in Sweden, also addressed the rally. He spoke of the importance of combining demonstrations, pickets, and other forms of direct action with the battle in the courtroom in cases like Marroquín's. "The methods we use in the fight for Marroquín," he said, "can serve as an example to the thousands of political prisoners and refugees throughout the world." □

## Dzhemilev Released From Soviet Prison Camp

By Marilyn Vogt

Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev (Abduzhemil) has been freed. According to a report in the December 23 *New York Times*, Moscow authorities released Dzhemilev from prison camp on December 22 when his two-and-one-half-year term ended.

Dzhemilev's release is a victory for his defenders within the Soviet Union and abroad, for Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov had reported recently that the Stalinist rulers were planning to rearrest Dzhemilev in the prison camp before this term—his fourth—ended.

Upon learning of Sakharov's report, Amnesty International in New York launched a "telegram tree," which resulted in more than two hundred cables being sent demanding Dzhemilev's release.

The Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee in New York arranged to have a letter in defense of Dzhemilev signed by four former political prisoners—Reza Baraheni, Martin Sostre, Hugo Blanco, and Leonid Plyushch—printed in the December 20 *New York Times*.

The letter, after outlining the history of Dzhemilev's persecution, closed by saying: "We, former political prisoners from four corners of the world, appeal to all adherents of social and democratic justice to condemn the injustices to which Mustafa Dzhemilev has been subjected and demand that the Soviet authorities proceed with the unqualified release of this great leader of an oppressed nationality in the Soviet Union."

Dzhemilev's case became internationally known as a result of a hunger strike he began in June 1975 when he was rearrested in prison just three days before his third term was to have ended. He continued that hunger strike for ten months until he was brought to trial in April 1976 and—weighing only seventy-seven pounds—sentenced to forced labor for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

His "anti-Soviet propaganda" consisted of the "slanderous fabrication" that "Crimean Tatars do not enjoy full and equal rights in the USSR" and putting this "slander" in written form in a draft "Dec-

laration of Principles of the Crimean Tatar Movement."

But in the eyes of the Stalinist bureaucrats Dzhemilev's real "crime" was his uncompromising support for the Crimean Tatars' demand for the right to return to their homeland and for the reestablishment of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. (Stalin deported the entire Crimean Tatar population from Crimea in May 1944 and in 1946 abolished their republic that had been established by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in October 1921.)

Dzhemilev's courageous resistance inspired Soviet defenders of democratic rights to action. Thousands of Crimean Tatars protested Dzhemilev's rearrest. Dissident communist Pyotr Grigorenko and many other prominent Moscow dissidents issued numerous appeals for Dzhemilev's release. Andrei Sakharov and Elena Bonner journeyed to Omsk, Siberia, where Dzhemilev's trial was held, to draw the attention of foreign correspondents to Dzhemilev's case. The Russian-language underground journal *A Chronicle of Current Events* printed a long report of Dzhemilev's trial.\*

A broad, Amnesty International adopted Dzhemilev as a prisoner of conscience. And in New York in mid-1976, the Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee was established.

The committee called upon people who support democratic rights, the rights of oppressed nationalities, and freedom for political prisoners around the world, including in the United States, to defend Dzhemilev. It was able to obtain broad sponsorship from prominent civil-rights and pro-socialist forces for meetings, picket lines, and the printing and distribution of literature on Dzhemilev's case.

All these efforts together played an important role in forcing the Kremlin to actually release Dzhemilev once his term ended.

According to a report in the December 27 *New York Times*, Dzhemilev was released to his parents in Tashkent, capital of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic (more than 1,500 miles from his homeland). This place of residence is a bitter reminder that the demands Dzhemilev was imprisoned for defending have not been met by Stalin's heirs.

While Dzhemilev's release is a victory the continued national oppression of Crimean Tatars points to the need for continued defense of these people as well as other non-Russians in the Soviet Union.

For as long as they remain fettered by the chauvinist policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, those like Dzhemilev who refuse to be reconciled with the national oppression of their people will continue to be victimized. □

\*For a translation of the text of this report, see *Intercontinental Press*, January 31, 1977, p. 84.

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# The International Capitalist Economy at the End of 1977

[The following appeared as an editorial in the December 22 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

The situation in the international capitalist economy markedly deteriorated during the second half of 1977. In every imperialist country, economic activity slowed down and unemployment increased, although the phenomenon took three distinct forms:

a. In the strongest imperialist economies—the *United States*, *West Germany*, and *Japan*—industrial production continued to rise, albeit more slowly than in the first half of the year and, above all, at a lower rate than the one forecast by various “experts” and governments in 1976. In West Germany, new orders were down by 7.2% between the second and third quarters of 1977. (*Wirtschaftsnotizen der Commerzbank*)

b. In a number of imperialist countries—notably *Britain*, *Canada*, and the *Netherlands*—industrial production virtually stagnated.

c. Certain others experienced an actual decline in industrial production. This was the case in *France* (where a tendency of stabilization appeared at the end of the year), *Italy*, *Belgium*, *Sweden*, and *Australia*. In Sweden, the fall in industrial production was 5% between the third quarter of 1976 and the third quarter of 1977.

Total unemployment in the imperialist countries rose from 15.7 million at the end of 1976 to 16.3 million at the end of 1977. The OECD foresees a further rise for 1978. (*Le Monde*, November 22, 1977.)

However, since the richest countries play a decisive role in defining the overall conjuncture, the stagnation or decline of production in the weaker countries is unlikely in the immediate future to pass into a new recession. On the contrary, the slowing of the recovery in Japan and West Germany led their governments to introduce modest “stimuli” during the autumn. Similar steps will almost certainly be taken in the United States early next year at the first sign of a worsening in the conjuncture—whether or not Arthur Burns is replaced as head of the Federal Reserve System.

*In these conditions, the most likely prospect for 1978 is a continuation of the limited and faltering upturn of the international capitalist economy:* that is to say, an increase rather than a fall of total industrial production. Nevertheless, the rhythm of the

upturn will be even slower and more hesitant than it was in the second half of 1977, and disparities between the imperialist countries will remain strong.

We have explained before why the 1973-74 recession was not followed by a new “boom” and why the upturn is of an extremely limited, faltering, and uneven character:<sup>1</sup>

1. The recovery was triggered by huge budget deficits in the USA, West Germany, and Japan—that is, by a policy of inflationary creation of additional purchasing power. It was thus increased consumer demand (above all for automobiles) that halted the recession and set production going again.

2. This classical recovery policy could not, however, be applied in the weaker imperialist economies, especially those in which an inflation rate well above the average was accompanied by large balance-of-payments deficits. On the contrary, they were led to introduce an “austerity policy,” which held down mass consumption levels, stifled any revival of industrial production, and even provoked a further decline.

3. Hence, the upturn did not spread cumulatively at an international level, but developed in a disparate manner. Recovery in the richest imperialist countries—as well as the forced growth of exports at any cost pursued in Japan and West Germany—did not involve a parallel process in the other imperialist economies; indeed, it was itself limited by their stagnation.

4. However, if the upturn was not converted into a “boom” in the USA, West Germany, and Japan, this was essentially for internal, rather than international, reasons. For there was no significant revival of productive investment (that is, activity in Department I), without which the recovery of Department II cannot be sustained.<sup>2</sup> This was not due to some kind of “shortage of capital.” On the contrary, profits are rising sharply in these countries, and the banks offer plentiful and relatively cheap credits. At bottom, the phenomenon results from the huge excess of production capacity (U.S. industry was functioning at only 80% of capacity in autumn 1977) and from the relative stagnation of the “final consumers’ market.”

5. Vigorous pursuit of recovery simply through the expansion of Department I has also proved to be an unrealistic course. In conditions of limited upturn, a low growth rate of the economy, strict application of rationalization policies by big capital, and development of the third technological revolution (semi-automation) entail a rise, and not a fall, in unemployment. The lack of a marked rise in consumer demand is also attributable to the persistence of inflation at an only slightly reduced rate and to the “austerity policies” applied by most imperialist governments. Even in the United States retail sales for October 1977 were, in money terms, only 10% higher than in the same month of 1976, even though the cost of living had meanwhile risen by 6%. The volume of consumption therefore increased by less than 4%, and in September it had even shown an absolute decline.

6. The character of the upturn also varies greatly from sector to sector. Thus, important branches like the steel industry, shipbuilding, and synthetic fibers sank into a veritable depression at the very moment of the upturn, and excess capacity is now such that there is little chance of rapid recovery. This unevenness is another reason for the complete absence of cumulative effect and naturally weighs on the general development of the conjuncture.

Paradoxically, in those dependent and underdeveloped capitalist countries that have undergone the greatest industrialization (above all, Brazil, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Iran), the upturn in industrial production following the recession has been more vigorous than in the imperialist countries. Thus, in Brazil gross national product rose by 8% in 1976 and 6% in 1977; in South Korea by 14% in 1976 and 10% in 1977; in Hong Kong by 16% in 1976 and 8% in 1977; and in Iran by 12% in 1976 and 9.5% in 1977. Characteristically, however, the 1977 growth rates are in each case lower than the 1976 ones, and a further slowdown is anticipated for 1978.

All these factors come together to once again determine a fall in the prices of raw materials like iron and steel, copper and zinc, synthetic fibers, as well as the majority of agricultural products. The price of cotton fell by 33% between autumn 1976 and autumn 1977. The stock market is similarly depressed because speculators anticipate a slowing of the upturn or even the onset of a recession in 1979.

In these conditions, interimperialist rivalry can only become more acute. The relative export successes of certain dependent capitalist countries are due to the fact that wages in the sectors involved are much

1. See Ernest Mandel: “A Hesitant, Uneven, and Inflationary Upturn,” *Inprecor*, No. 61/62, November 11, 1976, p. 3, or *Intercontinental Press*, November 29, 1976, p. 1700.

2. “Department I” refers to industries producing means of production (machinery, raw materials, and so on), while “Department II” refers to industries producing consumer goods.—IP

lower than the average paid in the corresponding industrial branch in the imperialist countries, while the technology employed is often quite similar. Such exports therefore deal a very sharp blow to these branches of industry, and the imperialist countries react with vigorous protectionist measures, which go by various names but ultimately involve artificial limitation of imports.

This trade war is by no means restricted to rivalry between imperialist and dependent capitalist countries. To a more and more intense degree, it also rages among the imperialist countries themselves. In response to the spectacular successes of Japanese automobiles and color television exporters on the U.S. market, the American bourgeoisie has adopted energetic protectionist measures, which are also designed to limit steel imports from capitalist Europe and Japan.

Furthermore, the American and European capitalists are exerting joint pressure on Japan to liberalize its own imports, since the Japanese trade surplus for 1977 could be higher than 10 billion dollars. The rise in the dollar value of the yen (17% since January 1977) has been provoked both by international speculation and by U.S. pressure (the fall of the dollar), and it should force Japanese imperialism into making important concessions.

The most disturbing short-term consequence for the international capitalist economy is the fact that, for the first time since 1975, world trade has contracted during the third quarter of 1977 under the combined impact of all these protectionist measures. (This is a fall in relation to the second quarter of this year, and not yet in relation to the third quarter of 1976.) According to the latest statistics of the International Monetary Fund, the imports and exports of OECD member-countries (that is, of the imperialist countries as a whole) have evolved as follows:

	<b>Imports</b>	<b>Exports</b>
	(in billions of constant dollars)	
1976		
3rd quarter	155.7	144.7
1977		
2nd quarter	182.8	170.7
3rd quarter	166.3	155.3

This downturn has affected the imperialist powers in different ways:

1977 Exports		
(in billions of constant dollars)		
2nd quarter	3rd quarter	
United States	31.6	28.7
West Germany	28.8	28.3
Japan	19.7	20.6
France	16.7	14.6
Britain	14.2	14.6

Thus, the United States and France have suffered most from the contraction of world trade.

This revival of aggressive protectionism and economic nationalism, accompanied by frantic monetary manipulation, has an important corollary: namely, the more and more pronounced disarray of an international monetary system that has never recovered from the collapse of the Bretton Woods Agreements and the end of the gold-convertibility of the dollar.

According to every indication, the enormous U.S. balance-of-payments deficit fuels the depreciation of the dollar. Whereas the imperialist central banks are forced to more and more reluctantly accept these devalued dollars as a reserve currency, the private capitalists increasingly steer clear of this imitation money. A growing portion of European and Japanese foreign trade is already being conducted in stronger currencies.

Of course, this deficit stems in part from the increase in U.S. oil imports: the weapon of oil price rises, which was supposed to improve the competitive position of U.S. imperialism against its European and Japanese rivals, has turned out to be a boomerang. But it is also the result of a rate of inflation that is higher in the USA than in West Germany or Switzerland, and of the widening gap between U.S. industrial productivity and the levels attained in Japan and West Europe. This lag is due especially to the obsolescence of industrial equipment in several important branches of U.S. industry, most evidently in steel production:

"The problem of inefficient plant is not confined to the steel industry, as much U.S. industrial plant is old and technologically obsolete. According to the most recent government surveys—at the end of 1976—the average U.S. business reported that 16% of its plant and equipment was at least 20 years old and 11% of its facilities were technologically outmoded. The situation varied from industry to industry. Heavy goods manufacturers reported that 20% of their capacity was installed in 1956 or earlier and nearly half of all railway rolling stock dates back to that time. By comparison, aerospace manufacturers reported only 6% of their machinery and plants were 20 years old." (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 11 November 1977.)

What is the significance of the pump-priming measures taken in West Germany, Japan, and the United States in recent weeks, or to be taken in coming weeks in other countries, no doubt including France? What will be the impact of the simultaneous rise in international liquid assets following the 1977 U.S. trade deficit of more than \$30 billion? Rather than the growth of industrial production, these factors will above all stimulate a new acceleration of inflation, which, despite the somewhat lower rate of the past couple of years, continues to exist

everywhere except in Switzerland. If prices do start to run away in 1978, then the inevitable monetary restrictions will threaten to precipitate a new recession before its time is due—perhaps even before the end of the year. Otherwise, it will occur "naturally" the following year.

A final point needs to be stressed. The working class is currently facing a universal employers' offensive, which rests on a growing reserve army of labor, fear of unemployment, different types of "austerity policy," and the almost invariable support given by the Socialist Party and Communist Party leaderships to the freezing or reduction of real wages. (The French Communist Party is the only exception at the moment, but we should expect a turn if the Union of the Left wins the elections.) Despite all this, the working class of the imperialist countries has resisted the concerted attack in a remarkable manner. Where it initially retreated through surprise, disorientation, or lack of an overall alternative policy (as was the case in Britain and West Germany, it began to fight back in 1977 and had some success in recovering lost ground. Elsewhere—for example, in Italy, Spain, and France—loss of purchasing power has been marginal or nil, bearing no relation to the needs and designs of big capital. The struggle for employment has proved more difficult. But continuing unemployment everywhere breeds rank-and-file trade-union discontent, and even indignation, which will eventually lead to energetic responses of a political and anticapitalist nature.

Thus, the bourgeoisie has not achieved the "rectification" it expected from the crisis—neither in the economic nor in social and political fields. The relationship of forces has not shifted fundamentally to its advantage. The prospects are those of intensification of the class struggle, rather than restabilization of capitalism. The "good old days" of consistent expansion in a climate of social peace have come to an end. It is up to the workers, facing a capitalist regime in marked disarray, to draw all the necessary conclusions from the situation. □

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# European Workers Movement Grapples With Economic Crisis

By Ernest Mandel

[The following article appeared in the December 22 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

Two years of severe depression, followed by two more of faltering, noncumulative upturn; four years of chronic large-scale unemployment, affecting young people in a catastrophic manner; virtual unanimity that this unemployment will persist for a long time to come<sup>1</sup>—truly those mass organizations of the European workers movement that used to live in the euphoria of “permanent expansion ensuring full employment and social progress” have a lot to get over. The traumatic shock that the working masses are gradually absorbing should be translated by the reformist mass unions and parties into demands, programs, and proposals for action. But their political and economic disarray is matched only by their theoretical incomprehension of the origins and nature of the crisis.

### A Crisis of Shortage or of Overproduction?

Representatives of the ruling bourgeois ideology have launched a massive campaign designed to disorient and mystify working-class opinion by “explaining” the crisis in terms of scarcity. According to these conceptions, there is a critical shortage of oil and other raw materials which is aggravated by the reduction of investment resources due to “excessive” working-class consumption; the whole economy is suffering from a huge dearth of capital.

On the basis of the available empirical data, it is possible to grasp the mystifying character of this “explanation.” The 1973-75 recession was one of overproduction, not one of scarcity: there was an overabundance rather than a shortage of oil; raw materials prices have collapsed instead of

soaring. Far from suffering a capital shortage, the capitalist economies were straining under enormous overcapitalization—a mass of industrial capital could not be invested and nearly 30% of world production capacity was not used. The savings ratio was rising and the banks held an abundance of money-capital on which capitalist entrepreneurs hardly drew, given the stagnant business situation.

How could rapid wage rises and “excess” working-class consumption be responsible for the crisis, when there was huge spare capacity in consumer sectors like textiles, petrochemicals, housing construction, electrical appliances, and the automobile industry? Can it seriously be imagined that lowering wages would have allowed higher sales of clothing, furniture, apartments, and refrigerators?

By defining the phenomenon as a *capitalist crisis of overproduction*, Marxists emphasize the *two interlinked aspects* that have characterized every such crisis in the history of the capitalist mode of production: namely, the decline in the rate of profit and the lack of outlets among “final consumers.” The former gives rise to a reduction of productive investment, and thus of sales of producer goods; the latter to a fall in sales of consumer goods. But the two are structurally interlinked in the causing of the crisis. That is why an attempt to solve the crisis by constricting mass consumption is really a policy of simpletons. The capitalist governments discovered this at their expense between 1929 and 1933. But today they seem to have forgotten some of the lessons of those dark years.

For Marxists, unlike the neo-Ricardians and their bourgeois or right-wing Social Democratic political followers, the falling rate of profit is caused not by wage rises, but by the rising organic composition of capital. Throughout the postwar period of accelerated expansion, constant capital increasingly replaced living labor<sup>2</sup>, inexorably leading to a decline in the rate of profit. The kernel of truth in the employers’ argument is the fact that relentless working-class opposition to a fall in the price of labor power, together with the prevalence of full employment, did not allow the functioning of the mechanism that *offsets* the falling rate of profit: namely, a fresh spurt of the rate of exploitation of the labor force. But to recognize this is obviously quite different from calmly asserting that “high wages” were responsible for the falling rate of profit.

The theoretical debate on these questions is not at all a platonic discussion. The bourgeoisie—and the right Social Democrats—seek to lay the blame on the unions and the workers in order to weaken their resistance to the various austerity policies. Trade-union and working-class militants have an overriding duty to oppose these attempts and to staunchly defend their right to protect their purchasing power. But such a defense can acquire coherence and persuasiveness only if it offers another explanation for the origins and nature of the crisis—the one that can be found in Marxist theory.

Marxist economy theory thus assumes a directly political and practical function in the ongoing class struggle and the defense of labor against capital. The struggle for the defense of Marxism here coincides directly with effective defense of the real wages and employment of the proletariat. Clearly, then, the general offensive launched against Marxism during the last year is no more due to chance than the economic crisis itself. It plays a precise role in the class struggle.

Right-wing Social Democrats have long since broken with Marxism and are carrying into the broad workers movement the traditional banalities of bourgeois ideology: “We’re all in the same boat”; “We must all defend the national economy (or the firm, or Europe)”; “In a period of crisis, the class struggle falls away, sacrifices cannot be avoided, and all that remains is to share out the burden equitably,” etc.

The position of the left Social Democrats and the Eurocommunists (and even of the CPs that maintain their fidelity to the Kremlin) is of a rather more confused

organic composition of capital to rise. But they should not be conflated with it. For in Marxist economic theory, constant capital also includes the value of that portion of raw materials, auxiliary products, energy, etc. that enters into the value of current production.

1. According to the French Planning Commission, if value added grows at the slower annual rate of 4.5% in the period 1974-1980 (which will almost certainly not be attained), then the employed population will rise by a mere 0.8% per annum—that is, at a lower rate than new entrants to the labor market. Structural unemployment would therefore rise, and not diminish, between now and the end of the decade. The tendency can easily be projected up to 1985. See Christian Sautter: “Investissement et emploi dans une hypothèse de croissance ralentie,” in *Economie et statistique*, October 1977.

2. According to the article quoted in note 1, “substitution of capital for labor” grew constantly during the period of expansion, passing from an annual rate of 2.5% in 1951-1957 to 4% in 1957-1963, 5.1% in 1963-1969, and 5.8% in 1969-1973. The annual growth rates of gross productive fixed capital (3.4% in 1951-1957, 5.2% in 1957-1963, 6.6% in 1963-1969, 7.4% in 1969-1973) also rose and are evidently higher than those of the real wages of productive workers. These indices may be used to deduce the tendency of the

character. They attempt to combine ritual and generally very summary restatements of the Marxist analyses with a strategic orientation according to which it is possible to overcome the crisis without eliminating the capitalist regime. The intellectual acrobatics involved are quite staggering and impress only the naive or the ignorant.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, Paul Boccardo, the leading economist of the French CP, naturally speaks of a capitalist crisis (although the word "overproduction" has to struggle to make itself heard). He even mentions the rate of profit in passing. But the stress is on the "waste of the material means of production."<sup>4</sup>

He is thus able to slide from recognition that the crisis cannot be solved in the framework of capitalism *without a sharp rise in profits* to the argument that the crisis could be overcome through "elimination of waste" and "democratic planning," that is, through rationalization of a mixed economy that is elsewhere acknowledged to be capitalist.

#### Crisis-Management Through Austerity or Defense of the Workers Interests?

The main goal of the capitalist offensive launched against the workers in every capitalist country since the onset of the crisis is to significantly lower real wages and reconstruct the industrial reserve army on a large scale. This in turn would ensure a lasting rise in the rate of surplus-value and the rate of profit, which *in the end* would set the economy moving again. But even if these rises did not lead to recovery, they would bring about a long-term shift in the relationship of social forces to the advantage of capital. And that is the real historical objective.

The Social Democrats have become the principal force advocating and implementing this policy in a whole series of countries—most notably in Britain, West Germany, Portugal, and Denmark. Some Eurocommunist parties have quite simply fallen into step, even overtaking them in the "boldness" of their commitment. This is especially the case with the Italian and Spanish CPs, and the Spanish PSOE<sup>5</sup> has taken the same path. The Portuguese CP has adopted a more nuanced position, supporting austerity policy in principle, but allowing itself to be dragged into

opposition to certain practical measures under the pressure of its trade-union and working-class base.

Alone among the big workers parties of Europe, the French CP for the moment declares its resolute opposition to any austerity policy, in the name of classical Keynesian anticrisis measures. In this respect, it meets up with most of the left Social Democratic currents (the Labour Left in Britain, the left of the German and Italian SPs, CERES in France,<sup>6</sup> Fraternidade Operaria in Portugal, the Renard left in Belgium, and so on).

The right Social Democrats and right Eurocommunists use two kinds of argument to justify their commitment to the policy of austerity. The first and essentially political argument boils down to the age-old one of the lesser evil. "If we don't administer the crisis, then reaction will do it and the austerity will be even harsher." In other words: "Allow them to cut off three of your fingers, lest they cut off your whole hand."

No serious proof is given to support this defeatist assertion. For who has ever shown that the workers are incapable of opposing wage-freezes and wage reductions through energetic and united struggle? Who has demonstrated that conservative governments can actually achieve their anti-working-class political projects? Have these politicians forgotten the heavy defeat inflicted by the British miners on the Heath government's anti-trade-union offensive? How can we explain the relative failure of the austerity policy in Italy, despite the PCI's total support for it, except in terms of the vigorous resistance of the workers at the level of the workplaces and trade unions? Wouldn't that resistance have been even more successful if it had been supported, rather than betrayed, by the big reformist parties?

The second argument is of a more strictly economic, and even technical, nature. The right wing of the organized workers movement asserts that unless consumer spending is restricted, it will be impossible to restore full employment—or in the demagogic words of Helmut Schmidt: "Today's profits are tomorrow's jobs."<sup>7</sup>

Disoriented and frightened by the sudden reappearance of mass unemployment, a large number of workers have indisputably allowed themselves to be influenced by this kind of argument—not only in Europe but also in Japan. The trade-union bureau-

3. On the contradictions of the PCI's positions on this question, expressed particularly in the book by Sergio Zangheri (*Economia politica e crisi attuale* [Rome, 1977]), see my article in *Inprecor*, June 23, 1977: "Eurocommunism and Austerity: the Example of Italy."

4. See Boccardo-Herzog-Le Pors-Quin, *Changer L'économie* (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1977), pp. 85, 89, 90.

5. PSOE—Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers Party).—IP

6. CERES—Centre d'Etudes, de Recherches et d'Education Socialistes (Center for Socialist Studies, Research, and Education), a wing of the Socialist Party that publishes its own journal.—IP

7. At its recent Fourth Congress the PSUC (Catalan CP) adopted an economic document which centered around the struggle against inflation and for the reestablishment of company profitability and competitiveness.

cacy has forcefully transmitted this ideological offensive. We need hardly dwell on the assumption underlying this line of reasoning—namely, the theses that the capitalist mode of production is the only one possible and that it is therefore necessary to adapt not to the laws of "the economy" in general, but to the laws and intrinsic logic of *capitalist* economy. There could be no better demonstration of the degree to which these bureaucratic layers of the workers movement have integrated themselves into bourgeois society and identified with the "values" of the ruling class.

However, the argument is totally fallacious even from a purely "technical" point of view—even if we deliberately place ourselves within the framework of the possible, or even probable, consequences of austerity policy. For it starts out from the simplistic and erroneous hypothesis<sup>8</sup> that the nation's resources are divided between two general funds: that of the producers' own consumption, and that of productive investment. The truth is quite different.

There are in fact not two but three broad categories of material and human resources: a) the consumption fund of the productive class (including the social security income of all members of the proletariat who are unable to sell their labor power for any reason whatsoever: retirement, sickness, disability, unemployment, pregnancy, occupational training or retraining); b) the productive investment fund; and c) the fund of unproductive expenditure, which comprises not only spending on the civil service and the military and the distribution and sales costs resulting from the anarchic nature of the capitalist mode of production, but also the consumption of the bourgeois class and the mass of their savings, whether they are hoarded, utilized for speculative purposes, or taken out of the country.

It is thus quite possible for the first fund to diminish without a rise in the second. (This occurs when the capitalists' accumulated profits are not invested productively but serve to swell the total mass of unproductive expenditure.) It is even possible that the first and second funds *decline simultaneously*. That is exactly what happened in 1975 and what is apparently being repeated today in many imperialist countries.

It is therefore not true that today's profits are tomorrow's jobs: profits may rise considerably while the level of employment falls. Identification of investment with job-creation is another trap. For a growing portion of investment is directed toward rationalization, which eliminates more jobs in the industries affected than it

8. There is a striking parallel with the Stalinist doctrine of the priority of heavy industry over the consumer goods industry, a notion based on the same false hypothesis.

creates in the producer-goods industries.

Insofar as chronic unemployment persists and worsens despite the implementation of austerity policies, this ignorant argument of the right wing of the workers movement becomes less and less credible among trade unionists and has to give way to new ones. Moreover, even among moderate union members, irritation and indignation over the powerlessness of "left," "center-left," or "right" governments to restore full employment is growing with every month that passes.

### Constraints of International Competition

Committed to austerity policy regardless of its effects on workers' living standards and employment levels, these supporters of class collaboration are falling back to a second line of defense. According to this, economic recovery is possible only through vigorous expansion of exports and a major reduction in imports.<sup>9</sup> Now, the world-market competitiveness of "national" industry depends on the "moderation" of wage rises. Therefore, austerity is necessary in order to ensure export-led growth within the framework of "the competitive constraints imposed by the open economy."

Here again, empirical facts give the lie to this thesis. The imperialist countries where real wages have been squeezed or frozen (above all Britain and Italy) have had much less success on the export market than West Germany and Japan—countries in which the absolute level and rate of growth of wages have been highest in the last two years. Industrial competitiveness depends essentially on unit costs. And in the imperialist economies, these are determined far more by technological progress, economies of scale (the size of the production run), the supply of capital and credit, and the specific weight of fixed costs, than they are by the absolute level or the rate of growth of wages. It should not be forgotten that in manufacturing industry wage costs account for little more than 25-30% of total production costs.

Furthermore, it is self-evident that "export-led growth" is a quite unrealistic project when applied in *all* countries. As long as the world market undergoes only very limited expansion or even contraction (as was the case in late 1977), the gains of some countries are inevitably the losses of others. Thus, when the reformist unions and workers parties join in their bosses' export drive, they do so not only at the expense of workers' wages in their own country, but, still more, at the expense of the jobs of their class brothers and sisters in other countries. For the watchword

"Workers of the world, unite!" these ideologists substitute a new and oh-so-attractive slogan: "Workers of the world, help get rid of each others' jobs and condemn each other to unemployment!"<sup>10</sup>

The employers of each country readily invoke the exigencies of international competition to justify their opposition to an immediate reduction in working hours (with no loss of weekly pay and no speed-up, and with compulsory hiring of additional workers). Nearly every large trade-union federation of West Europe has declared itself in favor of the immediate introduction of a 36-hour or 35-hour work-week. It is necessary to call for *an immediate Europe-wide campaign of struggle for the 35 or 36-hour week*, spreading if possible to North America and Japan, and culminating in a European general strike for this objective. This is the only way in which unemployment can be radically reduced in the short term.

But how can a Europe-wide struggle for the 35-36 hour week appear credible if the workers' leaderships are at the same time participating in the struggle of "their" bosses to defend the competitiveness of "their" industry and to win new markets for "their" country at the expense of their neighbors? Association in international capitalist rivalry or the practice of international workers solidarity: these are two mutually exclusive lines of action.

### The Neo-Keynesian Temptation

Those who reject or seek to disguise austerity policy generally opt for economic priming techniques of Keynesian or neo-Keynesian inspiration. They argue that a rise in the purchasing power of workers and the poorest sections of the population would create an additional consumer goods market, which would allow a revival of economic growth (moreover of a different type from that of the fifties and sixties: more equality, more social consumption, etc.). The French Union of the Left sets out in this direction—cautiously in the case of the Mitterrand-Rocard-Attali team, more clearly in that of the PCF and CERES.<sup>11</sup>

It is undeniable that a rise in the income of the "lower classes" (which have fewer

savings than the bourgeoisie or upper layers of the petty bourgeoisie) can have an immediate "multiplying" effect and, in the short term, lead to a significant upturn in the consumer-goods sector. The whole experience of the last 45 years shows that this is possible under the most diverse governments: from Roosevelt's New Deal to the first year of Popular Unity in Chile, from the French Popular Front government of 1936 to those that followed one after the other in Portugal between September 1974 and November 1975.

But this experience also confirms the following points:

a. Such an upturn in the consumer-goods sector does not automatically entail a large-scale recovery of job-creating productive investment. That is why the New Deal failed in the overall struggle against unemployment.

b. It is impossible to avert a powerful bourgeois riposte once the growth of workers' real wages reaches the point where the existing distribution of the national income between wages and total surplus-value is seriously disturbed. This reaction involves flight of capital, investment strikes, economic sabotage, financial (and if need be, political and military) plots directed against the government's policy.

c) Accelerated inflation inevitably results from the conjunction of the two preceding features, inserted as they are in the framework of capitalist relations of production and bourgeois state power, as well as in the international capitalist economy (realities which are hidden behind verbiage concerning "the stage of advanced democracy" and "the maintenance of an open economy"). This may even become galloping inflation—the "natural" mechanism whereby the capitalist robs the workers of their initial gains and confronts them with a more and more disorganized supply of the most essential products.

Some writers, including the theoretician of the British Labour Left, Stuart Holland, have denied that priming techniques inevitably have an inflationary effect.<sup>12</sup> They argue that such techniques have in the past been associated with a state fiscal crisis—that is, with the bourgeoisie's refusal to pay enough taxes and with an inadequate level of nationalization—and that it is for this reason that they have generally led to inflation.

Now, we can hardly dispute the fact that such inflationary sequences have actually occurred. But this refusal of the bourgeoisie is due neither to chance nor to the capitalists' lack of "civic virtues": it is part of the very logic of the capitalist system. According to the inexorable laws of competition, the only profit of interest to the capitalist firm is the profit which can be

9. The PCF also takes up this strategy, without (for the moment) using it as an argument in favor of austerity. See Boccaro et al., op. cit., pp. 90-91, 97ff, and pp. 146, 149, 150.

10. The former Dutch Social Democratic prime minister, Dr. Willem Drees, has stated in an interview given to *Ekonomics bulletin* (the Economic Bulletin of Amsterdam University), May 1977: "The mass of unemployment is caused by the fact that we allow work to be performed in Holland by foreign workers that could be done by Dutch people. . . . These foreign workers should have been left to return, to the extent that Dutch workers became available. . . . But in any case (foreign) workers who are here without a permit should be rigorously excluded. . . ."

11. See especially Boccaro et al., op. cit., p. 141ff; and *Socialist Party: 89 Answers to Questions on the Economy* (Paris: Flammarion, 1977), pp. 29-30, 35-36.

12. Stuart Holland, *The Socialist Challenge* (London: Quartet Books, 1974).

used to improve investment, growth, competitiveness, and share of the market—and not surplus-value "in general," considered as a portion of national income without regard to its mode of employment. One cannot expect private property to exhibit a consciousness of collective responsibility.<sup>13</sup>

Experience has also shown that any tax reform or control and any increased tapping of profits not linked to the destruction of the political, economic, and social power of the bourgeois class has only marginal and even adverse effects. In order to prevent the bourgeoisie from destabilizing an economic policy that does not serve its interests, its power must be taken away. As long as it retains power, it will behave in the future as it has done in the past in similar situations.

Thus, recourse to neo-Keynesian priming techniques can have only very limited positive effects—especially in terms of time. After a year or two, tensions will mount considerably at every level of social, economic, and political life. The "mixed" economy is a myth: capitalist economy can only recover and prosper in the interests of the capitalists. These tensions can therefore be overcome in one of two ways: by starting out again on the road of austerity (which is precisely the capitalist logic), or by expropriating the bourgeoisie and embarking on the construction of a socialist economy. But to remain halfway between, or to seek to combine, the two solutions leads rapidly to total paralysis and disorganization of the economy—as occurred in Chile in 1973.

On the Social Democratic left and among the more sophisticated left Euro-communists (represented by the PCF . . . in this period before its possible entry into a Union of the Left government), attempts are made to take account of the negative balance-sheet of Keynesian or neo-Keynesian anticrisis measures. The different theorists thus draw a step closer to the "planism" of the thirties, connecting a policy of economic recovery through mass consumption to a significant extension of state-guaranteed or state-controlled investment.

In this way, productive investment is supposed to take over from consumer expenditure in extending the upturn to industry as a whole. This would make possible cumulative growth, rather than a faltering upturn confined to Department II alone. The PCF economists speak boldly of an almost overnight achievement of 6% growth, independent of the world context.<sup>14</sup>

13. An interesting demonstration of this is given in Rudolf Hückel, *Oekonomische Stabilisierungspolitik in der Krise* (Bremen University, 1977).

14. Boccara et al., op. cit., p. 174. Jean-Pierre Chevenement, the leading figure of the CERES, is rather more cautious. See Le Vieux, *la crise*,

These propositions concerning investment throw a sharp light on all the contradictions of the concept of "mixed economy."

If investment is essentially reduced to the classical domain of the economic and social infrastructure—which is the sense of the demand for recovery through "public works" that played an important role in the thirties—then it does not, in principle, clash with the interests of big capital, whose costs of production are thereby partially socialized and whose profits eventually rise. But the entire contradiction then shifts toward the realm of financing.

Financing large-scale public works out of profits and capital arouses all the bourgeois reactions mentioned earlier, while taxation of consumption and wages for this purpose comes down to a mere variant of austerity policy. That leaves financing by means of budget deficit—in other words through inflation. But there we are back with the tensions we have already examined.

Alternatively, a program of recovery through more modest public works may be associated with a policy of nationalization or refloating of bankrupt productive companies. This is essentially a matter of saving jobs by nationalization of losses. Such a policy may serve the immediate interests of the workers on condition that it does not also involve compensation, selling back to the capitalists, or financing out of workers' consumption, and that the companies concerned are placed under workers control. As in the previous case, conflict with the bourgeoisie centers around the proportions of net tax revenue derived from wages and surplus-value. The reactions of the bourgeoisie will be the same as before should its profits and possessions be seriously affected; if economic catastrophe is to be averted, it will be necessary to go all the way towards rapid expropriation of big capital.

A specific variant of this Keynesian anticrisis policy focuses not on extensive nationalization, but on control of investment, arguing that this will ward off the danger of "excessive centralization" or, more simply, "statization." Such positions are developed by a group of German left Social Democratic economists, who gave a report to a working conference held in Bielefeld in March 1977.<sup>15</sup> Concerning these problems, they use the vague for-

mula "democratic decentralization of economic decisions"—in reality, a translation into the self-censored language of the respectful West German left of the conceptions of decentralized self-management fashionable elsewhere on the European Social Democratic left.

The weakness of this position lies in its inability to grapple with the possibility that such a system could be interrelated with the maintenance of private property, market economy, and insertion in the international capitalist economy.

Who will compel the trust barons to respect the decisions of trade-union bodies concerning investments? By what mechanism will these be imposed? Given the competitive basis of the system, can capitalists ever invest according to criteria other than company profitability without courting disaster? How is it possible to suppress competition without also suppressing private and corporate property, that is, without socializing the right to dispose of the means of production? Will big capital not respond in the most violent and radical manner to any such socialization—regardless of whether it is "juridically" termed nationalization, socialization, collective appropriation, or planned collective self-management?

The final variant is that of recovery through productive investment in the state sector, expanded to include not only branches of raw materials production, infrastructural sectors, or unprofitable enterprises, but also some of the most profitable industrial firms among the big monopolies. In that case, the capitalists will evidently put up fierce resistance on the political and economic levels. Above all, bitter competition will appear together with the threat that the fall in investment in the private sector will neutralize the rise in public investment.

This conflict will be combined with a battle over finances of a much sharper character than in the other variants. What is to be the source of the considerable sums required to restart investment in the infrastructure as well as in the old and new nationalized sectors? This dilemma is even more explosive than the ones stemming from the previous hypotheses. The choice is even more acute: advance toward expropriation or relapse into austerity.

The contradictions of this project (upturn in consumption + increased nationalization + "democratic planning") go deeper still. For its supporters do not envisage a break with the international capitalist economy, except in the most unstable form of protectionism and autarchy.<sup>16</sup> It is utopian to imagine that control of trade and

Le Neuf, Flammarion, Paris, 1974, pp. 124-5. In West Germany, a group of left economists around Professor J. Huffschmid—who stand midway between left Social Democracy and the CP—are calling for a special pump-priming budget of DM20 billion (US\$9 billion) instead of the DM3 billion decided by the government.

15. Baisch et al., *Die Wirtschaftskrise in der BRD*.

16. This is especially true of the British Labour Left. While remaining ambiguous, the PCF's theses suggest a similar tendency.

increased protectionism can be applied in a country remaining within the Common Market. It is even more utopian to think that, in the present climate of a diseased international capitalist economy, imports can be restricted without provoking retaliatory measures on the part of bourgeois "partners" and rivals.

The French SP expresses this contradiction in a particularly striking manner when it peremptorily declares: "The safest and most powerful lever with which to arrest the flight of capital is of course a return of economic development to the right road; for economic health (sic) is the best gauge of monetary stability. And today, only the left is able to achieve this economic recovery."<sup>17</sup>

Is there such a thing as "economic health" independent of class interests? Will the bourgeoisie perhaps emotionally applaud an upturn in production if it is accompanied by redistribution of national income at the expense of profits? Is the flight of capital a purely technical reaction? Or is it not rather a social and political *riposte*?

Any remotely serious policy of control and redeployment of investment necessarily entails a break with the institutions and "rules of the game" of international capitalism, and reorientation of the economy toward international planning of production and trade, based on the international workers movement, the countries with a planned economy, and certain semicolonial and dependent countries. But that would again arouse the bourgeoisie to a violent riposte and leave no middle ground between paralysis and capitulation on the one hand, and rapid advance toward expropriation of capital and democratic *socialized* planning on the other.

At each turn, the mixed economy proves to be a dangerous myth and a trap for the workers movement. The economy can function according to the laws of profit, in which case it will come out of crisis only when profits are raised at the expense of the workers. Or it can function according to the logic of planned satisfaction of the democratically expressed needs of the working masses. But in order to move it onto that road, it is necessary to expropriate the bourgeoisie, overthrow its political power, pull down its state apparatus, install workers power, and destroy the drawbridge of the international flow of capital. At any event, the economy can never simultaneously operate according to the two contradictory logics. Any attempt to make it function on such a utopian basis merely condemns it to rapid and total breakup and paralysis.

The question of the survival of a "private sector" or that of "an alliance with the petty bourgeoisie" is a false problem.

17. Socialist Party: 89 Answers to Questions on the Economy, op. cit., p. 105.

The truth is that neither the PCF's "revised and corrected" Common Program, nor the program of the British Labour Left—not to speak of the German Social Democratic left—envises expropriation of big capital in its entirety (that is to say, finance capital, all large national and foreign enterprises, the major means of transport, and all large concerns in the import-export, wholesale, and retail trade). If they are all taken over and if the political power of the bourgeoisie is overthrown, then a socialist solution to the crisis is possible. But if nationalization is confined to a few sectors of the economy, if big capital is allowed to subsist or is even fostered by substantial compensation, and if links with international capital are retained as well as the bourgeois state

apparatus, then there is no way out of the impasse.

The crisis is rooted in the contradictions of capitalism. The only profound and lasting escape that does not conflict with the workers' interests is the overthrow of the capitalist system. A start can and must be made by defending the workers' immediate interests regardless of the effects on capitalist profitability. But such a defensive struggle cannot be successful in the long term—especially in the field of employment—unless it broadens out into a full-scale mobilization against capitalism itself. Anything else is just a cheap fiction whereby one deceives oneself and the masses.

December 10, 1977

## Police Sweep Through Afar Neighborhoods

### Hundreds Arrested in Djibouti

The regime of Hassan Gouled in Djibouti has declared a "state of defense," arrested hundreds of political dissidents, and outlawed the leftist Mouvement Populaire de Libération (MPL—People's Liberation Movement).

The massive crackdown followed a December 15, 1977, terrorist attack against a bar in the city of Djibouti, which had been frequented largely by French citizens. (There are about 10,000 French nationals in Djibouti, including more than 4,000 troops.) Five persons were killed in the attack and about thirty were injured.

Using the attack as a pretext, the Gouled regime unleashed a wave of repression against the minority Afar community. (The regime is dominated by Issas, a Somali people.)

Charging that the terrorist action had been conducted by "Afar elements," Gouled had roadblocks thrown around the city, isolating it from the rest of the territory, and sent police units into the Afar neighborhoods.

Armed with bludgeons and grenade launchers, they swept through the Afar sections. In the Arribah quarter, all able-bodied residents were shoved into trucks or prison wagons and taken to a school, where they were placed in a hastily constructed barbed-wire compound.

Troops were also sent by sea to the northern regions of Djibouti, which are inhabited primarily by Afars.

Claiming that the MPL had a role in the December 15 action, Gouled announced the next day that the group had been banned.

The MPL, which has much of its support among the Afars, was the major political group in the country to oppose the conditions under which Djibouti gained its formal independence from France in June

1977. Under the agreement reached between Gouled and the French government, several thousand French troops were allowed to remain in the country, ostensibly to "protect" Djibouti's borders.

Despite its banning, the MPL released a statement to the press December 19 demanding the withdrawal of French troops from Djibouti.

According to a report in the December 21 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, about 1,200 persons have been arrested in the crackdown and another 125 "active" supporters of the MPL have disappeared. About 8,000 more have been subjected to identity checks and questioning.

Accusing President Gouled of practicing a "tribal policy," Prime Minister Ahmed Dini and four other Afar ministers resigned from the government December 17.

The current developments in Djibouti could have serious repercussions on its relations with neighboring regimes.

Gouled has accused the Ethiopian military junta of backing the MPL. Although the Ethiopian regime has denied any direct role, it has publicly denounced the repression against the MPL.

What the Ethiopian junta is concerned with above all is that its access to the port of Djibouti, which handles a large portion of all Ethiopian trade, could eventually be cut off by the Djibouti regime. (Gouled has close ties with the Somalian military junta, which is now at war with the Ethiopian régime.)

The Soviet press agency TASS quoted the Ethiopian foreign minister December 23 as condemning Somalian "machinations," which were said to be the cause of the "deteriorating situation in Djibouti." He warned, "Ethiopia is seriously preoccupied with these developments." □

# Rapid Increase in Strikes and Lockouts Across India

By Sharad Jhaveri

JAMNAGAR—More than 15,000 railway workers from each wing of the Indian Railways—that is, Central, Western, Southern, and South Central Railways—participated in a massive demonstration on December 6 in New Delhi, organised by the All-India Railwaymen's Federation (AIRF).

The demonstration was a response by the militant railway workers to the denial of bonus payments promised earlier by the Janata Party regime. The workers also demanded reinstatement of several hundred railway employees dismissed during the state of emergency imposed by the former Gandhi regime and during the May 1974 railway strike, which was violently crushed by that regime.

They are also calling for the withdrawal of the criminal cases pending against some of them, especially in view of the fact that all charges were withdrawn against their former leader George Fernandes, now industries minister in the Janata Party regime. Madhu Dandavate, another of their former Socialist trade-union leaders, is now railway minister.

During the September convention of the AIRF, considerable pressure was exerted on both these figures, but without any result. The workers were told to wait for the report of the Bhoothalingam Committee on wages, prices, and income. But a spokesman of the AIRF countered by saying that the report would not be out for another four years and it would impose a new wage freeze in the country. Consequently, a strike ballot is scheduled to be taken.

India's railways are the largest system in Asia and the fourth largest in the world. After the Soviet Union, it is the second largest railway system under one management. It is the biggest public-sector undertaking in India, with an investment of nearly Rs. 5,000 crores.<sup>1</sup>

It runs about 11,000 goods and passenger trains daily, carrying nearly 75 lakh<sup>2</sup> passengers and 6 lakh tonnes of freight and covering more than 12 lakh kilometers every day. The largest single employer in the country, it employs nearly 15 lakh on its regular staff and more than 3 lakh as casual workers. More than 85 lakh people depend on it for their livelihood.

1. One rupee is equivalent to US\$0.12. A crore means ten million.—IP

2. One lakh is 100,000.—IP

Railway workers directly confront the state in India, and have a militant tradition. The first class-conscious political strike was waged by this sector of the Indian working class against British imperialism. In the last fifteen years, it has staged two general strikes, once in 1960 and again in 1974. Despite betrayals by their reformist leaders, on both occasions the railway workers displayed exemplary militancy and tenacity. The May 1974 railway strike was one of the factors that impelled the Indian bourgeoisie to opt for the imposition of the state of emergency. It is for these reasons that the capitalists dread another railway strike.

An editorial in the *Indian Express* December 5 concedes this fact. It says, "Historically, disruption of peaceful and orderly industrial relations on the railways turns out to be the starting point of deterioration of industrial relations on a much wider basis and scale." The editors therefore plead with the regime to grant the demands of the railway workers, particularly in view of the fact that the bonus has been given to workers in other sectors of industry, including government undertakings.

Prime Minister Morarji Desai has bluntly refused to grant railway workers the minimum bonus. The former trade-union leaders Fernandes and Dandavate, hostages as they are in a bourgeois government, have failed to carry the cabinet on this issue.

If a railway strike materialises it will occur in the midst of a general upsurge of strikes in the country. Most of these actions centre on such demands as payment of minimum bonus, restoration of trade-union rights, dearness allowance, lock-outs, and closures.

In Maharashtra, the most industrialised state in India, strikes have been on a continuous rise. In the industrial belt of Thana-Belapur near Bombay, about twenty units are at a standstill. Daily loss of production amounts to Rs. 1 crore. The industrial unrest has affected 5,000 workers.

Workers at the Mukund Iron and Steel works, India's biggest electric steel-furnace complex, have been locked out since August 6. The stoppage of production has resulted in the curtailment of supply of vital steel products to many manufacturing concerns in various parts of the country. Hundreds of workers have been ar-

rested while picketing outside the factory gates. In the plant itself, according to a report in the December 6 *Economic Times*, some 2,000 workers are becoming restless with management's delaying tactics and are calling for the immediate lifting of the "illegal lock-out."

In J.K. Chemicals, nearly 800 workers are staging a sit-down strike. Workers of Chowgule and Company Hind Ltd. are protesting against the illegal lock-out since December 19 by this giant shipping corporation. The closure at the Larsen and Toubro plant involves a production loss of Rs. 40 lakh. Brakes India, another leading automobile engineering industry, is also under a prolonged lock-out.

In the Thana-Belapur region, one of the biggest industrial complexes in the country with 1,100 manufacturing plants and about 150,000 workers, industrialists complain that working-class actions have become chronic. The wage patterns in this area differ widely, with the highest wages paid by foreign companies, while below-minimum wages are paid by some of the small-scale industries.

Meanwhile, on December 4, about 9 lakh state employees in Maharashtra held a successful one-day token strike. Their demands were: dearness allowance on par with the central government, pay revision, and revocation of the premature retirement scheme forced on them during the state of emergency. This was the seventh such strike during the past eleven years. It was the first time that such an extensively co-ordinated workers' action—covering clerks, road construction workers, teachers, professors, nurses, and scavengers (street cleaners)—was undertaken.

Labour Minister Ravindra Varma told the Rajya Sabha (upper house of Parliament) that more than 1,100 strikes had been reported from various parts of the country during the period from April to September. The total number of lock-outs during the same period was 178. Gheraos<sup>3</sup> are increasing and often assume violent forms.

Home Minister Charan Singh has warned the workers that the regime will not tolerate the gheraos even if the workers' demands are just and legitimate.

December 11, 1977

3. A form of mass action in which the workers surround employers or government officials and keep them confined to their offices or homes until the protesters' demands are met.—IP

### Carter and Begin Maneuver for a Mideast Deal

By David Frankel

[The following article, which appeared in the December 30 *Militant*, was written before Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin's December 25 visit to Cairo. The visit produced nothing new, apart from the fact that Begin made emphatically clear that any "local autonomy" for the occupied West Bank under no conditions meant a withdrawal of Israeli troops.

[President Carter, in a nationally televised interview December 28, strongly supported Begin. Ruling out any possible ambiguity that his previous statements in favor of a Palestinian "homeland" may have meant backing for an "independent Palestinian state," Carter declared that Washington did not want "a fairly radical, new independent nation in the heart of the Middle East."

[The PLO denounced the substance of Begin's proposals December 19, stating that they "do not provide any serious solution to the Palestine question." Begin's plan, PLO leader Majad Abu Sharar said, was an attempt "to give permanence to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan River and Gaza."]

\* \* \*

#### Is peace at hand in the Middle East?

Millions of people around the world have been led to believe that the answer is yes. "We have before us a unique opportunity to achieve peace in the Middle East," Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance declared on the eve of three days of meetings between President Carter and Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin.

Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, after talking to Carter by phone, insisted that he was "more optimistic than ever." And Begin announced December 19 that he and Sadat would meet in Egypt on Christmas Day to discuss Israeli proposals for a peace agreement.

Since Sadat has staked so much on the prospect of an accord, it seems almost certain that he will eventually come up with some type of agreement. He has little choice. But the shape of such an agreement, whatever the cosmetic additions, will be a far cry from the "ultimate comprehensive peace settlement" promised by Carter.

#### What Begin Really Wants

Speaking at his December 15 news conference, Carter noted that both Sadat and Begin "have stated publicly that they are not seeking a strictly bilateral agreement."

Two days earlier, Begin was even more categorical on this issue. When *New York Times* correspondent Flora Lewis asked him in an interview about the possibility of a separate deal with Sadat, Begin claimed: "It never even occurred to us to make such a suggestion. We want peace agreements and treaties with all our neighbors."

Such disclaimers are pure hypocrisy. As journalist Shmuel Schnitzer commented in the November 25 issue of the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv*: "The wedge we promised not to drive into the Arab world exists anyhow, and it would be stupid to disregard the fact."

Outlining the real Israeli negotiating position, Schnitzer argued that Sadat "cannot promise in the name of all the Arabs, that there will be no more war. . . . The territorial price he demands from Israel includes all fronts; in return he can only promise on behalf of Egypt."

Schnitzer concludes that "*our interest lies in deepening the wedge already in the Arab world until it splits completely*" (emphasis in original).

This is Begin's real program: he hopes either to conclude a separate deal with Sadat, or to force a capitulation by the other Arab regimes through the threat of such a deal.

Begin's approach was endorsed by the editors of the *Washington Post* December 12. As they saw it, "tactically speaking, it would be foolish and self-denying not to leave open the possibility of a separate peace. It is precisely the prospect of being frozen out that is most likely to draw into the peace process the parties now outside it. . . . If anything will induce the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] to rethink its rejectionism, it is the spectacle of West Bank-Gaza Palestinians responding to the hand offered them by Israel and Egypt."

The *Post* editorial about the hand offered the Palestinians by Israel appeared only three days before Begin leaked his proposal for the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza. It was a proposal for continued military control and continued Israeli settlement, with a sugar coating of "local autonomy."

As Marvine Howe commented in the December 20 *New York Times*, "it was essentially the same as a plan that was offered to King Hussein two years ago and rejected." Two years ago, however, Sadat had not yet gone to Jerusalem and made clear that he was ready to negotiate a deal

at the expense of the rest of the Arab world.

Not surprisingly, when *Times* reporter Flora Lewis interviewed Begin she found that he was in a state of "happy excitement at the way the situation has been developing."

#### Behind Israeli Intransigence

The Israeli regime has made it clear that in return for a deal with Sadat it is prepared to recognize Egyptian sovereignty over the whole Sinai Peninsula and return most of the territory to Egyptian control. However, the Zionist regime has also made clear that it intends to maintain basic control of the other areas occupied by it in the June 1967 Mideast war—that is, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank.

What is behind the Israeli refusal to withdraw to the June 1967 borders?

To begin with, there is an ideological factor that has considerable force. Virtually everybody in Israel knows that the country was built on land stolen from another people. While liberal supporters of Israel in the United States try to deny this fact, the expulsion of the Palestinian people is a fact that is openly acknowledged and defended by major figures in the Israeli government.

For instance, the Israeli daily *Haaretz* quoted an address by Moshe Dayan—now Begin's foreign minister—to a class of high school seniors in its May 20, 1973, issue. "The establishment of the State of Israel," Dayan said, "was fundamentally at the expense of the Arabs. There is no escaping this fact. In most instances, Jewish settlers replaced Arab settlers. At times we bought lands, [but] we acquired a lot more as a result of the 1948 war."

In defending this fact, the Zionists are ultimately forced to rely on the irrational appeal of their reactionary nationalism—the ideology of the biblical mandate and the chosen people. This explains the constant rightward movement of Israeli politics, to the point where Begin, who was denounced as a criminal and a rightist demagogue by the founding leaders of the Zionist state, is now its prime minister.

But in addition to the irrational expansionism of the Zionist zealots, there is also a rational basis for Israeli expansionism that flows from the nature of the Zionist state. Because it is a colonial-settler state, locked in conflict with the Arab masses, Israel must constantly expand its base of power in order to compensate for the numerical superiority of the Arabs, and for their potential military superiority.

This dynamic was illustrated most clearly by the October 1973 Mideast war. Within three years of the end of that war, Washington had given the Israeli regime as much military and economic aid as it had received from the U.S. government in the preceding twenty-five years.

The 1973 war also reaffirmed the determination of Israeli military planners to retain direct military control over the West Bank and the Golan Heights. Although the Israeli high command is well aware that it has nothing to fear in the West Bank from a King Hussein, they also know that Hussein might not be around ten years from now. The Zionists fear a rebellion of the Jordanian masses that would topple Hussein as much as they fear a Palestinian state. And that is why they will not withdraw their troops from the West Bank.

#### A Shift Away From Israel?

This brings us to the question of the Carter administration and its Mideast policy. Carter has attempted to portray the U.S. role in the negotiations as that of an honest broker, "a trusted intermediary," as he said at his December 15 news conference. This stance might be more convincing if it weren't for the fact that the Pentagon is responsible for arming the Israeli war machine.

Yet some capitalist commentators go even further than Carter's "honest broker" claim and argue that Washington is actually pushing for Israeli concessions. For example, Joseph C. Harsch says in the December 16 *Christian Science Monitor*:

"For Washington the ideal would be for Israel to surrender all of its 1967 conquests except for minor frontier adjustments, thus producing a lasting settlement that could be accepted, even endorsed, by Moscow."

If it were true that the American ruling class had adopted such a policy in regard to the Middle East, it would represent an important shift. For more than six years after the June 1967 war, there was no question that Washington's basic policy was to give de facto support to Israeli occupation of the Arab territories seized in that war.

After the October 1973 war and the rise in the price of oil that followed it, however, the argument was raised that there had been a basic change in the relationship of forces in the area—that the Arab regimes had been qualitatively strengthened, and that this would require a new U.S. policy.

For a while, the capitalist media were filled with articles portraying Saudi Arabia as an incipient superpower. In the meantime, U.S. energy monopolies raked in superprofits through the jump in oil prices that they helped engineer. And, while the Saudi royal family was able to build up hefty bank accounts and stock portfolios, it has hardly entered the ranks of the imperialist powers.

On the military front, Arab power in relation to Israel declined sharply after the October 1973 war as a result of huge U.S. arms shipments to the Zionist regime. Nevertheless, the illusion that Washington is somehow trying to pressure the Israeli regime and placate the Arab states be-

cause of a supposed shift in the relationship of forces persists.

#### What Washington Wants

In reality, maintenance of absolute Israeli military superiority over the Arab states is the keystone of U.S. policy in the



BEGIN: Has Carter's support for permanent Israeli occupation of West Bank.

Middle East. It is not that the American imperialists are indifferent to the Arab regimes. They appreciate the fact that King Hussein of Jordan, Sadat, and the Saudi Arabian royal family vie with each other in their servility to U.S. interests.

These regimes, however, have an important drawback from the point of view of the imperialists. No matter how servile they may be, they are subject to anti-imperialist pressures from their own peoples, including the ultimate pressure of being overthrown.

The relatively weak and insecure capitalist regimes in the semicolonial countries must periodically turn to the imperialists for support in the face of their own working class. The dissatisfaction of the workers and peasants in the semicolonial countries is sharpened by the foreign domination of their economies and the inability of their "own" governments to consistently oppose this domination.

The entire history of the Middle East since World War II illustrates the dangers for the imperialists in relying too heavily on one or another neocolonial regime. From the overthrow of the Egyptian monarchy in 1952, to the fall of the Iraqi royal family in 1958, to the near-destruction of the Lebanese regime in the recent civil war there, the lesson has been the same.

Unlike the Arab regimes, the state of Israel is able to provide a secure military and political base for American imperialism in the Middle East. This is true regardless of the particular government in power

there because of the fact that Israel is a colonial-settler state.

Having established itself through the expulsion of the native Palestinian population, Israel can only survive by constantly putting down the Palestinians and the Arab masses who support their struggle. It requires ever-increasing amounts of U.S. military aid in this never-ending battle.

Preservation of the economic weakness and political division of the Arab world is a vital interest of the Zionist state. And what is required by Israel for its continued existence is required by the imperialists in order to maintain their domination of the Arab world.

These realities determine the policies of any Israeli government. They also explain why the American ruling class is willing to subsidize the Israeli military machine to the tune of \$1.5 billion a year.

When social revolution threatens imperialist interests in the Middle East, and when the proimperialist Arab regimes stand helpless, Israel is prepared to intervene. During the civil war in Jordan in September 1970, for example, the Israeli government made clear that it would go to war to preserve King Hussein's dictatorship.

Yoel Marcus, one of Israel's most prominent columnists, bragged about the Israeli role in the Middle East in the March 7, 1973, issue of *Haaretz*. As Marcus explained, "the Israeli army, with its real and not just relative power, presents a first line of defense for American interests in the Mediterranean area. . . ."

He added, "we are in reality the only guarantor of the pro-American Muslim governments. . . ."

Bitter as the truth is, it must be said that the "peace" being cooked up under the supervision of the Carter administration is like the "peace" of Versailles that followed World War I, or the Geneva agreement of 1954 that ended the French colonial war in Indochina. It is a "peace" that will only lead to new and bloodier wars in the future.

Primary responsibility for this sorry state of affairs should be placed squarely on the doorstep of the U.S. government. As Sadat has frequently said, it is Washington that holds 99 percent of the cards in the Middle East poker game.

As in every other part of the world, Washington calculates its actions in the Middle East on the basis of what will most efficiently advance its military domination of the area and guarantee the security of American corporate investments. U.S. officials call this policy the search for "peace and stability," just as they called the savage war against the people of Vietnam a fight for "freedom and democracy."

It is this imperialist policy of seeking to maintain economic and military domination of the Middle East that dictates U.S. support to the Israeli state and that is preparing new wars in the region. □

## Charlie Chaplin—Victim of the McCarthyite Witch-hunt

By Michael Baumann

Charlie Chaplin died at his home in Vevey, Switzerland, December 25. He was eighty-eight years old, having been born in the slums of south London April 16, 1889. His physician attributed the cause of death to old age.

Chaplin's death marks the passing of one of the few comic geniuses of world cinema. In the more than eighty films he made between 1914 and 1967, he often made deft use of social satire, deflating the pretensions of the rich and powerful while sympathetically portraying the plight of immigrants, children, and working people.

This won him an appreciative audience of tens if not hundreds of millions internationally, making him one of the most popular performers the world has ever known.

It also won him the wrath of reactionaries of every stripe, in particular that of the witch-hunting Truman administration in the United States.

In September 1952, Chaplin was unceremoniously given the boot from the "land of the free," although he had lived, worked, and paid taxes in the United States for nearly forty years.

In one of the most shameful acts of the McCarthyite period, Chaplin was informed while at sea at the beginning of a six-month holiday abroad that his reentry permit had been canceled. In effect, he had been banished from the United States.

As a front-page article in the September 29, 1952, *Militant* reported, a spokesman for the Justice Department "told reporters that the accusation against Chaplin would be advocating overthrow of the government and added 'in my opinion we have a pretty good case.'"

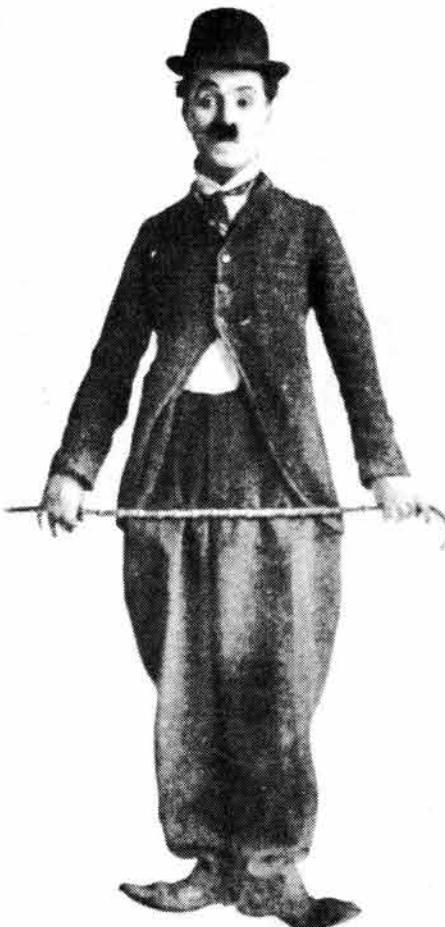
Chaplin's real crime of course was quite different. If he was guilty of anything he was guilty of having been among those artists who had hailed the Russian revolution in the early days under Lenin and Trotsky, of speaking out against the witch-hunt, of refusing to denounce friends who had been "unmasked" as Communists, and, perhaps worst of all, of declining to become an American citizen.

"Why haven't you become a citizen?" a hostile reporter asked him at a news conference in New York a few months before his banishment.

"I see no reason to change my nationality," Chaplin answered. "I consider myself a citizen of the world."

"Do you know Hanns Eisler?" another reporter asked.

"Yes, he's a very dear friend of mine,



CHARLIE CHAPLIN

and a great musician," Chaplin replied.

"Do you know that he's a Communist?"

"I don't care what he is; my friendship is not based on politics."

"You seem to like the Communists, though," a third reporter said.

"Nobody is going to tell me whom to like or dislike," Chaplin said. "We haven't come to that yet."

In fact, however, the reigning reactionaries in Washington did everything in their power to persuade Chaplin that his optimism was misplaced.

In his final years in the United States Chaplin was hounded unmercifully by the Immigration Department, the federal courts, the Internal Revenue Service, the House Un-American Activities Committee, the national censorship board, virtually the entire capitalist press, and various right-wing pressure groups.

In early 1952 the Immigration Depart-

ment repeatedly stalled on issuing him a reentry permit, a document required to return from his planned vacation abroad.

He eventually received the permit, temporarily as it turned out. But to obtain it he had to go so far as to assent to being questioned in his home, in the presence of a stenographer and a tape recorder, as to whether he was a "Communist," why did he "follow the Party line," had he ever used the word "comrade" in a speech, and had he ever committed "adultery."

He was hauled into court on trumped-up "morals" charges and for a paternity suit, even though in the latter a blood test had shown it to be biologically impossible for him to have been the father of the child in question.

His tax accounts had originally been cleared but when the government learned that he planned to go abroad on a lengthy trip his files were reopened, enabling tax officials to "discover" that he owed a six-figure sum. Furthermore, they initially demanded that he put up \$2 million, a good ten times more than they claimed he owed.

While editing *Monsieur Verdoux*, he received a summons to appear in Washington before the House Un-American Activities Committee. After having his work disrupted three times by postponements, he telegrammed back to Washington: ". . . for your convenience, I will tell you what I think you want to know. I am not a Communist, neither have I ever joined any political party or organization in my life. I am what you call a 'peacemaker' . . . So please state definitely when I am to be called to Washington." (He was never actually called, the witch-hunters apparently preferring to strike in a way that denied him any possibility of confronting his accusers in person.)

*Monsieur Verdoux*, today acclaimed as one of his greatest films, was originally banned in its entirety by the Breen censorship office, partly on the grounds, as the chief censor himself told Chaplin, that "you impugn society and the whole state."

Only after numerous changes were made in the script, frequently to soften barbs against figures of authority, was the film allowed to be shown. Then the country's unofficial censors took over.

Right-wing groups such as the Catholic Legion campaigned against the film, threatening to boycott for a year any theater that showed it. Where it was shown anyway, Legion thugs showed up

with picket signs such as the following: "Chaplin's a fellow traveler." "Kick the alien out of the country." "Chaplin's been a paying guest too long." "Chaplin, the ingrate and Communist sympathizer." "Send Chaplin to Russia. . . ."

Naturally these reactionary procensorship actions were given sympathetic coverage in the capitalist press, the New York *Daily News* and the Hearst newspapers leading the way.

The final blow came September 19, 1952, when Chaplin received a cable in mid-Atlantic informing him that he was barred from re-entering the United States.

Few of these facts were reported by the major American newspapers in their laudatory obituaries. The *New York Times* for example, in its front-page item December 26, omitted any mention whatsoever of the government's vendetta against Chaplin, lyingly referring instead to "his self-imposed exile from the United States since 1952." The obituary article inside, although it covered two full pages, devoted a scant two paragraphs to the witch-hunting campaign against Chaplin.

There is a simple reason for this cover-up. It is a chapter of history that America's rulers cannot point to with pride at the moment. What was viewed as grist for sensational headlines in the 1950s is far too embarrassing to be recalled in the vastly different political climate of the 1970s.

\* \* \*

In his autobiography, published in 1964, Chaplin offers his own explanation of his political views and of how he came to number among the victims of the McCarthyite witch-hunt. He deserves the final word:

"Friends have asked how I came to engender this American antagonism. My prodigious sin was, and still is, being a nonconformist. Although I am not a Communist I refused to fall in line by hating them. This, of course, has offended many, including the American Legion. I am not opposed to that organization in its true constructive sense; such measures as the G.I. Bill of Rights and other benefits for ex-soldiers and the needy children of veterans are excellent and humanitarian. But when the legionnaires go beyond their legitimate rights, and under the guise of patriotism use their power to encroach upon others, then they commit an offense against the fundamental structure of the American government. Such superpatriots could be the cells to turn America into a fascist state."

"Secondly, I was opposed to the Committee on Un-American Activities—a dishonest phrase to begin with, elastic enough to

wrap around the throat and strangle the voice of any American citizen whose honest opinion is a minority one.

"Thirdly, I have never attempted to become an American citizen. Yet scores of Americans earning their living in England have never attempted to become British

subjects; for example, an American executive of M-G-M earning in dollars a four-figure salary a week has lived and worked in England for over thirty-five years without becoming a British subject, and the English have never bothered about it. □

"This explanation is not an apology." □

## The Lynching of 'Monsieur Verdoux'

By James P. Cannon

[The following review of *Monsieur Verdoux*, the film Chaplin has described as his personal favorite among all his movies, originally appeared in the May 10, 1947, issue of the *Militant*. It is included in a collection of Cannon's writings entitled *Notebook of an Agitator*, published by Pathfinder Press, and is reprinted by permission.]

\* \* \*

About a year ago I made a firm resolution to boycott all movies unless the picture has a horse for the hero. And I have stuck to it much better than to some other firm resolutions I have made. My heart was in this one. Hollywood double-crossed me once too often. I am no student or critic of cinematic art, but I know what I don't like—and that is the unappetizing and indigestible compound of tripe and syrup which the movie moguls and bankers dish up to the defenseless, amusement-hungry people in the name of art. And I like it still less to come out of a theater, after a three-hour bout with a double-feature, with that let-down, sticky feeling of having been played for a sucker once more.

Dominated by this mood, I was fully prepared to remain indifferent even to the announcement of a new movie by Chaplin, until I noticed the hatchet job most of the critics of the big press were doing on the picture. With almost one voice they denounced Chaplin for introducing social criticism—and deadly serious social criticism at that—into a medium which has become almost universally dedicated to the prettification and falsification of life, and maintained that he wasn't even funny anymore. The vicious over-zealousness with which Chaplin and his new film were being attacked, with the obvious design to "kill" the picture before the mass of the people had yet had an opportunity to see it and judge for themselves, aroused suspicions that there might be some ulterior purpose behind the lynching campaign; that the movie critics might be giving a false report of the picture, as most Hollywood pictures give a false report of life.

Word-of-mouth testimony from some friends who had crossed the critics' picket line to examine the picture for themselves gave support to my suspicions, with the result that after more than six months'

total abstinence, this reformed movie addict fell off the wagon and went to see *Monsieur Verdoux*. And I thanked my lucky stars for one of the most enjoyable and satisfactory Saturday afternoons I have had in many a day. The critics are definitely misleading the public in their reviews of this picture.

In *Monsieur Verdoux* the supreme master of the screen discards the familiar role of the little tramp with the baggy pants and flopping shoes to play the part of a suavely mannered, impeccably dressed sophisticate. *Monsieur Verdoux* had been a bank clerk for 25 years or so, and was ruthlessly dismissed from his position when the depression came. He had to make a living somehow, so he went into business for himself—the business of marrying women for their money and then disposing of them. He does it all to support his family to which he is deeply and tenderly attached.

It is this theme of the picture, this merciless satire on business in general, and the business of war in particular, that has roused up so much antagonism from those who do not want the truth to be told to the people. Deprecation of war and its mass killing is deemed to be out of season by the powers that be. The bland insistence of *Monsieur Verdoux* that he is only doing on a small scale what others do on a big scale and are acclaimed as heroes for, has set the subservient critics after him like bloodhounds on the trail.

And the justification he gives for his crimes—that he has a dependent family—that is too much like the plea offered in self-defense by all social criminals in our decadent society to be accepted as a joke. It is the truth that hurts. I personally know a man who betrayed his socialist principles and entered the service of the war-propaganda machine, and then excused his action on the ground that he had a wife and child to support.

I don't doubt that he shrugged his shoulders, perhaps a bit regretfully, when the bomb fell on Hiroshima and destroyed a whole city-full of families who also had a right to live and to be supported. That is what *Monsieur Verdoux* did when the police inspector read him the list of a dozen or so women whom he had done away with in the line of business. "After all, one must make a living." Killing is a

recognized business in the world as it is organized today.

From the beginning of the picture up to its supremely tragic denouement, this macabre thesis is sustained. How, then, could comedy be introduced without disintegrating the whole structure into farce? The answer is Chaplin. The comedy in this picture is unsurpassed, even in the movies of the Chaplin of old. But the comedy never runs away with the picture. The somber theme dominates the comedy from beginning to end.

The best comedy parts are those which depict the numerous and always unsuccessful attempts of Monsieur Verdoux to liquidate one of his numerous wives, a dizzy dame with a raucous, rowdy laugh and a lot of money she had won in a lottery. She simply couldn't be liquidated. Luck was with her every time. The unexpected always happened. This part is played by Martha Raye, and she is terrific. The scene where Chaplin tries to poison her, and the wine glasses get accidentally switched around, and he thinks he has poisoned himself instead, is funny beyond imagining.

Another scene, where Monsieur Verdoux, in the course of business, has finally arranged a wedding with another moneyed widow, after long and arduous preparation, is a masterpiece of comic frustration. It was to be a fashionable wedding. A host of guests were assembled. The preacher had arrived. The bridegroom was nervously waiting, and the bride was descending the staircase. At this point the proceedings were suddenly and violently disrupted by a loud pistol-shot laugh on the edge of the crowd—the unmistakable laugh of Martha Raye. She had been brought to the party by some friends she picked up who were telling her a "rough" story, the kind she dearly appreciated. The expression on the bridegroom's face when he hears that unmistakable explosive laugh of one of his other wives, and his frantic efforts to extricate himself from the impossible situation must be seen, but may not be described. After all, it's Chaplin.

From there the hilarious comedy fades out like a dying echo and the tragic drama mounts in power and suspense to the final catastrophe. There is the stockmarket crash in which all the money Monsieur Verdoux had accumulated in the course of his business is wiped out overnight. Through mortgage foreclosure, he loses the home which he had provided for his family. He loses the family. He is apprehended by the police, tried, convicted and executed.

But never once does Monsieur Verdoux step out of character, never does he bend an inch to comply with the Hollywood formula. In court after his conviction he admits his crimes but denies his guilt. "All business is ruthless. I only did on a small scale what others do on a big scale." Then he receives his death sentence and, with

ominous reference to the prospect of an atomic war, ironically bids adieu with the words: "I will be seeing you all very soon."

In the last scene of all, in the death cell awaiting the end, Monsieur Verdoux remains true to himself. The inevitable priest comes to hear his confession and administer spiritual consolation. It is a vain errand. There was no repentant sinner waiting for him. Verdoux rises from his cot to meet the priest with the sprightly manner of a welcoming master of ceremonies. "Father, what can I do for you?"

He is taken aback; no Hollywood priest was ever received that way before.

"I want you to make peace with your God."

"I am at peace with God. My trouble is with my fellow men."

The priest is obviously losing ground, but he tries again.

"May God have mercy on your soul."

"He ought to. It belongs to Him."

After that, there was nothing left for the priest but to start praying aloud in Latin, which he promptly proceeded to do, as the executional squad solemnly surrounded

Monsieur Verdoux and marched him, the small-time, unsuccessful murderer, to his doom.

The picture had to end on a note of defeat and despair which was implicitly foreshadowed from the beginning. It is not a call to arms, but only a protest and a warning. The lesson is negative but, for all that, powerful in its indictment of contemporary society. And powerful, too, in its indirect indictment of Hollywood, of its sham and falsity, of its betrayal of the artist's sacred duty to hold the mirror up to life and reflect it truly.

Monsieur Verdoux is dead, but in my opinion, his picture will live; the vindictive and mendacious critics will not succeed in "killing" it. Perhaps they have condemned it to a slow start by their brutal lynching bee. But the truth about *Monsieur Verdoux* will be advertized by word of mouth, and it will make its way. It is a great picture and a brave one, too, hurled in the face of the Truman Doctrine and all the warmongering. The people will receive it gladly, not only in America, but all over the world.

## At the YSA Convention

### 'I Would Like You to Meet Héctor Marroquín'

[The following is the text of the remarks made by Linda Jenness, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, in introducing Héctor Marroquín at the opening session of the Young Socialist Alliance convention. The convention was held in Detroit December 28-January 1.]

\* \* \*

I am here to introduce a comrade whom you have all heard a lot about. Héctor Marroquín is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. He has been indicted by the Mexican government on frame-up charges of terrorism and guerrilla warfare. Rather than turn himself over to the torturers who run Mexico's jails, or to the special assassination squads that exist under the Mexican government, Héctor fled to this country. He has lived and worked here for three and a half years—along with millions of others who are here without "proper" papers.

In September, after returning to Mexico for a few days to talk to his lawyer, he was caught at the border, thrown in a U.S. jail, and La Migra [the Immigration and Naturalization Service] thought they could easily dispose of him by turning him over to the Mexican cops without giving him the

right to take his case before the American people and without giving him the right to wage a legal fight for his right to remain in this country as a political refugee.

But thanks to the efforts of the people in this room and others we worked with—La Migra was wrong. And Héctor Marroquín is here with us today to attend this convention.

His being at this convention is a double victory, because when they couldn't send him back to Mexico right away, and they couldn't keep him in jail any longer, they wanted to put him under house arrest. They said he couldn't leave Houston without permission from the INS.

And when Peggy Winter, Héctor's lawyer, asked Joe Staley, the district director of INS in San Antonio, for permission for Héctor to come to this convention, Staley told Peggy, "I don't think that illegal aliens have the right to go waltzing around the country making speeches."

But after Peggy threatened to raise holy hell, Staley changed his mind and gave Héctor permission. So Héctor just waltzed right into Detroit to make a speech.

Our movement—the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance—is recognized far and wide as being in the front line in the fight in defense of victims of racist injustice and political repression.

One of our great accomplishments is that we have established that we are the people who are willing, and who know how, to mobilize ourselves and others in defense of any victim of American class justice.

We work tirelessly in defense campaigns for dozens of victims of frame-ups—Sky Horse and Mohawk, for the release of the four Puerto Rican nationalists, for the Dawson Five, for Gary Tyler, for the Stearns strikers, for Hurricane Carter and John Artis, the Wilmington Ten, and many others. And we understand the importance of defending people even though they hold different views than ours, belong to other organizations, and don't agree with us completely on how to change society. This is one of the great principles of the socialist movement.

But the case of Héctor Marroquin is in a special category, because in defending Héctor we are defending one of *our own*, and by defending one of our own, we are defending our movement, our organization, defending each and every one of us in this room, and defending the right of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance to exist.

They say that Héctor is a terrorist. But Héctor is not a terrorist. He was never a terrorist. They framed him up because he was a political activist. According to the FBI we're all terrorists. According to them, everyone in the Fourth International around the world is a terrorist. And that is the slander on which they base their claim to have the right to spy on us, harass us, and try to disrupt our organizations.

Here is a comrade who was a leader in the student movement in Mexico. While still in high school in 1968 Héctor—and thousands of others—were deeply affected by the Tlatelolco massacre, in which peaceful student demonstrators in Mexico City were attacked by government troops firing machine guns into the crowd, murdering at least 300.

Héctor entered the University of Nuevo León the following year and participated in the struggles to gain student-faculty control of the university. He continued to participate in and lead student struggles throughout that year and the early 1970s. He was well known on campus as a student leader and an uncompromising fighter for democratic rights and social justice.

In 1973 he helped initiate a discussion group. After a few months most of the leaders of the group began to support the idea of guerrilla warfare. Héctor disagreed with the idea that armed actions by small groups could bring about basic social change, and he left the group.

He continued his search for a revolutionary organization that understood the need to build a revolutionary party and the need to mobilize the working masses in their own interests.

But it wasn't until he came to the United States that he seriously came into contact

with the Trotskyist movement. He became a Trotskyist and a Fourth Internationalist.

He came and joined the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. When Héctor first crossed the border, the immigration officials demanded papers; when he applied for a job at the Coca-Cola plant in Houston where he worked, the boss demanded papers; when his wife went to the hospital in Chicago to have their baby, the hospital demanded papers. But when Héctor came to the SWP and the YSA, we didn't ask for any papers. There is only one thing you have to have in order to join our movement—and that's membership in the world working class and a commitment to devoting your life to it.

This case is different from those that most of us have been involved in recently because it involves defending one of our own comrades and it involves defense of our movement.

We take our movement seriously. And the ruling class takes our movement seriously. And we know that an organization that doesn't know how to defend itself and its members from government attacks and frame-ups doesn't deserve to exist—and won't exist.

The tragedy is that we have all seen organizations weakened, and even totally destroyed, because they did not understand the importance of defense campaigns, or because they did not know how to combine the legal and political fights for their rights.

As the Socialist Workers Party celebrates its fortieth anniversary in 1978, we are going to be reviewing the accomplishments of our movement and the lessons we have learned.

And one of the greatest accomplishments and one of the greatest contributions we have made to those who are open to learning from us is our understanding and our capacity to organize political defense campaigns. Our tradition in this goes back to Jim Cannon, who along with others in his generation brought into the early Communist Party the tradition of labor solidarity that the Wobblies had established.

From the defense of Leon Trotsky against the Stalinist frame-ups in the 1930s; to the defense of Jim Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Ray Dunne, and the other leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis Teamsters indicted under the Smith Act in 1941; to the defense of Jimmy Kutcher, the legless veteran, victimized by the McCarthy witch-hunt of the 1950s; to the three YSA members from Indiana University in Bloomington who were indicted for conspiracy to overthrow the state of Indiana in the early 1960s; to Hugo Blanco, whose life was saved as a result of an international defense campaign in which the American Trotskyists played an important part; to Andrew Pulley and the other GIs at Ft. Jackson who were framed up

because they spoke out and organized against the Vietnam War—we know how to wage a defense campaign.

We know how to organize a defense campaign that can win. We know how to wage a defense campaign that can boomerang on the frame-up artists by gaining—through the defense campaign itself—a wider hearing for the ideas and points of view that the frame-up was designed to silence.

I know Héctor. I met him in the Maverick County Jail in Eagle Pass, Texas. And I admire and love him as a friend and a comrade. I would do anything for him—as I would for any member under attack.

But we are not doing this just for Héctor. We are doing this for our movement, because only a movement that can defend itself can inspire the confidence of each and every member. Only a movement that can defend itself can inspire the confidence of the working class and the oppressed, including one of the most exploited sectors, the undocumented workers.

Now the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party met last week and we decided that between now and the time of Héctor's deportation hearing, which is coming up soon, defense of Héctor and our party will be a top priority. And we are confident that the delegates at this YSA convention will decide to do the same thing.

This is not an assignment that can be delegated to just one fraction. This is something that each and every comrade should do. Whether you are on campus or on the job, in your NOW [National Organization for Women] chapter or at your union meeting, whether you teach or study, each and every one of us must defend our movement and help save the life of Héctor Marroquín.

You know, being a revolutionary is not easy. Our enemies are powerful, ruthless, vicious, and will do anything they can get away with. And that is not just speculation on our part—we have seen it. We have seen what they have done to others. To the students at Kent States, to the Puerto Rican Nationalists, to the Black Panthers and others.

But we also know that if you are a rebel, a fighter, if your goal in life is more than getting a comfortable job, a nice apartment, driving a good car, if your goal is more than finding a quiet niche for yourself—then the safest place to be is in the SWP and YSA. It is the safest because then you have thousands of comrades around the world, *who will fight for you the way they would expect you to fight for them*.

You have thousands of comrades who understand down to the marrow of their bones that an injury to one of us is an injury to all of us, and who are always prepared to fight.

And with this introduction, I would like you to meet Héctor Marroquín. □

## **My Interrogation by the Czech State Security Police**

By Petr Uhl

[We are reprinting below a firsthand account by Czechoslovak dissident Petr Uhl of his interrogation at the hands of the state security police.

[Uhl, a signer of Charter 77, was sentenced in 1969 to four years in prison for "having organized a Trotskyist group."

[We have taken the text from the December 12, 1977, issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

In the early hours of September 27, I was led before the state security investigator, Lieutenant Colonel Pavlovsky, at national security headquarters on Bartolomejska Street.

I was released around 11:00 a.m. on September 28.

I spent the evening and the night in a preventive-detention cell. No charges were brought against me; I was not under arrest. Between 11:30 a.m. and 6:30 p.m., my home was searched on prior orders from the attorney general, on the basis of a commission of inquiry into "acts of subversion against the republic." In the past month, several signers of Charter 77, including myself, have been interrogated in connection with this investigation, which was opened on January 6, 1977.

The search, which took place in my wife's presence, was led by Lieutenant Colonel Gindrich Kristof, and carried out by Lieutenant Colonel Oldrich Noga, Major Josef Lejnar, Major Karel Jansky, and other state security officers, six persons in all. During the raid and illegal search of my wife—for which there was no warrant from the attorney general—several kilograms of printed or handwritten papers were seized, as well as two typewriters.

Among publications in Czech from abroad, they chose to remove the following: one copy of *Svedectvi*, No. 3; one copy of *Informacny Materialny* No. 14 and one copy of No. 24-25; one copy of *The Cowards* by Skvorecky; *The Revolution Betrayed* by Trotsky; Vol. 14 of Lenin's *Collected Works*; and the proceedings of the Fourteenth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

Also confiscated were several dozen books and newspapers in German, French, Polish, and Russian—one of each—among which I ought to mention "*Eurocommunism*" and *The State*, by Santiago Carrillo, and Isaac Deutscher's books on Stalin and Trotsky.

Also confiscated were several dozen *samizdat* articles, petitions, newsletters

### **Petr Uhl Fired for Signing Charter 77**

[A little more than a month after being grilled by the Czechoslovak state security police, Petr Uhl was dismissed from his job as an engineer on the grounds of alleged "politico-moral" deficiencies. As the letter of dismissal, reprinted below, makes clear, the firing is acutally punishment for his having signed the human-rights declaration Charter 77.

[We have taken the text of the letter from the December 20 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

Petr Uhl, Engineer  
8 Anglicka Street  
Prague 2

Prague, November 28, 1977

In accordance with paragraph 46, section 1, subsection (e) of the Labor Code you are dismissed for reasons of failure to satisfy the requirements necessary for fulfilling your work. Consequently, your labor contract will terminate January 31, 1978.

The reasons for your dismissal are the following: You do not conform to

the politico-moral requirements that the Potrubi national enterprise, given the importance of its tasks, has a right to expect from the workers it employs as technicians. As a signer of the so-called Declaration of Charter 77, you have identified yourself with the slanderous pamphlet.

Even as regards the future, the Potrubi enterprise cannot count on your adherence to our socialist regime. In view of the importance of our tasks and the necessity of assuring a favorable climate for work, the Potrubi national enterprise cannot offer you other employment compatible with the deficiencies described above (cf. paragraph 46, section 2, subsection (e) of the Labor Code).

In accordance with paragraph 45, section 2, subsection (b), notice of dismissal is given two months in advance, and your contract will be terminated January 31, 1978.

Signed:

Jaroslav Bubenik, president of the factory committee of the Revolutionary Union Movement.

Marta Kralova, assistant director in charge of supervisory and plant personnel.

having to do with the human-rights movement in Czechoslovakia, and the *samizdat* editions of the 1976-77 *Chronicle* and the *History of the Czechoslovak Communist Party*. These were taken along with less important things, like a mail bag or the French edition of the *Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung*, which were hanging in the bathroom.

They also seized fifty typewritten copies of the September 21, 1977, Charter 77 press release, several copies of the covering letter by Jiri Hajek, and the attached biographies. They also took several handwritten lists of names on six pages that included maybe fifty signers of the Charter, and around thirty addresses were seized.

I am going to warn those signers, who may run into problems because of my carelessness, and who already have in some cases. Other addresses were not taken. All these things, except for one list

that was under a cushion, were found in a dresser, in a book collection, on the floor—in other words, in places that were accessible.

The state security officers' behavior toward me was proper, on the whole. This was not entirely the case during the search. The law was broken, but only at certain times, such as the lack of a warrant from the attorney general to search my wife, the fact that I was held all night by virtue of Law 40, paragraph 23, concerning state security, and a few other details. During my stay at Bartolomejska Street and Konviktska Street, I was given food and a fair degree of comfort.

The interrogation itself, by virtue of section 19 of the state security law, took place in two parts. On September 27, I was questioned about the formation of independent unions; a document on the consumption of goods that had been drawn up; a

march in defense of Jiri Lederer on October 19; the founding of a Trotskyist communist party; receiving and distributing foreign publications in Czech; founding an underground university; an alleged letter from me to the sections of the Fourth International. All of these things jumbled together have special relevance to whatever campaigns state security may set in motion against me in the future, whether legally or not.

On September 28, I was briefly interrogated about a sheet of paper that was found in my bag. I answered all the questions in a uniform manner, saying that I refused to answer and that I had nothing to explain.

Aside from the formal interrogation, I spent three whole hours talking with Lieutenant Colonel Pavlovsky, and part of the time with other state security officers. This basically amounted to a monologue on their part, which I commented on with a few observations or short statements that did not take up basic issues such as the struggle for human rights, or the signers of Charter 77 or other people.

During the discussion, the state security officers mentioned the names of living persons, sometimes more than once. I can repeat them from memory, but I cannot say in what order they were mentioned: Jiri Hajek, Marta Kubisova, Milan Hübl, Rudolf Slansky, Hodic, Ivan Djémal, Jan Frolik, Jaroslav Sabata, Anna Sabatova, Lastuvka, Machanek, Baruch, Frantisek Kriegel, Jiri Lederer, Kavan, Pelikan, Lis, Dubcek, Rattinger and one other lawyer whose name I have forgotten, Hosek, and Bartosek.

They tried to convince me that I am isolated within the Charter 77 movement, and in particular, that the former party members, Hajek, Hübl, and Slansky, do not agree with me; that they are much more constructive; that they write documents that are much more substantial than my document on consumer goods—for example, on ecology or nuclear energy; that they are opposed to my radicalism, and so on.

It is probably unnecessary for me to point out that I have not been swayed in the least by these assertions, and that I consider a real range of opinion to be an important precondition for the development of democratic methods of work inside the Charter 77 movement as well as in other areas, that I place a different value on this range of opinion than does state security, and that my assessment of the differences cannot in any case affect my solidarity toward each and every fighter for human rights, whatever their conceptions or opinions may be.

I was also warned about the fact that my activities are beginning to exceed the limits of the law and the limits that state security was prepared to tolerate. One of the officers even expressed the view that my present activity was more serious than

that for which I was imprisoned for four years in the early 1970s.

Lieutenant Colonel Pavlovsky informed me that he was putting me under strict surveillance. What this means in practice is that on the way to work and when I leave the house, I am followed by a vehicle containing state security officers. Two uniformed state security officers are seated on the stairway in front of my apartment twenty-four hours a day, whether I am there or not. They check visitors' identity

cards and illegally search their hand baggage.

When all this is taken into account, it becomes clear that my activity in defense of implementing the law and human rights cannot be as great as it was before. I realize that many friends will be afraid to visit me, just as I will not visit anyone but those who expressly ask me to. Still and all, I would hope that the restrictions on my activities will not have a negative effect on the initiatives undertaken by other defenders of human rights. □

## A Small Glimpse of CIA's Role in Vietnam War

During the Vietnam War, the Central Intelligence Agency proposed "the assassination and/or kidnaping of one or more of North Vietnam's leaders" to precipitate "turmoil" in Hanoi.

That and other CIA intrigues in Vietnam were recently revealed by a former intelligence analyst who served for five years in the CIA's Saigon office. The agent, Frank Snepp, published in November *Decent Interval*, a book depicting the CIA's intelligence failures in the final days of the war.

The book primarily recounts the CIA blunders that resulted in thousands of "loyal" Vietnamese being abandoned to their fate when the Americans evacuated Saigon. However, Snepp's exposé also sheds light on other, more damning, aspects of the CIA's operations during the war.

In a November 20 television interview, Snepp charged that the CIA and the American embassy in Saigon had deliberately provided American reporters with false information about a possible "blood bath" if South Vietnam lost the war.

"The whole idea of a blood bath was conjured out of thin air. We had no intelligence to indicate the South Vietnamese were facing a blood bath," Snepp said.

He added that Graham Martin, the last American ambassador to Saigon, "began planting horror stories in the press . . . to generate sympathy for the South Vietnamese cause abroad."

During the interview Snepp also named four reporters "favored" by the agency and embassy in Saigon.

"We would leak to them on a selected basis," he said, "draw them into our trust and into our confidence, and then we could shape their reporting through further leaks because they trusted us."

The reporters he named were Keyes Beech of the *Chicago Daily News*, Robert Shaplen of the *New Yorker* magazine, George McArthur of the *Los Angeles Times*, and Wendell Merick of *U.S. News & World Report*.

In addition, the CIA fed false information to *New York Times* reporter Malcolm Browne in the last days of the war. The CIA also used Browne to pass messages to

the National Liberation Front delegation at Tan Son Nhut air base outside Saigon.

Among the other allegations in Snepp's account are:

- North Vietnam, despite repeated assertions by Washington to the contrary, did "not engage in much offensive activity" in the year following the negotiated cease-fire in 1972.

While Snepp alleges that Hanoi did build up supply caches in the south, he added, "We were hardly in the strongest position to object. In the months directly preceding the cease-fire we had set a provocative example for Hanoi by ramming huge quantities of war matériel into the south."

- Snepp acknowledges that the CIA's Phoenix Program resulted in many murders.

"The objective of the Phoenix Program was to capture Communist cadres and bring them in alive so they could be interrogated and exploited for intelligence purposes."

In practice, Snepp says, "the Phoenix strike teams opted for a scattershot approach, picking up anyone who might be a suspect, and eventually when the jails were filled to overflowing they began taking the law, such as it was, into their own hands."

- Both the late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and the shah of Iran agreed in 1975 to provide aid to Saigon "as a personal favor to Henry Kissinger."

• The U.S. embassy in Saigon protected top officials in the Thieu regime from drug-dealing investigations by American narcotics agents. "The CIA, in fact, frustrated various probes into the drug problem from time to time whenever an important agent . . . was involved," Snepp noted.

- Former American ambassador Ellsworth Bunker offered a \$3 million bribe to Gen. Duong Van (Big) Minh if he would run against President Thieu and create the illusion of a contested election in 1971.

Whatever happened to the CIA's plan to kidnap Hanoi leaders? The agency shelved the proposal, Snepp says, when they realized they "couldn't even identify where the North Vietnamese lived, much less kidnap them." □

# The International Movement Against Nuclear Power

By Fred Murphy

"Nowhere in the world have so many people demonstrated against a nuclear plant as today in Bilbao."

"And never in the life of Bilbao has there been so spectacular a demonstration."

Those and other similar comments were quoted in the July 23 issue of the Barcelona magazine *Mundo*, in a report on the July 14 demonstration of 200,000 persons in Bilbao, Spain. It had been called to protest projects that could turn the entire northern Basque coast into a nuclear zone.

That mobilization was by far the largest antinuclear protest yet held. Nevertheless, it was only one of dozens of such mass actions in Europe and elsewhere during 1977. Environmental issues became political issues in many countries this year; foremost among them was nuclear power.

Opposition to this uniquely dangerous technology is growing throughout the world. The antinuclear movement poses a serious challenge to an industry in which massive amounts of capital are tied up.

The concern on the part of the ruling classes was indicated by a lead article in the March 19 issue of the prestigious British financial magazine the *Economist*. The editors summarized the arguments against the "peaceful atom":

[Opposition to nuclear power] draws on genuine human worries and fears. . . .

Outrage at nuclear weapons; the link between peaceful nuclear power and the proliferation of processing plants which can lead to the making of bombs . . . ; fear of one horrifying, if most unlikely, accident (and a horrifying and most unlikely accident is going to happen sometime); these are some of the emotions which give strength to the opposition to nuclear power. Combined, they are a potent force in any practising democracy.

The *Economist* editors looked with a certain amount of envy at the "countries that do not practise the politics of protest, or of planning inquiries, or of democracy," which they said have been "free to enter the nuclear age without worry or doubt."

Nuclear opponents have pressed their case for many years through lawsuits, presentations to "planning inquiries," and challenges in government regulatory hearings. Such methods have been able to secure certain safety measures. "Every concession of extra safeguards to meet a 'special case' becomes the minimum demand in the next inquiry," the *Economist* editors complained.

But these efforts have proved to be

inadequate for achieving a halt to nuclear programs. Antinuclear activists have thus more and more been turning to mass demonstrations, rallies, and sit-ins at nuclear plant construction sites as the means of building a movement.

Such protests led to sharp confrontations in a number of countries this year.

### The Movement in Europe

In France and West Germany government policy has been to push forward a vigorous expansion of nuclear capacity as a means of circumventing the need to import large quantities of petroleum.

The centerpiece of the French government's nuclear plans is the Superphénix fast-breeder reactor under construction at Creys-Malville. This is the first of a series of full-scale commercial breeder plants that will produce more plutonium fuel than they consume, thus greatly expanding fuel supplies and prolonging the lifespan of nuclear power.

The Superphénix plant has therefore become a focus for the antinuclear movement. More than 30,000 persons attempted to occupy the Malville construction site July 30-31, and were met with a violent police attack. One demonstrator, Vital Michalon, was killed by a police concussion grenade—the antinuclear movement's first martyr.

The Malville action was publicized throughout Western Europe, and many participants came from West Germany, Switzerland, and other countries. It was the largest of a series of antinuclear mobilizations throughout France in 1977.

Independent slates of "ecology" candidates ran in many localities in the April municipal elections in France. Environmentalists have been running in French elections since 1973, but this year the "green vote" became significant enough for both the bourgeois and workers parties to begin taking notice. The *écolos* received 10 percent of the vote in Paris on the first round, and even more in areas where nuclear plants have been an issue. F.L. Derry wrote in the April 18 issue of *Intercontinental Press*:

The general picture seems to be that of a newly radicalizing layer, with general sympathies for the left but retaining a strong mistrust of all the organized groupings. Although the SP has been able to make some gains out of this movement, clearly the CP has not. . . . This helps account

for the strong general sympathies for the "far left," although in the eyes of the environmentalists no party has emerged as a fighting champion against pollution.

The heterogeneity of this current has been reflected more recently in divisions among the French ecology groups over the upcoming legislative elections. Some favor calling for abstention on the second round, while others, like Brice Lalonde of Amis de la Terre (Friends of the Earth), argue that it may be desirable to throw support to other candidates or parties with which partial agreement could be reached. Since the *écolos* could hold the balance in a close election, the debate will no doubt heat up as the polling date approaches.

Big antinuclear protests also took place in West Germany this year. The largest was at Kalkar in September, where more than 40,000 marched against Bonn's fast-breeder project. That action took place without incident, despite a massive police mobilization. In February, an attempted construction-site occupation at Grohnde in Lower Saxony resulted in a confrontation in which 80 demonstrators and 237 cops were injured.

Most of the big West German actions have been organized by the BBU,\* a network of local committees that claims a following of more than 300,000.

Late in the year, pronuclear forces in West Germany mounted a counteroffensive. Union bureaucrats, aided by the nuclear companies, were able to turn out several demonstrations of power workers in favor of continued government emphasis on nuclear power. At the November congress of the ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD), these forces succeeded in pushing through an endorsement of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's nuclear development plans.

Nevertheless, several West German nuclear plants remain stalled in court actions, and antinuclear sentiment remains so strong that the SPD leadership is worried that a recently formed "green party" could draw enough votes away to eliminate the slim majority the ruling coalition presently holds in the Bundestag (parliament).

The German Social Democrats could draw some lessons from the experience of their colleagues in Sweden. After forty-four

\*Bundesverband Bürgerinitiativen Umweltschutz (Federal League of Citizens' Committees for Protection of the Environment).

years in power the Swedish SP was turned out of office in 1976 by a bourgeois coalition headed by Thorbjörn Fälldin's Center Party. One of Fälldin's main campaign promises was the dismantling of all of Sweden's nuclear plants.

Only a few weeks after taking office, however, Fälldin gave the go-ahead for operating a second reactor at the Barsebäck power station near Malmö.

The Swedish antinuclear organizations, outraged by Fälldin's betrayal, began to remobilize this year. On September 10, 15,000 persons marched in Barsebäck in Scandinavia's largest antinuclear protest. More than half the marchers came from Denmark, densely populated areas of which lie within the danger zone of the Barsebäck plant.

In Italy, 7,000 persons rallied in April in that country's first antinuclear protest, against a reactor to be built in a rural area north of Rome. Many of the participants in the demonstration were fishermen and small farmers concerned about the effects of radioactive pollution on their livelihoods.

Referenda on nuclear power will be held in Switzerland and Austria in 1978, and will be a focus for antinuclear activity in those countries. A local referendum in Basel, Switzerland, rejected the Kaiseraugst nuclear plant by a decisive majority in June. Earlier, 15,000 persons had marched against the plant.

#### Australians Oppose Uranium Mining

Opposition to nuclear development is not limited to those countries where power plants are in operation.

In Australia, some of the largest demonstrations since the anti-Vietnam War protests of the early 1970s occurred this year in opposition to Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's decision to proceed with mining and export of the country's vast uranium deposits.

Many of the country's labor unions have taken antiuranium stands, and the September congress of the Australian Labor Party went on record in favor of a future Labor government repudiating uranium contracts signed by Fraser.

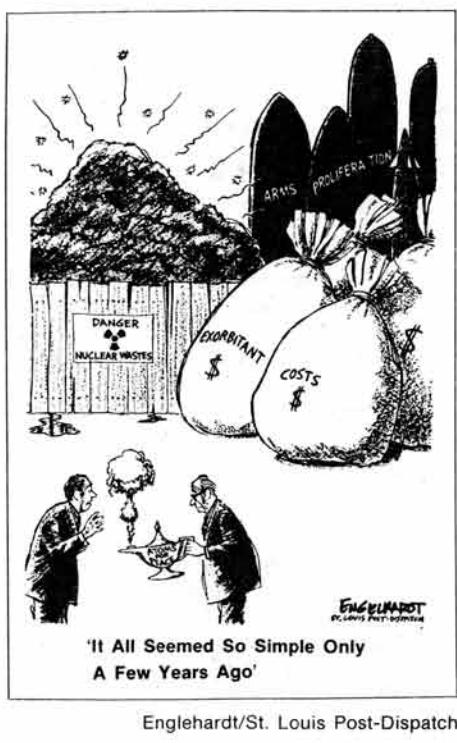
#### Protests Begin in United States

Although Europe was the scene of the year's largest actions, the antinuclear movement emerged dramatically in the United States in 1977.

On April 30, 2,000 activists organized by the Clamshell Alliance occupied the construction site of a nuclear plant in Seabrook, New Hampshire. The state authorities, taken by surprise, allowed the protesters to remain overnight on the Public Service Company's property. On May 1 they began mass arrests, however, and more than 1,000 persons were held up

to twelve days in crowded, unsanitary conditions in National Guard armories. These harsh moves generated publicity and support for the protesters across the country.

Several thousand persons participated in



Englehardt/St. Louis Post-Dispatch

local U.S. protests at nuclear plants or power company offices in Hiroshima-Nagasaki observances during the first week of August.

The arguments of U.S. nuclear opponents were bolstered by two reports issued this year by the Congressional General Accounting Office (GAO).

In June, the GAO said that "protecting the public from the hazards of radiation lingering at nuclear facilities which are no longer operating" will soon become a "multibillion dollar problem." And in September, another GAO report went so far as to say that "the unsolved problem of radioactive waste disposal threatens the future of nuclear power in the United States."

Besides these gloomy predictions, nuclear energy enthusiasts are also concerned about a decision handed down by a federal district court in April that declared the 1954 Price-Anderson Act unconstitutional. This law exempts electric utilities from having to carry insurance adequate to cover the costs of a major nuclear accident. Without it, nuclear plants would likely not be built at all, and those now operating would have to shut down, since no insurance company would be willing to provide the billions of dollars in coverage that would be required. The law remains in force while the U.S. Supreme Court hears an appeal of the lower court's ruling. A

decision is expected sometime in 1978.

Upon taking office in January, U.S. President Jimmy Carter went on an international campaign against the development of plutonium-based fast-breeder reactors and nuclear-fuel reprocessing plants.

This reflects fear on the part of the American ruling class that its ability to decide what regimes get access to nuclear weapons could be undermined by the proliferation of plutonium, which can readily be fabricated into bombs. If successful, Carter's drive would have the added advantage of enabling U.S. exports of enriched uranium to remain at a high level.

Carter enlisted Prime Minister Fraser of Australia and Canada's Pierre Trudeau as junior partners in a "nonproliferation cartel" that will dictate the conditions (and prices) under which uranium mined in their respective countries will be sold. Together, the three governments control more than two-thirds of the capitalist world's known uranium deposits.

To demonstrate his seriousness about slowing the momentum toward a "plutonium economy," Carter has vetoed a funding bill for the Clinch River fast breeder project. The question will come up again, however, since Congress has included funds for it in a second bill.

Carter's shift of emphasis away from the plutonium breeder does not indicate any real retreat from the U.S. government's traditional strong support for nuclear power. The 1978 budget proposed by the White House includes \$500 million for research and development of more sophisticated breeder technology.

Moreover, Carter stressed in his April "energy crisis" speech that "it should not take ten years to license a [nuclear] plant." Carter's energy advisers, headed by nuclear enthusiast James Schlesinger, are preparing legislation that will, in the words of one nuclear opponent, "turn the regulatory process into a kangaroo court."

Getting White House environmental appointees to swallow this move has proved difficult, however. As of early November the "Nuclear Regulatory Reform Act" had been through seven drafts and still had not been sent to Congress.

#### Only the Beginning

The threat posed by radioactive pollution is becoming better understood and more widely discussed than ever before.

But the capitalists have billions invested in nuclear technology, and their governments and military apparatuses are integrally tied to the industry. In addition, the Soviet bureaucrats, ignoring the warnings of some of their top scientists, are building and exporting nuclear plants.

Bigger struggles, foreshadowed by the mobilization in the Basque country in July, can be expected in the years ahead as working people learn more about the nuclear danger. □

# Fraser Victory a Setback for Australian Labor Movement

By Jim McIlroy and Ron Poulsen

SYDNEY—The Liberal-National Country Party government of Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser was returned to office by a big margin of up to fifty seats in the Australian federal elections held December 10. This compares with a majority of fifty-five over the Labor Party opposition in the previous parliament.

This margin, in a House of Representatives of 124 seats, represents a massive defeat for the Australian Labor Party (ALP)—as the country's only mass working-class party. It signals a new period of stepped-up attacks on jobs, wages, social welfare, and democratic rights in 1978, following two years of a reactionary offensive led by Fraser since the ALP was thrown out of government in late 1975.

The Canberra constitutional "coup" of November 11, 1975, in which the unelected governor-general, Sir John Kerr, dismissed the Labor government under Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, touched off an upsurge by workers, students, and others in support of the Labor government. But, over the past two years, Fraser has succeeded in pegging back a number of important gains made under Labor.

Fraser called this election a year early precisely because of the Liberals' fear that an election held next year would certainly go badly against the government.

### Surprise Result

The outcome of the federal elections caught everyone by surprise. Labor's defeat, second only to that of 1975, was worse than the most pessimistic predictions.

Despite the Labor victory in the Greensborough by-elections, despite the swing of 7.3 percent in the Queensland elections to the ALP, and most importantly, despite widespread hostility to the Fraser government, the primary vote for Labor actually fell from the 1975 figure (by 2.8 percent). This must cause a critical rethinking in the ranks as well as the leadership of the labor movement—where did Labor go wrong?

How could such a second large electoral defeat be dealt to Labor by a government like Fraser's? The experience of two years of climbing unemployment, welfare cutbacks, and attacks on wages and union rights have earned the Liberals a deep class hatred in the labor movement.

And yet the swing against the coalition parties (3.2 percent down for the Liberals, 0.1 percent down for the National Country Party) was far less than could have been

expected after the 1975 "landslide" losses of the ALP. What's more, these Liberal defections went not to the ALP but to the Australian Democrats.

### Democrats—Liberals' Trojan Horse

The six-month-old Australian Democrats—a "liberal" capitalist party appealing to small business people and professionals and led by ex-Liberal Don Chipp—was able to gain about 10 percent of the vote (almost a million voters) by siphoning off the protest vote from both Liberal and Labor.

But unexpectedly the protest vote was stronger against Labor than the Liberals. The Labor Party's last-minute wooing of the Democrats—through directing preferences to them and by South Australian Labor Premier Don Dunstan selecting a Democrat to fill the vacancy left by Liberal Movement Senator Steele Hall's resignation, strengthened the Democrats, not the ALP.

### Why Did Labor Lose?

How can we explain Labor's disastrous showing, in the face of a post-1930s depression record unemployment of 360,000 or 5.8 percent?

"A vote against socialism," the *Sydney Morning Herald* headlined its editorial December 12. But this is just what it wasn't.

Socialism or even the most mildly radical policies were not at issue in this election. The ALP stood on the most conservative and pro-big-business platform in years.

What this poll has shown, once again, is that kowtowing to the ruling class, right-wing policies, and a conscious demobilizing of its supporters is Labor's sure road to defeat.

It was Labor's failure to defend the interests of the working population that in the long run cost it so heavily. In the years 1974-75 the ALP administration failed to protect workers from the ravages of the economic crisis, from the rapid growth of inflation and unemployment.

In November 1975, the ALP leaders failed to respond to the sacking of their government using working-class methods of struggle, by calling for a general strike. Instead, they appealed for "democracy" via the ballot box.

While in opposition, the parliamentary and trade-union leaders of the party kept a

low profile, allowing Fraser to get away with his cynical policies.

The final straw was Labor's low-key election campaign, as if the ALP leadership didn't really want to win. The most notable promise of the election campaign was to abolish payroll tax—a gift to the bosses, not a guarantee that any more jobs would be created.

### No Real Alternative

Labor's perspective to win wider support was not determined defense of the interests of Australia's working population against the bosses' and the Liberals' attacks, but on the contrary to conciliate with the ruling class and the middle classes so as to prove that it would form a "responsible" government.

In 1975, the right-wing ALP leaders drew the conclusion that their minimal reforms had been too far in advance of the masses, that the ALP had "gone too far too fast."

No doubt after this further setback they will draw the same conclusion even more heavily, claiming that this is shown by "the will of the people" rejecting their policies. But drawing still closer to the Liberals' policies will weaken Labor even further by demoralizing its ranks and by squeezing more dissident voters to the Democrats.

For many voters there was little to distinguish Labor from Liberal policies, except by the "hip pocket nerve" reflex—and here Labor failed to counter the Liberals' phony tax reforms.

Whitlam's promises to curb unemployment rang hollow after the massive unemployment that grew up under the Labor government in 1974 and 1975.

Labor's platform was aimed at reconciling it with the very ruling-class backers of Fraser who sacked it in 1975. Whitlam even had a private meeting with press magnate Rupert Murdoch, whose newspapers have been the main exponents of the barrage of anti-Labor publicity during both this election and the last.

### What Fraser Will Do

What can we expect from Fraser in 1978? Obviously, the working class and its oppressed allies are in for a rough time from a government claiming a mandate for its reactionary policies coming out of this election.

On unemployment the outlook is extremely grim. Officials in the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations have predicted that unemployment will reach 425,000-430,000 in January-February, nearly 7 percent of the work force.

Fraser didn't offer the slightest relief for the jobless situation during the campaign. In fact, with the probable increase in the coalition's restrictive economic course, reinforced by the election result, unemployment is likely to go considerably higher as school leavers are kept out of the work force and public spending cutbacks continue.

On wages, we can expect increasing pressure from the government for a complete freeze on wages—effectively a wage cut even harsher than that imposed by the recent Arbitration Commission indexation decisions.

#### Uranium Battle Looms

The uranium issue promises to produce a head-on fight between the unions and the antiuranium movement on the one hand, and the government and uranium miners on the other, in very short order.

The challenge likely to face antiuranium forces in the near future could be the first big test of the ability of antigovernment and working-class organizations to fight back against Fraser under these new conditions.

Supporters of mining lost no time in trumpeting the election result as a go-ahead for uranium. Sir Ernest Titterton, professor of nuclear physics at the Australian National University and a long-time supporter of nuclear weaponry for Australia, claimed: "The unions gave the government an ultimatum to hold a referendum. Well, the government held that referendum in the election.

"It [the result] was a massive endorsement of the government's policies—one of which is to mine and export uranium."

Unions "should think twice before they sabotage the future of the nation," Titterton warned.

This lie that the election is an endorsement of the government's uranium policy—or the rest of its program for that matter—should be scotched immediately.

In fact, Fraser was very careful to play down the uranium issue during the campaign. And the ALP leaders, apart from a brief flurry near the end when defeat seemed to be looming, made very little of it either.

In any case, the combined vote of the ALP and the Democrats, both of whom had a policy opposing uranium mining, was greater than that of the government parties.

#### Liberal Cover-up

The whole Liberal-NCP campaign was a

cover-up operation, aimed at obscuring the government's responsibility for unemployment, falling living standards, and restrictions on democratic rights through attacks



FRASER: Helped back into office by Labor Party's spineless campaign.

on Gough Whitlam's "credibility" and by playing up the coalition's bogus "tax cuts."

The actual fall in support for the government is indicated by the decline in its vote from 53 percent to 48 percent in the House of Representatives. However, most of this decline has been directed not to Labor but to the Australian Democrats, as a protest against Fraser's policies.

On the other hand, the ALP vote is down to 40 percent—its lowest ever. There can be no hiding the fact that this is a disastrous defeat.

#### Labor's 'No-Win' Policy

Fundamentally, the Labor leadership pursued a no-win policy in this campaign. But for the ranks of the ALP and for its working-class supporters, there must be a deep debate about the way forward. Even more than in December 1975, this election defeat underlines the false road of class collaborationism.

With his policies of tax and other concessions to the big corporations, refusal to defend full wage indexation or to call for a program to really tackle unemployment, and backing off on other key issues such as uranium, Whitlam has led Labor into disaster.

But this is fundamentally a defeat for Social Democracy. It is a defeat for the view that the best way for the workers movement to defend itself against Fraser's reactionary attacks is to keep quiet, seek an accommodation with the bosses, and halt strikes, demonstrations, and other mass actions so as not to "antagonise" anyone.<sup>23</sup>

#### Class-Struggle Alternative

If the Labor and trade-union leaders are successful in imposing such a course on the labor movement in 1978, the danger of suffering further heavy setbacks is very real.

We already know from statements by Fraser that the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation is to be boosted in order to counter "extremist parties" in the workers movement.

And ruling-class opinion, as reflected in the capitalist media, is clearly in favor of taking on the most militant sections of the working class. The *Australian* on December 12, in its first postelection comment, noted: "Confrontation will be necessary, in isolated cases, to rout out and destroy hard core communist cells which aim to wreck our society."

The labor movement will need the utmost unity around class-struggle policies in the critical times ahead if Fraser's attacks are to be defeated. In both the Labor Party itself and in the unions, we need to build a new leadership that is willing to fight for workers' interests, against uranium mining, for the demands of women, Blacks, migrants, and youth.

Beginning the construction of such a class-struggle leadership is the major task of the coming year.

Only if a struggle for socialist policies is carried on in the ranks of the ALP and the labor movement generally can that alternative leadership of the working class to defend its interests be provided. The struggles outside parliament will continue irrespective of the fortunes of the Labor Party—the antiuranium mining movement, the battles of the trade-union movement, the Queensland civil liberties campaign, and others.

But the present crisis of leadership and perspectives in the ALP affects the whole working class and its allies—it will be resolved only if a genuine socialist leadership, basing itself on class-struggle methods and rejecting the class collaboration which dominates the ALP, is built in the coming struggles against Fraser. If not in parliament, then in the streets and factories, offices, and schools, the struggle continues! □

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## Humberto Valenzuela—Chilean Workers Leader

By Luis Vitale

The workers leader Humberto Valenzuela died of a pulmonary ailment in Santiago, Chile, on November 18, 1977. He was sixty-nine years of age.

Valenzuela was born September 24, 1908, in Iquique, in the nitrate-mining area of northern Chile. He began to work as a miner at an early age; at fourteen, he was recording secretary of the nitrate miners union in Huara. There he met Luis Emilio Recabarren, the founder of the organized workers movement in Chile and the initiator of the Chilean Communist Party, which Valenzuela soon joined.

Humberto was persecuted, as were many others, by General Ibáñez's dictatorship (1927-1931). He was beaten on the ears by the police. He received no medical attention, being left for a number of days in a mineshaft in the desert. As a result his hearing was permanently damaged.

When Valenzuela went to Santiago to work in the construction industry, he learned that there had been an internal struggle between the Stalinists and Trotskyists in the CP. The Trotskyists were expelled on orders issued from Buenos Aires by the South American Bureau of the bureaucratized Third International. Thus the Izquierda Comunista [Communist Left] was formed in 1931. This was one of the first and most important organizations in Latin America to uphold Trotskyists positions. Valenzuela also broke with the CP, joined the Communist Left, and played an outstanding role as a leader of the United Construction Union.

For the first time in Chile, he advanced the slogan of workers control. Moreover, in 1934 he organized a workers administration in the Policlínico del Seguro Obrero [Workers Insurance Health Clinic]. About this time, he also helped in the formation of peasant unions in the countryside near Santiago. By 1936 he had organized more than a dozen peasant unions in Maipú. There he worked with Emilio Zapata, a member of the Communist Left who was the first peasant deputy in Chile.

However, with its decision to enter the Socialist Party in 1937, the Communist Left abandoned the effort to build a revolutionary Marxist party. Together with others such as Enrique and Arturo Sepúlveda, Valenzuela opposed this liquidationist line, and in 1938 founded the Partido Obrero Revolucionario [POR—Revolutionary Workers Party], the first Chilean section of the Fourth International.

The POR was not simply a propaganda

group limited to criticizing Stalinism. From the beginning, it carried out agitation in the workers movement. In 1942, the POR ran Valenzuela for president, confronting the bourgeois candidacies of General Ibáñez and Ríos of the Popular Front.

Valenzuela's Trotskyist candidacy received 5,700 votes, despite the fact that many ballots were destroyed and others disappeared. In evaluating this vote it should be noted that the CP's 1932 presidential candidate, Laferte, drew 4,000 votes, and the SP received 12,000 in 1947 for Bernardo Ibáñez.

At the beginning of the 1940s, Valenzuela became a national leader of the Unión de Obreros Municipales [Municipal Workers Union]. In this capacity he was invited to attend the national congress of the Central Obrera Boliviana [Bolivian Workers Federation] in 1954, where he debated Juan Lechín and the other leaders of the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Nationalist Movement] who were holding back the workers militias and the revolutionary process.

I recall meeting Humberto around this time. I arrived at his house in Santiago, on Chiloé Street, one hot February afternoon. I met a man about five feet, three inches tall—slender, full of vitality. Not only was he a leader with vast trade-union experience, but he also had a solid Marxist education. When I met him he was writing a document on the debate taking place inside the Fourth International over the building of revolutionary parties. He had organized a tendency in the POR to oppose entryism.

When the leadership of the POR ordered an entry into the SP in 1955, Valenzuela raised the banner of the POR and continued the task of building the party. There were only seven of us—which included six workers—to undertake this effort. After a while, however, we had more than 100 compañeros and were publishing a twice-monthly periodical, *Frente Obrero*, which Humberto edited. I recall that he always asked to have the spelling errors corrected in the numerous articles that he wrote.

Valenzuela was general secretary of the POR from 1955 to 1965. He organized the party's penetration into the new industrial proletariat, especially in textiles and metallurgy. This permitted the Trotskyists to get the first congress of the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—United Federation of Workers] to approve almost all the points of the Transitional Program. At the

second congress of the CUT, in 1958, the first Trotskyist was elected to the CUT national leadership.

In 1957, Valenzuela, together with another Trotskyist worker, was elected to the provincial leadership of the CUT in Santiago. There he worked with CUT President Clotario Blest, struggling against the "populism" of Ibáñez and the bourgeois authoritarianism of Alessandri, and exposing the reformist currents that were holding back the CUT.

As a consistent internationalist convinced of the necessity of building the World Party of Socialist Revolution, Valenzuela did not occupy himself solely with national problems. In 1956 he was elected general secretary of what was then called the "Latin American Secretariat of Trotskyism," at a conference held in Buenos Aires attended by a number of Trotskyist sections in Latin America.

Upon the victory of the Cuban revolution, Valenzuela became one of the founders of the Committees for Defense of the Revolution, and served as a member of the National Command of these committees. He participated in many street actions, such as that of November 3, 1960, and in the general strike against the Chilean government's breaking relations with Cuba.

Valenzuela vigorously supported the unification of the revolutionary groups that arose in the heat of the Cuban revolution. Following the unification of eight groups (among which were the POR, MRC, OSI, Polémica, PRT, etc.)\* there remained two: the Popular Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Marxist Vanguard, which merged on August 15, 1965, creating the MIR—Movement of the Revolutionary Left.

Valenzuela and other comrades brought to the MIR the concept of permanent revolution and the Transitional Program, and above all their experience in the workers movement. It should be said that the MIR did not begin as a student group in Concepción, as has been said, but resulted from the unification of about 800 militants, many of whom—more than one-

\* MRC—Movimiento Revolucionario Comunista (Revolutionary Communist Movement), OSI—Oposición Socialista de Izquierda (Left Socialist Opposition), PRT—Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party).—IP

third—had broad trade-union and political experience.

Valenzuela was not only a founding member of the MIR but a member of its first National Secretariat from 1965 to 1967. Unfortunately, in 1969, the *foquista* faction that had come to dominate the MIR provoked a split. They held that a guerrilla foco had to be initiated in order to block the elections. This resulted in the MIR being the only left group that did not vote for Allende. Valenzuela and the other Trotskyists opposed this division, and we struggled for the unity of the party that had been built at such a cost. Nevertheless, there was a split, or more accurately, expulsions—not only of the Trotskyists but of all those who disagreed with the *foquista* positions.

Valenzuela and the rest of us then formed the Frente Revolucionario [Revolutionary Front], which later unified with the Tendencia Revolucionaria Octubre [October Revolutionary Tendency]. In December 1972 the Partido Socialista Revolucionario [PSR—Revolutionary Socialist Party], Chilean section of the Fourth International, was founded.

It would take a great deal of space to discuss Valenzuela's activity during the Popular Unity [UP] government. Without sectarianism, he worked alongside the pro-Allende workers in building the *cordones industriales*, the *comandos comunales*, and other organs of popular power, at the same time criticizing the reformists. In this task, Humberto made a united front with the MIR, and was elected national leader of the Frente de Trabajadores Revolucionarios [Revolutionary Workers Front]. He was a candidate in the last CUT elections. While fully involved in the revolutionary process under the UP, he also took time to write a 200-page *History of the Workers Movement*.

I recall that several months before the military coup Valenzuela brought up not only the necessity of confronting the coup but the concrete ways this should be done. He again raised the need for a political-military strategy in a dramatic and urgent way at a meeting held by the PSR in a Santiago theater on August 20, 1973, to commemorate Trotsky's death. This was the last time Valenzuela spoke at a public meeting. His ability as a great proletarian orator made a deep impression upon those we were trying to alert to the imminent danger of a military coup.

Valenzuela spent the first two days after the September 11 coup in the suburbs south of Santiago, struggling to get the workers to leave the factories where they were uselessly shut up. Valenzuela said, "The reformists have put the lions in their cages. The lions must escape from their cages in order to launch the struggle." But the UP insisted on its suicidal line and the advanced workers were arrested and murdered in the factories.

Valenzuela then went underground and began to struggle with his Trotskyist comrades in the resistance against the Pinochet dictatorship. In this risky task, despite his illness and his age, Valenzuela (or "the old man," as we affectionately called him) continued to the end of his life organizing committees of resistance and preparing new revolutionary cadres through Marxist education classes based on the principles of the Fourth International.

Valenzuela's lessons will endure in the political descendants he has left through

his long and consistent struggle to build the revolutionary Marxist party. The new vanguard that is arising is Chile in the struggle against the Pinochet dictatorship will undoubtedly recover the best of the Chilean revolutionary heritage left by Luis Emilio Recabarren and our beloved Humberto Valenzuela.

Through Valenzuela, the Fourth International has lived in Latin America. It lives on in those of us who continue the struggle for the same ideals that Humberto embraced with passion and revolutionary tenacity. □

## Luis Yáñez—1914-1977

By Aníbal Vargas

Luis Yáñez died in Mexico City of cancer on December 3, 1977. He was born in Guipúzcoa, in the Basque country, on April 5, 1914.

As a student in the National University of Mexico in the early 1930s, he belonged to a generation of Mexican students, workers, and intellectuals who saw that the 1910 Mexican revolution, contrary to the claims of the ruling party, was not a solution to the country's social crisis. Many of his generation turned to the Russian revolution as the road to follow.

The advent of the Moscow Trials in 1936 led some to look twice at what was happening in the Soviet Union. Yáñez, along with Manuel Alvarado, Rodolfo Ornelas K., and others, formed the Sociedad de Estudiantes Marxistas (Marxist Students Society) with the purpose of studying the Soviet Union's internal situation and the international working-class movement.

They approached these problems objectively and without previous commitment to any particular left tendency. They invited representatives of different Marxist currents to speak, among them Fritz Bach, Rodrigo García Treviño, and Aníbal Ponce.

Their period of activity also coincided with Leon Trotsky's presence as an exile in Mexico and largely because of this they were able to hold discussions with Trotskyists from around the world who came to see Trotsky at Coyoacán.

These discussions, along with the monstrous falsifications of the Stalinists in their struggle against Trotsky, finally made the Sociedad de Estudiantes Marxistas decide to dissolve and join the Mexican section of the Fourth International. From then on Yáñez participated actively in the work of the Mexican section.

In the 1940s, the Mexican section was a small group made up of construction, electrical, telephone, and postal workers, printers, and students. Their newspaper, *Lucha Obrera*, was published through the early 1950s.

The Mexican section also carried out some work among a radical section of the peasantry, led by Rubén Jaramillo in the state of Morelos, which refused to give up Zapata's real aims.

Jaramillo was constantly subject to government persecution and at one point Yáñez was assigned to rescue him from an army dragnet and smuggle him into Mexico City. He did this by borrowing a car and going on a Sunday picnic with another comrade and their wives.

Jaramillo and his lieutenant Maximino rode into Mexico City on the floor of the car under the picnic baskets and stayed at Yáñez's home until the danger had passed. Later Jaramillo ran for governor of Morelos with the support of the Mexican section. Officially he lost the election, although he enjoyed wide support among the peasant masses in the state.

In the early 1950s, Mexican Trotskyism disintegrated owing to a number of factors, not least among them, intense factionalism. For all practical purposes Trotskyism disappeared organizationally from the Mexican scene in the 1950s and 1960s. Along with most of the early members of the section, Yáñez drifted away from active politics.

In recent years Yáñez befriended various refugees from Latin American dictatorships, including Francisco Julião, the peasant leader from northeast Brazil. When Hugo Blanco had to leave first Peru and then Chile, Yáñez offered his generous fraternal help.

Today, Mexican Trotskyism is demonstrating tremendous new vitality. But it has sprung from the maturing social crisis in Mexico and the worldwide revolutionary upsurge in the late 1960s, having little organizational continuity with the Mexican Trotskyist group of the 1940s.

So it is not surprising that the name of Luis Yáñez is unfamiliar to most young Mexican Trotskyists. Nevertheless, those who knew him can testify to his generosity and his spirit of comradeship to the end. □

## **Ten Demands for Human and Democratic Rights in Iran**

[The following statement was issued in Tehran November 2, 1977, by fifty-eight human-rights activists who have signed their names below. The translation is by Reza Baraheni, who has also provided the accompanying introduction (see box).]

\* \* \*

The regime which has been wielding political and economic power in Iran during the last twenty-four years is unmistakably faced with a crisis. This crisis is the indispensable offspring of the policies and administrative practices of the ruling power of Iran during the last twenty-four years. This period began when the ruling groups of Iran succeeded, with the assistance of world-conquering powers, in depriving our people from appearing and participating in the political and public life, and, consequently, prevented the government which had as its roots the people's will from exerting its political authority.

The consequences arising from the last twenty-four years should not and could not be summarized in the existence of the present technical and regional problems. These problems are in themselves nothing but some of the indispensable manifestations and offsprings of consistent policies of the present political and social regime.

The founders of the Fundamental Laws of Iran were completely conscious, as founders of all other governments of people for people are, of the unpleasant effects of autocratic governments in the course of Iranian and world history. They sought to lay the foundation of a regime, in a society liberated from absolutism, in such a manner that it would be immune to the reappearance of the age of despotism. It was with this aim in mind that they founded the Constitutional Monarchy. To call the Constitutional regime by any other name means in reality the rejection of the constitution, and a tendency to return to the age of autocracy and despotism. And this is in complete contradiction with the sources of national power in the contemporary world.

Only that political regime deserves respect in our present world which administers the affairs of the society on the basis of observance of the natural rights, human dignities, and privileges of all individuals, as outlined in and defended by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other agreements of similar nature.

Only that nation deserves political standing in our present world which determines its own destiny. The consistent efforts of the ruling regime to prevent the people from exerting their right is stripping, in reality, the Iranian nation from political esteem.

[The following statement was issued December 1 by the exiled Iranian poet Reza Baraheni, a former political prisoner who was jailed and tortured for 102 days by the shah's political police.]

\* \* \*

The statement of November 2, 1977, drafted and signed by fifty-eight prominent lawyers, intellectuals, writers, political leaders, and prominent members of human and civil rights groups in Iran, is one of the most important democratic documents to come out from that calamity-stricken country.

A most highly developed and sophisticated analysis of the economic, socio-political, and cultural crisis in the country, the document challenges the entire structure of the dictatorial rule of the shah during the last twenty-four years, and outlines in ten brief but meaningful demands the ways which could lead to the resolution of this crisis.

At the root of all these demands lies the fertile land of democracy, and only through the realization of those demands will the Iranian people find their dreams for democracy come true.

Among the men and women who have signed the document, there are some who have stayed in the shah's prisons for years or suffered severe torture and years of exile. The statement brings together distinguished personalities from many different political

and ideological tendencies, and provides a program for action in the realm of democracy and human rights.

Many of the signatories of the statement were among the leaders of demonstrations which took place in Iran from November 15-25. The shah's government reacted to those peaceful demonstrations with plainclothes policemen carrying truncheons, clubs, chains, and machine guns. More than fifty students were killed by the police, hundreds were injured, and more than five thousand people were arrested.

Some of the signatories, notably Ms. Homa Nateq, the outstanding historian, and Mr. Nemat Mirzazadeh, were hurt very badly. Attempts were made by the police to rape Ms. Nateq. Yet these leaders stood firm, and they appealed once more for help from all freedom-loving people in the world. Those who agree with the demands of the statement are invited to sign the accompanying appeal and send it to CAIFI (853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003).

Only through mobilizing international public opinion can we stay the hands of the Iranian executioners and guarantee the security of these courageous men and women under one of the most repressive regimes of our age. The appeal I have drafted accompanies the statement of the fifty-eight, which I have translated.

Provisions made for the participation of all individuals and social groupings in determining their own destiny, would guarantee the restoration of political esteem to the Iranian nation.

Only that political power is acceptable in our present world which is not based on violence, coercion, deception and mendacity, and does not make the mystification of the majority and corruption of the minority its common policy. The political power in Iran has actually discredited itself by appealing to violence, by demagoguery and fraud, and by choosing the interests of the minority as the only measure for the welfare of the commonwealth.

Only that Executive Power is acceptable in our present world which performs its task through keeping the public completely

informed of everything and through operating in balance with the Legislative and Judiciary bodies. The Executive Power produced by the present regime has come to existence on the basis of consistent weakening of the Legislative and Judiciary bodies, the rejection of the necessity of people's awareness of public affairs, and the ever-expanding and arbitrary rule of the Executive branch. The pretext of the Executive branch in continuing with this policy is on one hand the pretension to guarantee stability and political security, and on the other hand, the complexity of specialized and technical issues. The tripartite powers of the country, as manifestations of the people's will, are equally charged with guaranteeing the stability and political security of the country, and not any one of

them alone is to be allowed to consider itself as the sole guarantor of the stability and political security of the country.

But the reality of the present political regime is of a different nature: One of the three branches of the government, i.e., the Executive branch, has used the pretext of guaranteeing the stability and political security of the country to expand its arbitrary rule. This signifies, unmistakably, the absence of stability and political security, and its adverse effects are irrefutable. Neither does the complexity of specialized and technical issues justify the continuation of the policy of cover-up and camouflage by the Executive branch. It is the duty of an executive branch relying upon a public vote to avoid using the diction and terminology of specialized groups (created to defend and confirm the interests of these groups), and to express public issues in the language of the public, so that the stimuli for public interest and participation in the destiny of the society will be encouraged.

Only that economic order is acceptable in the present world which does not expand through depending on world-ruling economic powers, and does not choose the interests of the minority over those of the majority. The product of the ruling regime of the last twenty-four years has been an economy which, through lending preference to the interests of world groupings over national interests, by choosing the interests of urban population over those of the peasantry and the nomads, and the interests of the dominating minority over those of the dominated majority, has delivered the resources and the capabilities of the country to the hands of international capital.

The interest which the ruling political power receives in this way provides for the continuation of this power's arbitrary rule, and makes the growth of the activities of compradores and middlemen on all levels of social and economic realities possible.

This economy, whenever the protection or the expansion of the interests of world powers and internal minorities justify, indulges in either lavishness and waste in the employment of internal resources, or shows parsimony in the exploitation of existing potentialities.

Only that social and political environment is acceptable in the present world which is not founded upon arbitrary and violent measures, on despotism and repression, on corruption and bribery. The social and political surrounding which is the offspring of the present regime is based on the employment of daily and consistent violence on all levels; it is based on the imposition and encouragement of corruption and bribery, on the insemination of disinterest of people towards public and social affairs; it is based on depriving the individual of his freedom, of his civil and social rights, and is based on diverting

## Appeal for International Support

[Those who agree with the demands of the fifty-eight Iranian human-rights leaders are invited to sign the following appeal, drafted by Reza Baraheni, and send it to the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.]

\* \* \*

To the Government of Iran:

I fully support the demands outlined

in the statement of November 2, 1977, by fifty-eight prominent human-rights activists of Iran, and I demand that your government take the necessary measures to meet the ten democratic demands of these most courageous men and women. I condemn any harassment of these people by your government. I praise the fresh voice of freedom and democracy in Iran, and urge you to listen to this voice and be fully affirmative in your response.

public opinion (through the replacement of essential and real problems by those of secondary importance, and through demagoguery and the alienation of words from deeds). Such a social and political environment is in contradiction on all levels with the public welfare and prosperity of the people.

To speak of culture is acceptable in the present world only when everybody enjoys the free and full possibility of cultivating his talents, and organizes his material and spiritual life on all levels of livelihood, ideology and religion, free of all pressure and coercion. If we consider the daily life pattern of a people as an expressive manifestation of their culture at a certain given period in history, we have to admit that the product of the last twenty-four years is a culture based on blind imitation, on self-negation and assertion of others, on seeking personal interest at the cost of violating other people's rights, on empty, full-blown and breath-taking gaudiness, on unprincipled and lavish expansion of consumerism, on the distortion of history and mutilation of meanings. Such a culture, which is alien to the past culture of Iran, is worthy of no advanced and intelligent nation of our time.

The Iranian society is faced with a deep-seated crisis, and what we just mentioned were only the significant aspects of this crisis. What led, in reality, to this critical situation, was first the harnessing of the economic, social, and cultural life of the country to the interests of the colonial powers, and second, the existence of a gagging political atmosphere and the suppression of social liberties. The frontiers and foundations of the national life of any society in the present world are on one hand determined by the Fundamental Laws of that society, and on the other, through the agreements and commitments of that society in relation to the human society. The present Iranian regime has created this crisis through the violation of the Fundamental Law and through indifference to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The basis for the Fundamental Law of Iran is declaration of the

principle of national sovereignty. "The powers of the State are derived from the people. The Fundamental Law determines the employment of these powers" (Article 26 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law). Thus the basis for the tripartite powers, the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judiciary, is none other than the general will of the Iranian nation, and these three powers perform, on behalf of the people the duties outlined in the Fundamental Law.

The Fundamental Law of Iran has designated only the rule of the people and the democratic regime, and it has invalidated, for the first time in Iranian history, all the principles of absolutism, and the obsolete traditions of autocracy and all the foundations of previous governments. Democracy is based on the free vote of all. From this standpoint, democracy has only one aspect. Democracy embraces all the rights of the people. Wherever there is a guileless general vote, there is democracy. If not, there is only a return to despotism. The basis for the democratic regime is freedom of expression, freedom of voting, and freedom of association. That is why the Fundamental Law of Iran insists on the freedom of association as much as on the freedom of election. Verily, the freedom of association and parties is an indispensable part of the constitutional system.

Therefore, the one-party system which has been imposed on the country is an outright violation of the Fundamental Law and the rejection of free participation of people in determining their own destiny. It is this process of action that has made people disinterested and indifferent to public affairs. The people's disinterest is the consequence of the deeds of a regime that, relying on violence and coercion, has blocked off the road to freedom. Verily, national independence lies in freedom. The country has never been delivered to strangers by freedom-loving people. Conversely, any damage done to the independence and sovereignty of the country was the work of those in charge of the affairs of the nation, who neither felt any political

responsibility, nor could they have any respect for freedom. Freedom is, therefore, indispensable from respect to human rights, the protection of the country's independence and national sovereignty. We want this freedom.

The rationale for the existence of the Fundamental Law is the rejection of the absolutist will. The principle of separation and balancing of powers is a significant tenet in the direction of limiting the irresponsible and arbitrary power of rulers. On the basis of this tenet, the Fundamental Law establishes the individual and common responsibility of the Executive body solely before the Legislative power. "The ministers of the cabinet are responsible in all affairs to the Majles [the two legislative bodies]" (Article 44 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law).

The imposing of limitation on political power is needed in our present world, particularly because governments are employing science and technology to serve their own needs. These governments have gained such a tremendous power that if constant control is not established by the people, the Executive authority will turn in the hands of tyrants into a power that will be unprecedented in the history of despotism.

The government's prerogative is acceptable only when the rights of individuals and social groupings are respected, and the government uses its political power to meet the demands of the people. A government that suppresses ideas it does not find pleasing, and denies professional and political associations the right to organize, has become in practice the government of a minority protecting its own rights. This is the rejection of the prerogative of the government in the democratic regime, and its consequence is the rise of a split between the government and the people. The protest against the government in all its forms (from indifference and distrust to confrontation, violence, and battle), arises from this alienation between the nation and the government.

Taking heed of the causes and essential features of the crisis which is gripping the Iranian society, taking heed of the danger which threatens the life of the society because of this crisis, and taking heed of the duty trusted to every person or every group of the society in this crisis, we the undersigned, declare:

Whereas the Fundamental Law is the fruitage of the Iranian nation's struggle and the blood money of our freedom fighters and no individual will should damage or distort it;

Whereas the basis of the Fundamental Law is founded on the principle that all power is derived from the people; and whereas the people's right to free determination of their own destiny is untransferrable and unimpairable, and any obstruction of this free determination, regardless of its temporary nature, and under what-

ever pretext, endangers the basis of the government of the people by the people, we declare that no authority has the right, either temporarily or under any pretext whatsoever, to obstruct the right of the people to govern, or consider himself as a substitute for, or superior to the national will. Whoever, or whatever authority, acts contrary to this principle, has denied the Fundamental Law and the national will. In such a situation, the people's rally to regain their forsaken right to govern becomes inevitable.

The Fundamental Law of Iran has built the political regime of the country upon the principle of the independence and balance of the tripartite powers (the Legislative, Executive and Judiciary), and, whereas the continuation of such a regime is not possible except through the implementation of the principle of the independence and balance of these powers, and since every imbalance created leads to the predominance of the Executive power and prepares the way for the creation of autocratic rule, we declare that any revision in the direction of destroying this balance and the weakening of the Legislative and Judiciary powers is a blow upon the people's right to govern, and, consequently, makes the protest of the people against such a situation inevitable.

Political, administrative, and economic decentralization, the employment of the free will of individuals and groupings of people of the country in determining their own destiny by means of democratic institutions, city and provincial assemblies and councils, are among the tasks of the government. Any step taken, or any revision introduced, against this principle, makes the people's protest against such a step inevitable.

One of the essential prerequisites for the exertion of the people's right to govern is public awareness of all the problems of the country and the steps the government takes. No authority, therefore, has the right, either temporarily or with the pretext of the high interests of the country, to cover up anything from the eyes of the people or to publish wrong or false information. Any new step in covering up or distorting facts concerning the developments in the country, makes the people's protest against such a situation inevitable. The essential devices for implementation of the people's right to govern are: freedom of expression, freedom of exchange of ideas, and freedom of forming associations. Any step taken in the direction of preventing the formation of associations, freedom of expression, and the exchange of ideas, is a step taken against the people's right for government, and makes the people's protest against such a step inevitable.

The effective factor in the development of individual personality of the people is their complete and free partaking of cultural rights, freedom to organize daily life, free access to various sources of informa-

tion and intelligence, and the safety of all individuals' opinions, behavior, speech, and activity from all kinds of brutality, and direct or indirect, open or hidden, pressure.

Every society is obligated with providing all the required possibilities for the blossoming of everybody's personality. Any step or action taken in the direction of expanding the covert or overt powers of public or private institutions active in the field of cultural affairs, antagonistic to the development and cultivation of an individual's personality or the safety of his private life, will make the people's protest against that step or action inevitable.

Considering what has already been said, and considering the fact that the revival of the people's right to govern is the only, essential, and necessary prerequisite for the resolution of the present crisis, we, the undersigned, declare that only through the realization of the following demands will this great national and liberating goal be achieved.

1. Complete and indivisible implementation of the Fundamental Law of Iran.
2. The release of all political prisoners and the return of all exiled Iranians to the country.
3. Dissolution of the one-party system, freedom of all political parties, religious gatherings and guilds and unions.
4. Freedom of the press and all publications.
5. Freedom of expression and propagation of thought.
6. Dissolution of both legislative bodies, the Majles and the Senate, the dissolution of city councils, and the renewal of elections on the basis of general suffrage.
7. Revival of independence of the Judiciary Power, restitution of general authority of justice courts, and the dissolution of all private judiciary organizations.
8. Dissolution of all organizations and agencies which have violated the individual and social liberties of our people, and have not stopped at committing open or hidden brutalities upon our people.
9. Legal prosecution and punishment of all violators of basic rights and interests of the people and society.
10. The strengthening and advancement of efforts directed at effective implementation of human rights through having the Iranian government join the "Protocol of Supplementary International Agreement of Civil and Political Rights."

We, the undersigned, individually and collectively, accept full responsibility for the writing and signing of this statement. We invite all individuals and groups to join us in the realization of these demands and the implementation of the principles of the Fundamental law.

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2. Ziya Abqa
3. Fereydoun Adamiyat, historian

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2. Ziya Abqa
3. Fereydoun Adamiyyat, historian

4. Abdul-Ali Adib-Boroomand, lawyer and poet
5. Ali-Akbar Akbar, writer
6. Shams Al-Ahmad, writer
7. Abdullah Anvar, writer and scholar
8. Abbas Aqelizadeh
9. Saleh Banafati, geologist
10. Mohammad Basteh-negar
11. Abdul-Ali Bazargan, civil engineer
12. Mehdi Bazargan, former professor and dean of Faculty of Technology, first general director of the National Iranian Oil Company
13. Simin Daneshvar, writer and professor of archeology, Tehran University
14. Ali-Asghar Hadj-Seyed-Javadi, writer
15. Aboufazl Hakimi, physicist
16. Manouchehr Hezarkhani, physician and writer
17. Mohammad-Mehdi Ja'fari, writer and translator
18. Ebrahim Karimabadi, lawyer and journalist
19. Eslam Kazemiyeh, writer
20. Hooshang Keshavarz, sociologist
21. Abdul-Karim Lahiji, lawyer
22. Qasem Larbon, writer
23. Hossein Malek, sociologist
24. Manouchehr Mas'oudi, lawyer
25. Ali Matin-daftari, geologist
26. Hedayatullah Matin-daftari, lawyer
27. Nemat Mirzazadeh, poet and scholar
28. Mojtaba Mofidi
29. Mahmoud Mdini Araqi, member of the Board of Directors of the Lawyers League
30. Hedayat Moosavi
31. Rahmatullah Moqaddam-Maragheie, engineer and scholar
32. Farrukh Morovvati, professor at National University
33. Reza Mortazavi
34. Homa Nateq, historian and professor at Tehran University
35. Hossein Nazih, member of the Board of Directors of the Lawyers League
36. Nasser Pakdaman, professor of economics at Tehran University
37. Baeqer Parham, sociologist
38. Habibullah Peyman, dentist and writer
39. Bahman Pour-Shariati
40. Abul-Qasem Qandhariyan, former professor at College of Arts
41. Abulfazl Qasemi, writer
42. Mohammad Qazi, writer and translator
43. Abbas Radniya, merchant
44. Mohammad-Hossein Roohami
45. Hashem Sabbaghian, civil engineer
46. Ahmad Sadr, lawyer
47. Gholamhosseini Sa'edi, physician and writer
48. Yadullah Sahabi, former professor at Tehran University
49. Kazem Sami, psychologist and writer
50. Karim Sanjabi, former professor at Tehran University, former special judge of the International Justice Court in Laheh
51. Hossein Shah-Hosseini
52. Ali-jan Shansi
53. Mansour Soroosh, lawyer
54. Noor-Ali Tabandeh, lawyer
55. Hossein Tahvildar
56. Mohammad Tavassuli, civil engineer
57. Akhbar Zarrineh-baf
58. Habibullah Zulqadr, journalist

## Continued House Arrest, Resettlement in Labor Camps

### Suharto's 'Release' of Political Prisoners

In a renewed bid to deflect international protests over its treatment of political prisoners, the Suharto regime in Indonesia announced December 20 that it was releasing about 10,000 of them. Most were category "B" prisoners, that is, those who have been held without trial or charges for twelve years since the 1965 coup by General Suharto, in which nearly a million Indonesians were butchered and hundreds of thousands were arrested.

The Suharto regime claims that "only" another 20,000 political prisoners remain in Indonesia's prison camps, and that most of them will be released over the next two years.

However, in a statement issued the day of the Suharto regime's announcement, Amnesty International, the London-based human-rights organization, disputed the government's figures. "There are certainly more than 55,000 people held without trial in Indonesian prisons and labor camps," the group said, "and the correct total is probably as high as 100,000."

Amnesty International then declared that "all remaining untried prisoners should be released immediately and unconditionally . . . ."

Noting that past announcements of the release of prisoners were later found to be untrue, Amnesty International also said that "there is no basis for believing at face value today's government announcement with regard to numbers actually released."

Even if the full 10,000 have been released, however, they continue to face severe restrictions on their civil rights and freedom of movement. Journalists who were allowed to visit the prison island of Buru reported that the prisoners scheduled for release had to first read an oath of allegiance to President Suharto, denounce "Marxism-Leninism," and vow not to sue the regime for having been held without trial.

Although most of the prisoners are now over fifty years old and many of them suffer from tuberculosis, liver ailments, and other diseases, the regime is taking

precautions to ensure that they will have difficulty resuming their political activities. The "freed" prisoners will remain under house arrest for six months and will then be restricted to their home villages for an indefinite period.

One officer of the powerful Kopkamtib (Command for the Restoration of Security and Order) explained, "Because they were communists, security measures must be taken to prevent them developing their communist activities again."

The announced release of the prisoners, moreover, may be little more than part of a vast book-juggling exercise by Kopkamtib, designed to reclassify most political prisoners as "released," while they are in fact still confined to prison colonies.

In 1976, Admiral Sudomo, the head of Kopkamtib, announced that prisoners released in the more outlying islands of the Indonesian archipelago, such as Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi, would be allowed to settle in those areas, in special "resettlement camps." At the same time, prisoners from the heavily populated and politically "sensitive" island of Java would be sent to more remote areas, again restricted to the so-called resettlement camps.

One of the main resettlement areas in this scheme will be Buru—where thousands of political prisoners are already being held. *Time* magazine correspondent Raymond Carroll, who visited Buru, reported in the January 2 issue, "Out of earshot of the guards, prisoners told of savage beatings, sometimes with rifle butts. One prisoner, they said, had committed suicide out of shame after guards sexually abused his young daughter. Some of the inmates also complained of the long hours of labor under the blazing tropical sun."

The regime says that it will allocate land, building materials, animals, and seeds to the prisoners on Buru and other islands to assist them in becoming farmers. But one prisoner told Carroll, "The soil here is not good for farming. But if we don't farm, we don't eat."

One British human-rights publication described the Suharto regime's plans to "release" political prisoners as "nothing but a step towards their transfer to labour camps."

Suharto's continued intention to keep the lid on firmly and to arrest anyone who gets out of line was expressed in another fashion just a few weeks before the announced releases. Sutomo, a prominent leader of the Indonesian independence struggle against Dutch rule, was arrested at his home in Jakarta, the capital, on November 15. Lt. Col. Anas Malik, a government spokesman, said that the regime had objected to speeches Sutomo had made "on several occasions to students at universities and to masses in other places in the city." □

# DOCUMENTS

## Belfast Police Raid Offices of 'Republican News'

[On December 15, the editorial offices of *Republican News*, the most widely circulated publication reflecting the views of the Provisional republican movement in Northern Ireland, were raided by the Loyalist police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary. At the same time, the RUC raided the print shop where the paper was put out. All the equipment and files used in publishing *Republican News* were seized, as well as the current issue and the proofs for the next.]

[The British authorities claimed that the reason for the raids was to investigate the possibility of direct links between Sinn Féin (the political organization of the Provisional republican movement) and the Provisional IRA.

[The RUC is composed mainly of members of the Protestant settler caste, and RUC men, along with members of other Protestant security forces, played the leading role in the 1969 pogroms against Catholic communities. From August 1969 to August 1972, the RUC was effectively kept out of the Catholic ghettos by mass mobilizations.

[In line with their policy of claiming that "order" is being restored in Northern Ireland, the British have been trying to turn more and more repressive operations over to the local Protestant-dominated security forces. This course is called "Ulsterization" by the republicans, in an analogy with the "Vietnamization" policy proclaimed by Washington in the final phase of the Vietnam War.

[The British enclave of Northern Ireland consists of six of the nine counties of the province of Ulster, and is referred to by this name by the pro-British Protestants in an attempt to establish a distinct historical identity for the enclave.

[Following the raids, *Republican News* workers were able to publish a broadsheet giving their analysis of the police operation and outlining their response. The text of this is given below. The footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

In the early hours of last Thursday morning (15th) over 400 members of the hated RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] burgled Sinn Féin "People's Advice Centres" in Belfast, raided the homes of 36 Republicans and deprived us of our main printing press in Lurgan. The telex-machine in our Belfast office was ripped out; small printing presses, literature, the photographic files, posters and type-

writers were all confiscated.

This week's edition of *Republican News* was seized, and also confiscated was the prepared 16-page Christmas edition. Of the 15 people arrested, included were Gerry Brannigan, Chairman Belfast Comhairle Ceanntair [Regional Executive]; Maire Moore, vice-chairman; Malachy Foots, Sinn Féin organiser; Mr Tom Cahill, organiser of Long Kesh transport for Prisoners' relatives;<sup>1</sup> Miss Mary Hickey and Mrs Olive Maguire, part-time typists for the Press Centre.

The homes of distributors of the newspaper were raided and two people were arrested. Former editor Mr Sean Caughey and his son were arrested from their north Belfast home.

The homes of the Editor and Business Manager were also raided, but they were staying with friends at the time and escaped arrest. An attempt to reorganise on Thursday afternoon, shortly before a scheduled Sinn Féin Press Conference, was disrupted when the hated RUC and Brits made a lightning swoop on 170a Falls Road [where the *Republican News* editorial offices were located]. Local people gave warning in good time and no arrests were made.

The raids took place at around 1/2 past 2 a.m. and were carried out mainly by plain-clothes RUC Special Branch [the political division] backed up by the British Army. The prominent role played by the RUC was an indication of the continuing "Ulsterising" of the State Forces. People were given a taste of what life would be like in the New State as envisaged by our British Occupiers.

In Iveagh Street, off the Falls Road, the hated RUC kicked in the doors of a house and dragged a man out of bed with machine-guns to his head, as his two children were screaming.

In another raid, where the son was not at home, the RUC Special Branch threatened to take away a mother and her nine year old son to Castlereagh Torture Centre.

The raids show clearly the fascist tendencies of the State. A direct assault has been made to attempt to close down an *Alternative Information Agency*, and stifle any voice of dissent.

1. Long Kesh concentration camp is located relatively far away from Belfast, from which most of the nationalist prisoners come. Organizations in the Catholic communities have to provide transportation to enable relatives to visit the prisoners.

Sinn Féin in a statement after the raid said:

"[British Secretary for Northern Ireland Roy] Mason's bluster of 'successes' is seen now as really hollow and lacking in confidence when he finds it necessary to deny freedom of speech to the opposition."

"We await with interest the reaction of the British Press who recently condemned the closures of the Black Freedom Newspapers in South Africa."

This week's confiscated edition of *Republican News* outlined in detailed circumstances the assassination earlier in the week of Colm McNutt in Derry. For some time now we have been asserting that the Brit counter-insurgency war (intensified by SAS man General Creasey) is now at the level of political assassination. 18-year-old Colm McNutt, IRSP/INLA<sup>2</sup> member, was shot dead in a car park off Bishop Street last Monday afternoon, by a plain-clothes British Soldier. After the murder the soldier drove away from the scene of the crime and into the Rosemount Barracks.

Last Wednesday afternoon a similar plain-clothes patrol operating in West Belfast's Turf Lodge area was attacked by the Belfast Brigade Irish Republican Army. The undercover agent engaged in dirty spying on the People was killed and all his documents were seized by IRA intelligence.

Unable to defeat the revolutionary Irish Republican Army, unable to counter the truth of Republican propaganda on British Imperialism's dirty war in Ireland and RUC torture, the despairing War Lord Mason has had to sanction assassination to attempt to defeat the people's resistance movements.

To assassinate on a too regular basis is too obvious and would possibly risk disturbing the miserable consciences of the reporters of the English media.

The gap between the assassinations of Jack McCartan and Colm McNutt is short enough to keep us on our guard.

So what stage is the struggle at now that the Brits have clearly invoked suppression of our propaganda?

Ostensibly explaining the raids, arrests and confiscation of machinery, books and papers, the RUC said that "The raids were not directed against Provisional Sinn Féin, but were to establish a criminal conspiracy

2. Irish Republican Socialist Party, Irish National Liberation Army. The IRSP national leadership has protested against the linking of the two organizations in the press.

between that organisation and the Provisional Irish Republican Army."

Poor, poor explanation. What has the confiscation of polemical material, including an attack on an *Independent Ulster*,<sup>3</sup> the seizure of the Tricolour (shades of Divis Street 1964),<sup>4</sup> several black flags,<sup>5</sup> flag-poles, a map of Belfast, a Gaelic map of Eire, Hugh Feeney's prison pamphlet, the theft of 12,000 1978 calendars, £8 of Green Cross<sup>6</sup> money, a radio, a wall clock, and the yellow pages telephone directory got to do with a "criminal conspiracy"? Why they even seized a union-jack [the British flag] and an ugly poster we had of Queen Elizabeth!

The real reason behind the attempt to drive *Republican News* underground is easy to see. In this last year we have been biting into the Brit propaganda's assault on the war of liberation. We have highlighted RUC torture, named the RUC criminals who brutalise people, and would brutalise more if they thought they had the cloak of anonymity and a dopey respect from us of a pro-Brit *sub-judice*<sup>7</sup> process.

We have exposed the UDR [Ulster Defense Regiment, the Northern Ireland militia] as a corrupt regiment of loyalist fascists and murderers.

It was research first undertaken by *Republican News* which established that 80% of people convicted through the non-jury politico/military courts were convicted on the sole evidence of signed statements extracted in the RUC torture centres throughout the Six-Counties [of Northern Ireland]. This was later taken up by other bodies.

We have been an *Alternative Information Agency*, a critical check on total news dissemination by the Brits.

We have explained the nature of the war, explained IRA tactics and strategy, and have theorised on the need for a social revolutionary analysis of the struggle. Our history explains the Brit/RUC attack on our press.

At a Press Dinner earlier in the year Roy Mason made a blunder over a few drinks when he expressed his strong desire that the media should toe the Brit line in

Ireland, and should be controlled.

Three times since August he has attacked the "Thames Television" [an independent station] *This Week* team for making programmes mildly critical of the Queen's visit, detailing conditions for the H-Block<sup>8</sup> prisoners, and exposing RUC methods of interrogation and gaining convictions.

He again attacked the showing of a film on BBC last Thursday night, *The Republicans*, saying that "propaganda is one of the major weapons for any terrorist organisation." What was amazing about this attack was that the programme supported current Brit Theories on the situation!

However, the arrests of the staff of *Republican News* also coincided with the arrests of the senior Sinn Fein personnel in Belfast. Unknown to the general public, the Republican Movement set up three months ago in Belfast a body known as the "Civil Administration." This body of Sinn Fein members and sympathetic workers was to co-ordinate all social activ-

ity in the areas, build up complaint and advice centres, forge even stronger links with the people and build the necessary base for the establishment in two years' time of People's Assemblies.

On a raid some four weeks ago on the New Lodge Road People's Advice Centre the British Army seized files, which was the first indication they got of the extent of the serious committed involvement of the Republican Movement in local issues.

The arrests of senior Sinn Fein personnel is an obvious attempt to break-up the political nucleus of a growing structure.

In recent months the Brit politicians using their law and their war machine have attempted to close down the social clubs, they have attempted to put the People's Taxis<sup>9</sup> off the Falls Road, they have harassed and arrested members of the People's Fire Service, disrupted the distribution of the People's Postal Service in Belfast and Derry, and have heavily fined and jailed political demonstrators. They have now attempted to drive the *Republican News* underground.

Well, we shall *not* go away and we shall *not* be driven underground. In the traditional spirit of Republican resistance, *we shall continue.* □

8. British authorities have refused political status to republican prisoners sentenced since March 1976. Many of these prisoners have refused to accept criminal status and wear convicts' uniforms. They are locked naked in dark cells in the H-Block section of Long Kesh prison camp without any opportunity for exercise in the fresh air and with extremely limited or nonexistent visitors' rights.

9. A community taxi service organized by groups in the Catholic ghettos, which are not adequately served by public transportation.

## John McAnulty Released in Belfast

John McAnulty, general secretary of People's Democracy, was released from Crumlin Road jail in Belfast in mid-December. He had been held "awaiting trial" for five months on the charge of possessing information likely to be of use to terrorists.

The pretrial detention order was renewed weekly, and when McAnulty appeared in court the last time, the prosecutor simply announced that the government had decided not to bring the case to trial. There was no prior notice and no explanation. No compensation was offered for wrongful imprisonment.

In its December 23 issue, the Dublin weekly *Hibernia* commented:

"The state's claim that his finger prints had been found on some maps and pamphlets never had to be tested in court. Yet he could still be put away for over five months in prison.

"He was lucky, in one way. The average length of remand [referral for trial] in the North is 36 weeks, as Roy Mason [the British official in charge of Northern Ireland] told Frank Maguire in Commons recently."

*Hibernia* pointed out, moreover, that this

average included persons charged with common-law offenses, who are held "awaiting trial" much less time than those charged with political offenses. It noted that bail is almost never given to those accused of political offenses. "For 'political' offenders, the remand . . . is much closer to 12 months." □

## Death Sentences in Manila

A military court sentenced three opponents of President Ferdinand E. Marcos's martial-law regime to death November 25.

Following a protest from the U.S. State Department, however, the Philippine dictator ordered a reopening of the trial of the most prominent of them, former Senator Benigno S. Aquino, Jr. Aquino was general secretary of the bourgeois opposition Liberal Party when Marcos declared martial law in 1972.

The oppositionists still sentenced to death are Bernabe Buscayno (known as Commander Dante) of the New People's Army, a Maoist guerrilla group, and Victor Corpuz, a former lieutenant who joined the guerrillas. Buscayno has appealed his sentence.

3. The idea of an independent six-county state has been floated in various forms and at different times by Loyalists and Catholic moderates.

4. Display of the Irish national flag, the tricolor, is specifically banned by Northern Irish law. When police tried to remove it from a republican election campaign office in the Divis Street Catholic ghetto in 1964, mass protests developed. The crowds were attacked by the RUC.

5. Used in funerals and demonstrations of mourning.

6. A republican-oriented organization modeled on the Red Cross.

7. British law prohibits public comment on cases before the courts, or *sub judice*, according to the legal Latin formula.

## **French Planes Napalm Saharan Rebels**

By Ernest Harsch

In scenes reminiscent of their role in previous colonial struggles, French jet fighters are swooping over the deserts of northern Africa in bombing raids against guerrillas fighting for their country's independence.

On at least two occasions in December, French planes rained napalm and phosphorous bombs on guerrilla units of the Polisario Front,\* a group that is fighting for the independence of Western Sahara (a former Spanish colony that was ceded by Spain to Morocco and Mauritania in 1975 against the wishes of the country's inhabitants). According to Polisario sources, scores of persons have been killed in the French attacks.

The French government initially refused to acknowledge that its military forces were involved against the Saharan freedom fighters. But on December 23 French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud was forced to admit as much, following numerous disclosures in the French press. At the same time, he tried to justify the intervention with the well-worn claim of "protecting" French citizens.

"On two separate occasions during the past weeks," de Guiringaud said, "Mauritanian forces have been led to resist attacks by Polisario units under conditions in which French citizens risked being endangered. The Mauritanian government appealed for French assistance and, on two occasions, elements of the French air force went to their aid."

The next day, Mohamed Abdelaziz, the general secretary of Polisario, sent a message to the African heads of state calling on them "to condemn the direct and massive intervention of French forces, notably planes, against the Saharan people."

The French government of Giscard d'Estaing, which had encouraged the original Moroccan and Mauritanian annexation of Western Sahara, laid the groundwork for its own direct intervention in October 1977. As a pretext, it seized on the capture of eight French nationals by Polisario commandos operating in Mauritania to whip up public sentiment against the Saharan guerrillas.

Under the guise of fighting "terrorism," the Giscard regime expelled eight Polisario representatives from France, reinforced its garrison in Senegal (just south of Mauritania), sold Mirage jets to the Moroccan

regime, and put its 11th paratroop division on alert.

On December 2, during a Polisario attack against the Mauritanian garrison at Boulanouar, French planes began their operations. According to a Polisario statement, one French Jaguar was shot down and its pilot was killed.

A little more than a week later, on December 12, Polisario troops attacked a train between Nouadhibou and Zouérate. The Mauritanian foreign minister warned the same day that the Giscard regime would intervene "more firmly" on the side of the Mauritaniens.

On December 14-15, French air units based in Dakar, Senegal, began their second major assault against Polisario, attacking the same guerrilla column involved in the operation on the Nouadhibou-Zouérate railway. According to Polisario, French Jaguars and Breguet-Atlantics dropped napalm and phosphorous bombs, killing several dozen Saharan troops and about fifty Mauritanian prisoners of war.

French planes again went into action December 18, this time against a Polisario unit that was attacking the Tmeimchat garrison in Western Sahara. Polisario reported that fifteen of its own troops, as well as several dozen Mauritanian prisoners, were killed in the bombing raids.

Although the French government now admits that its planes participated in the latter two clashes with Polisario, it denies that it used napalm or phosphorous bombs.

However, Polisario was able to present several Mauritanian prisoners who survived the December 14-15 attack to French reporters. "The planes dived toward us very quickly, dropped their missiles, and reascended," one of them explained. "What kind of missiles? Sometimes a plane released a liquid, oil I think. Another followed and fired at the liquid, which burst into flames immediately. Other planes dropped bombs. They exploded on the ground and burned. I think they were napalm."

Two of the Mauritanian survivors carried visible evidence of the kind of bombs used by the French: Their arms and backs were burned.

Although Paris has tried to present its intervention in Sahara as necessary for the protection of French citizens, it is significant that most of the attacks occurred *after* Polisario had agreed to release the eight French nationals that it had

taken prisoner.

Despite the murderous attacks, however, Polisario adhered to its agreement and released the eight on December 23. It said that it did so in the interests of "solidarity between the French and Saharan peoples."

The real reasons for French intervention against Polisario have, of course, nothing to do with safeguarding French nationals. What Giscard is concerned with safeguarding above all is French imperialism's worldwide economic and political interests.

The French imperialists have long had important economic stakes in Mauritania (which was a direct colony until 1960), especially in the country's iron ore mines. The French oil company Elf-Erap is involved in oil exploration in the part of Sahara now under Moroccan administration. And French banking interests are connected with the exploitation of Sahara's extremely rich phosphate deposits.

Defense Minister Yvon Bourges himself stressed Paris's broader aims December 17, declaring that France, "being one of the major industrial and commercial powers must be alert to the conditions in which its supplies [of raw materials] are secured. It is in considering such matters that one can talk of our military capabilities as being directly tied to the country's action abroad, as supporting our foreign policy and strengthening our diplomacy."

Besides the French bombing raids against the Saharans, there were two similar cases of direct French military intervention in Africa in 1977. In April, Giscard provided pilots and planes to airlift 1,500 Moroccan troops to Zaïre, to help the Mobutu Sese Seko regime put down a rebellion in the province of Shaba. A number of French military "advisers" were also sent. And in July Paris announced that it had provided "logistical support" to the regime in Chad in its war against Touba rebels in the northern part of that country.

The French aggression against Polisario has not gone unchallenged. Both the French Socialist and Communist parties condemned the bombing raids. On December 22, the Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, French section of the Fourth International, released a statement demanding "the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the French troops from Africa."

And in Bilbao, an industrial center in the Basque country in Spain, several thousand demonstrators turned out to protest the French intervention in Sahara. □

\*Frente Popular para la Liberación del Sahara y Río de Oro (People's Front for the Liberation of Sahara and Rio de Oro).