

# Intercontinental Press

combined with **IMPREGOR**

Vol. 16, No. 12

© 1978 by Intercontinental Press

March 27, 1978

USA 75¢

UK 30p

## The Israeli Blitzkrieg



Part of 160,000 Palestinian refugees who fled from invading Israeli army. Bombed and shelled out of their

homes, these refugees crowd near Red Cross headquarters in Beirut appealing for food and shelter. See p. 354.

### French Elections

## CP and SP Succeed in Losing Majority Vote

## The Israeli Blitzkrieg

By Michael Baumann

In blitzkrieg style, 25,000 Israeli troops backed by tanks, armored personnel carriers, heavy artillery, bombers, jet fighters, and gunboats invaded southern Lebanon March 14.

Striking without warning by sea, air, and at three major points along the sixty-mile border, the invaders inflicted heavy civilian casualties and occupied an area of almost 400 square miles. For all practical purposes, Lebanon's Litani River has now become Israel's northern border.

Officially the invasion was described by Israeli authorities as a "retaliation" against "terrorist bases" for a Palestinian commando operation in Tel Aviv March 11 that resulted in the deaths of forty-four persons.

The hypocrisy of this claim is demonstrated by the fact that the Israeli invaders reserved their heaviest fire for villages, cities, and camps housing hundreds of thousands of Lebanese civilians and Palestinian refugees.

The truth is that just as Hitler's occupation forces held entire towns responsible for acts of resistance, a government claiming to represent the Nazi dictator's former victims has murdered hundreds of Arab men, women and children who had nothing to do with terrorism.

According to reports compiled by the United Nations as of March 18, 700 Lebanese and Palestinians had been killed, an unknown number wounded, and a minimum of 160,000 made homeless.

A glimpse of the horror unleashed by the Begin government is given in a dispatch from Beirut in the March 16 *New York Daily News*:

"Despite Israeli claims that they sought only military targets, many reports reaching Beirut said that civilian centers, including a hospital in Damour, were hit. Casualties were reported high.

"Dr. [Fahti] Arafat pointed to a bleeding woman and white sacks containing the bodies of two children.

"Do these look like military targets?" he asked. "They rocketed the camps indiscriminately."

"Witnesses reported hundreds of south Lebanese villagers, feet caked with mud and faces covered with tears and sweat, frantically trying to scramble away from Israeli tanks and warplanes."

The cold-blooded brutality of the operation is so apparent that it led Pope Paul VI to lodge a strong protest. Evidently seeking to voice the feelings of tens of millions

of people around the world, he condemned the Israeli government March 17 for its "indiscriminate bombardments on defenseless refugee camps and Lebanese cities."

To call things by their right name, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon is an act of genocide.

Zenid Iabib Terzi, the representative of the Palestinian Liberation Organization to the United Nations, was correct when he said March 15, "the declared aim in the attack is to eliminate the Palestinians" and this is "tantamount to genocide."

Begin himself said the day before the invasion that his aim was to "cut off the evil arm" of the Palestinians. Other Israeli officials, speaking anonymously, were even more blunt.

"From the Israeli side," Geoffrey Godsell reported in the March 16 *Christian Science Monitor*, the declared intent is "to clear out the Palestinian infestation once and for all."

Among the areas of "infestation" suffering the greatest civilian casualties were the cities of Damour and Tyre, the Ouzai section of Beirut, and the refugee camps of Sabra, Burs al-Bardigh, and Shatila.

Damour, which housed refugees from the previously destroyed camp of Tell Zaatar, was flattened by the U.S.-supplied Israeli bombers.

Ouzai was bombed by six Israeli planes, which then turned and strafed the refugee camps at Burs al-Bardigh and Shatila, killing at least forty persons.

A description of Ouzai after the bombing, printed in the March 17 *Daily News*, gives an excellent example of what the Begin government really means by the term "terrorist base":

"Ouzai is not a Palestinian fortress complete with drill fields, massed tanks, and elaborate barricades," Pete Hamill reported; "it is a neighborhood within the city limits of Beirut, made of wood and brick houses. The houses climb a hill, and the Israeli planes had smashed away several blocks of buildings in the center of the slope. From the road, it was obvious that any pilot that bombed that neighborhood had to know that some innocent people would die."

The March 11 PLO commando operation provided the pretext for the invasion. The blitzkrieg operation was apparently already planned; all that was required was a plausible excuse.

Although the "purification" of Lebanon is the most brutal operation yet carried out

by the Israeli regime against its northern neighbor, the truth is that in all other respects it represents nothing new.

The policy of grabbing territory under this or that pretext is as old as Zionism. That was how the state of Israel was established in the first place, and that is how it has grown to its present size—seven times larger than at its founding in 1948.

The timing of the current move was dictated by tactical considerations.

In face of labor unrest, a deteriorating economic situation, rifts in his own governmental coalition, and declining support from Zionists abroad, Begin badly needed such a diversion. Politically and militarily, Sadat's de facto recognition of Israel freed Begin's hands.

Prior to the PLO commando raid, Begin's policy of kicking Sadat in the teeth and sponsoring new settlements in the occupied territories had been openly opposed by some of the best-known figures in the Zionist establishment.

Among those who urged a more "moderate" course were former prime ministers Golda Meir and Yitzhak Rabin, former Foreign Minister Abba Eban, and leading members of his own cabinet, including Defense Minister Ezer Weizman.

In February, Begin's cabinet actually split over whether to press ahead with new settlements in face of worldwide opposition. To paper over these differences as much as possible, cabinet meetings called to discuss the settlements were held under a special law that made it a crime to reveal anything that had been said at them.

Even most of the leaders at the World Zionist Congress, which met in Jerusalem in February, "reportedly were critical of Israel's settlements policy and argued that it creates difficulties for them in explaining Israel's position in the negotiations with Egypt," the *Washington Post* reported February 27.

On March 6, Weizman threatened to resign as defense minister over the question, leading to speculation in the Israeli press that Begin's government was "falling apart."

At the same time, support for Israel among the American people, which is vital to assure a continuing flow of arms, was found to have eroded sharply. A Gallup poll taken after Sadat's visit to Washington showed that the percentage of Americans who said their sympathies were "basically with Israel" had fallen from 48% to 33%.

A report in the *New York Times* March 8 summarized Begin's situation as follows:

"The Prime Minister's positions have come under increasing criticism from the opposition Labor Party and from nonpolitical groups in Israel concerned that a major chance for a Mideast peace may be vanishing because of Mr. Begin's policies. . . .

"Much of it is being kept back until the Prime Minister has talked with Mr. Carter.

"The criticism may well be a great deal louder and out in the open when he returns."

At that time, Begin was scheduled to visit Washington March 14; he chose instead to launch the invasion of Lebanon that day. His calculation was that no government in the world would try to stop him, and that the move would temporarily silence his domestic critics. He was correct on both points.

Washington's initial response was silence, which could be interpreted only as approval. "There is no anger here over the massive Israeli thrust into Lebanon," James Wieghart reported from Washington in the March 17 *Daily News*. "... the Israeli retaliatory raid was anticipated and understood by President Carter and his advisers. . . ."

"The magnitude and daring of the Israeli response . . . won secret admiration in some quarters. . . ."

Carter did call, on March 18, for Israeli troops to withdraw in favor of UN "peace-keeping" forces but this was well understood by Begin to be strictly for the sake of appearances.

Moscow, for its part, deplored the invasion as a "new, abrupt sharpening of the situation in the Middle East." This, too, was correctly interpreted in Jerusalem as very near the minimum the Kremlin bureaucrats could have said under the circumstances.

As for his southern flank, Begin had already been freed of any worry there by Sadat's misnamed "peace" initiative.

David Frankel pointed this out in our December 19 issue: "a deal with Sadat would greatly strengthen Israel's already dominant military position, and encourage the Zionists to engage in adventures in Lebanon and against Syria. In the long run it would make war more likely."

The Syrian government, which has made the most noise recently about defending the interests of the Palestinians, initially did nothing more than express its "strong concern" about the invasion.

On March 18 it opted for the face-saving gesture of offering to "open its borders" to military forces or supplies to aid the Palestinians, while pointedly offering none of its own. Made crystal clear was the fact that Damascus's 30,000 troops stationed in Lebanon would not lift a finger unless directly attacked themselves.

In Israel itself, the prior doubts and rifts vanished as all supporters of Zionism rallied around the "beleaguered" Begin government and fortress Israel.

The result is that Begin comes to Washington, in a visit now rescheduled for March 21, as a genocidal butcher.

The seal of approval will come when Carter congratulates his blood-soaked guest for a job well done so far as the basic interests of American imperialism are concerned. □

## In This Issue

Closing News Date: March 19, 1978

ISRAEL	356	Israel Begins to Dispense With "Democratic" Mask—by Y. Saleh
FRANCE	357	CP and SP Succeed in Losing Majority Vote —by Gerry Foley
PANAMA	359	U.S. Senators OK Revised "Neutrality" Treaty—by Fred Murphy
USA	359	Hitlerites Persuaded to Knock It Off in St. Louis
	365	Coal Miners Ignore Carter's Back-to-Work Order—by Matilde Zimmermann
SOVIET UNION	360	Grigorenko Launches Fight to Regain Citizenship—by Peter Seidman
	360	Rostropovich Stripped of Citizenship
	360	Grigorenko's Statement to the Press
	361	Grigorenko's Appeal to Supreme Soviet
SWEDEN	364	Secret Deal to Avoid Fireworks at CP Congress—by Goté Kildén
	364	Excerpt From "Democratic Manifesto"
WEST GERMANY	366	The Russell Tribunal on Blacklisting —by Jon Britton
CANADA	367	Canadians Warned on Radioactive Snow
COLOMBIA	368	The First Stage of the Elections
SOUTH AFRICA	370	Black Activists on Trial
NETHERLANDS	371	40,000 March Against Nuclear Power —by Matt Robson
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	372	Worker Dissidents Blacklisted —by Hector Sandor
IRAN	374	In Defense of the Writers Association
	374	Shams Al-Ahmad Arrested in Tehran
INDIA	375	Behind Gandhi's Comeback at the Polls
	383	Wall Street Eyes More Investments —by Sharad Jhaveri
CHINA	379	Peking Dresses Up Its Theory of "Three Worlds"—by Livio Maitan
NEWS ANALYSIS	354	The Israeli Blitzkrieg —by Michael Baumann
SELECTIONS FROM THE LEFT	362	
DOCUMENTS FROM OUR READERS	376	For Socialist Democracy in Poland!
DRAWINGS	384	
	367	Willy Brandt; 375, Indira Gandhi; 378, Edward Gierak; 381, Mao Tsetung—by Copain

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Editor: Joseph Hansen.

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

Managing Editor: Michael Baumann.

Editorial Staff: Jon Britton, Gerry Foley, Ernest Harsch, Fred Murphy, Susan Waid, Matilde Zimmermann.

Business Manager: Harvey McArthur.

Copy Editor: David Martin.

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

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

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it re-

fects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

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

In Europe: For air-speeded subscriptions, write to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England. In Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 151, Glebe 2037. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 1663, Wellington.

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

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

Intercontinental Press is published by the 406 Printing and Publishing Corporation, 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Offices at 408 West Street, New York, N.Y.

Copyright ©1978 by Intercontinental Press.

## Israel Begins to Dispense With 'Democratic' Mask

By Y. Saleh

Anyone who knows what Zionism means for the Palestinian masses—expulsions, thefts of land, torture, and massacres—may well wonder what meaning the concept of democratic rights can have in Israel, and how much further attacks on human rights can go in the Zionist state.

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that real democratic rights exist within the Israeli territories occupied before June 1967, at least for the Jewish population. Israeli democracy is a luxury that the Zionist state was able to afford once the bulk of the Palestinian population had been expelled beyond its borders, given the aid of a national consensus, a "holy union" that would make most of the bourgeois regimes worldwide blanch with envy.

However, Zionist "democracy" represents a basic contradiction. A colonial state in permanent conflict with its surroundings, a military bastion under siege, cannot easily tolerate democratic norms, even when they are applied to the colonialist population. History has repeatedly proved that a people that oppresses another people cannot itself be free.

In fact, after the 1967 war, the brutal, terrorist methods used by the Israeli forces against the occupied Palestinian population gradually began to have an impact on political and social relations among the Jewish population—antistrike legislation, putting workers under military orders, reinforcing the "moral climate," censorship, and so on.

The electoral triumph of the Zionist far right partly reflects this stiffening of the Israeli state, and it was with good reason that the majority of commentators predicted, when Menahem Begin's party won, that the Jewish state was bound to undergo a harshening of its internal climate.

While during the first six months of the new government, it might have seemed that no new attacks had been launched on the democratic rights of the Israeli population, a series of incidents and official measures in the last few weeks foreshadow a new wave of repression.

One of the first indications that the regime's stance was hardening was the arrest and indictment of Hans Lebrecht, one of the veteran contributors to *Zu Haderach*, the weekly paper of the Israeli Communist Party.

Lebrecht was suspected of "contact with a foreign agent," based on information that he acknowledges having supplied to a

Cypriot colleague, the Communist journalist Panayotis Pascalis, who was also arrested in Israel for contacts he allegedly had in the past with members of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

This double arrest is a warning to the entire left. What Hans Lebrecht did (giving a colleague the Israeli census yearbook and official maps of the Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, which the Ministry of Information distributes free to anyone who asks for them), dozens of others have done before him.

By arresting Lebrecht for such commonplace activities, the authorities want to clamp the lid on the contacts that nearly all the left groups, including the Zionists, have with PLO representatives, and to warn all of the left organizations that if they do not pull back from these activities, the government will consider itself forced to crack down.

Alongside this attack on the CP, several anti-Zionist groups have been subjected to renewed harassment for some time. A vicious media campaign has been launched by Amnon Lin, a deputy in the Knesset from the Likud Party and a specialist in Arab questions, against the activities of the Palestinian Communist Group and the Revolutionary Communist League in Haifa.

A veritable witch-hunt is under way among high-school students in that city to ferret out possible troublemakers. Wiretapping and mail opening are becoming more and more blatant, and several members and sympathizers of the RCL have been summoned to interrogations by the security department, as though the latter were seeking to collect information with a view to possibly indicting several of its leaders.

The censorship of a television film, "The Ruins of Hizeh," is another indicator. The film is about the expulsion of the Palestinians during the 1948 war, and was written by one of the most famous Zionist writers, who is also a former deputy of the Zionist right. The attempt to ban it symbolizes the effort by the Ministry of Culture, where the National Religious Party (Likud) has become dominant, to take control of the official means of communication.

So far, repression has hit Arab students the hardest. In fact, after the radical slates run by the Union of Arab Students in Haifa and Jerusalem won the student elections, an unprecedented campaign was launched by right-wing students, with the

active support of all the Zionist media, against the Arab students.

Under pressure from the student confederations, the university authorities decided to withdraw the right of the Union of Arab Students to use meeting rooms on the Jerusalem university campus, and to prohibit them from exercising any democratic rights (handing out leaflets, setting up literature tables), which are generally granted to student groups.

Not to be outdone, the Jerusalem police prohibited the Arab students from organizing a demonstration against the plan for "autonomy" of the Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. For several weeks, a virtual pogrom atmosphere has prevailed on the Jerusalem campus.

But its recent measures, such as the arrest of Hans Lebrecht or censorship of "The Ruins of Hizeh," and by the general atmosphere that the official propaganda generates among the population, the Begin government is preparing to undermine a whole series of rights that existed up to now.

To be sure, in two basic ways the present government is continuing the main points of the policy of previous Labor governments. First, by refusing to recognize the Palestinians as a national entity and repressing all attempts at encouraging nationalist manifestations on the part of the Palestinian Arab people. Second, by gradually but inexorably limiting democratic rights, as all colonialist societies must.

It may well be, then, that if the Labor government were still in power it would be taking the same measures that Begin is now. That is why it is misleading and dangerous to wage a fight to protect democratic rights today under the banner of a struggle against the governmental coalition, focusing on the fact that, after all, under the Labor governments, such methods were unthinkable.

On the contrary, the duty of revolutionists today is to struggle fiercely against all new attacks on democratic rights. With that aim, we must reject all sectarian approaches, even toward some Zionist currents that are willing to fight on this issue.

But it is equally important to carry on unceasing propaganda around the logic of these latest repressive moves, which are bound up with the very nature of the Zionist regime. □

# French CP and SP Succeed in Losing Majority Vote

By Gerry Foley

The first round of the French legislative elections, held March 12, resembled recent elections in Portugal. It was clear that a majority of the French people want major social changes. But the mass workers parties did everything possible to avoid getting a mandate to carry out even their limited program of reforms. They managed to throw away the commanding lead they held in the preelection period.

On the eve of the electoral campaign, the Union of the Left alliance broke up. The Communist Party refused to make any commitment right up to the March 12 election that it would not split the working-class vote on the second round.

CP leaders said that they would decide only after the election whether to withdraw in favor of Socialist Party candidates where the latter came in ahead. They indicated that they would only back SP candidates in the second round if their own vote was high enough in the first. They conducted a sectarian campaign against the SP during the preelection period.

The two main workers parties openly trying to knife each other in the back could not help but discourage potential left voters. The bourgeoisie and its representatives had made it clear that the election of a left government would mean a deepgoing crisis. Tensions were sharpening rapidly and a flight of capital funds was already under way.

In this context the spectacle of sectarian infighting between the CP and the SP could hardly inspire confidence that they could deal with the crisis that would result from their victory. Neither party offered responsible and determined leadership for the working class as a whole.

Nonetheless, the opposition to the bourgeois parties and the system they defend continued to mount. The government parties\* together got only 44.05% of the vote. Independent candidates backing Valéry Giscard d'Estaing got another 2.40%. Thus the total progovernment vote was about 46.4%, a definite minority.

The various independent rightist and ultrarightist candidates got 2.78%, bringing the total bourgeois vote up to 49.27%

(not counting the vote of the small bourgeois party in the Union of the Left, which has to be looked at separately).

The Communist Party got 20.57%, and the Socialist Party, 22.60%. Thus their combined vote was 43.17%. This was somewhat less than the combined vote of the two government parties. However, the working-class vote was notably less concentrated than that for the bourgeois parties.

Five groups that are identified as standing to the left of the CP and SP got almost a million votes (out of a total of 28,541,062 valid ballots cast), or 3.34% of the vote.

Among these parties, the centrist Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU—United Socialist Party) got the largest vote in most cases. However, Trotskyist groups accounted for a substantial part of the so-called far-left score. Lutte Ouvrière (LO—Workers Struggle) ran 471 candidates and got an average vote of 1.7%.

The Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League) participated in an electoral agreement with two other groups, the CCA (Comités Communistes pour l'Autogestion—Communist Committees for Self-Management), and the Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs (OCT—Communist Workers Organization). In all, these three groups put up 250 candidates. In general, the districts were divided up and each group presented its own program where its candidates ran.

The March 14 issue of *Rouge*, the daily paper of the LCR, reported that the candidates of the three groups got an average of 0.9% in the constituencies they contested.

Although the vote of the groups identified as to the left of the SP and CP was somewhat down from 1973, the decline was relatively slight. *Rouge* noted that the stability of this vote was significant given the highly polarized nature and expected closeness of the elections, as well as the fact that the CP had adopted a more left-sounding rhetoric for the sake of its campaign against the SP.

In addition, so-called ecology candidates, that is, candidates who oppose the environmental damage done by the capitalist economy without clearly identifying with the working-class movement, got more than 612,000 votes, or 2.14% of the total.

Thus, all the groups that represent rebellion of one kind or another against the capitalist system won at least 48.65% of the vote. In addition, the Left Radicals,

one of the component parties of the Union of the Left and which ran as an ally of the SP in this election, got 2.12% of the vote. So, the total vote for a left alternative to the present government was 50.74%, an overall majority.

These all-France figures, moreover, do not take account of the groups that ran candidates specifically appealing to the minority nationalities in the French state. In Brittany, for example, the Union Démocratique Bretonne (UDB—Breton Democratic Union), a group that claims to support Breton autonomy from a socialist standpoint, ran candidates in seventeen of the thirty-three election districts. It got a total of about 20,000 votes out of the total Breton vote of 2,020,000, or just under 1%.

The UDB got only a token vote in the most populous of the Breton départements, Loire-Atlantique, in which the city of Nantes is located. Previously, there had been little Breton nationalist activity there. The UDB ran candidates in only two of the eight districts.

In Finistère, one of the départements where most users of the Breton language are concentrated, the UDB ran candidates in seven out of eight districts, and got 2.21% of the vote. This compares with about 13% for the CP in this département.

Some nationalist groups with demonstrated mass support, such as the Corsican groups, did not run candidates.

In many cases, the ecology candidates also had a minority nationalist coloration. Such candidates ran up totals in certain areas such as the Rhine River Valley, where France's nuclear reactors are to be concentrated, that were much larger than the all-France ecology vote. Many areas within this region are also Germanic in culture.

A women's group running on a platform for abortion reform, Choisir (Choice), got a significant vote in a few areas. A homosexual group ran some candidates, raising the question of homosexual rights, but did not get a large vote.

Overall, the results show that a united front of working-class parties championing the cause of all sections of the French people in revolt against the capitalist order could easily have won a clear majority in the first-round election.

Likewise, the results show that the claims of the CP and SP leaderships about the need for making alliances with bourgeois forces to get an electoral majority for a "left" government are totally false. Much

\*The Rassemblement pour la République (RPR—Rally for the Republic), the rightist party led by Chirac; and the Union pour la Démocratie Française (UDF—Union for French Democracy), the more liberal formation led by Giscard d'Estaing.

of even the small vote that the Left Radicals got was a gift from the Socialist Party, which called on its membership to vote for them in some districts.

The vote for the ecology candidates alone was larger than that for the Left Radicals, to say nothing of the vote for the groups that are identified as standing to the left of the CP and SP, which was almost twice the size of the vote of the Left Radicals.

Nonetheless, following the first-round vote, the SP and CP reconfirmed their alliance with the Left Radicals. The relationship of forces shown by the first-round elections makes it absolutely clear that the purpose of this bloc is to demonstrate to the French bourgeoisie that the SP and CP leaders are determined not to form a government responsible to the workers and toiling masses that are calling for advances toward socialism.

Results in specific districts demonstrated that SP and CP voters were unwilling to cast their ballots for bourgeois candidates. In the second district of Charente, the SP officially withdrew in favor of a Left Radical. However, the local SP branch refused to accept the national leadership's decision and ran its own candidate. The Left Radical got 17.1% of the vote. But the dissident SP candidate got 13.6%, which was more than the SP got in the 1973 election when there was no Left Radical candidate in the district.

In the first district of Val-d'Oise, the CP withdrew in favor of a "Progressive Gaullist." But they were unable to deliver anything like their normal vote to their bourgeois protégé. The CP vote in this district in 1973 was 26.6%. The "Progressive Gaullist" got only 17.07%.

Likewise, in the second district of the département of Alpes-Maritimes, the CP withdrew its candidate in favor of the "left Gaullist" General Binoche but was unable to deliver its traditional vote, a considerable section of which went over to the SP.

In the second district of Aveyron, where the CP ran against the Left Radical leader Robert Fabre, its vote went up 3.7% (while its all-France vote declined slightly). In the same district, the combined vote for a candidate of LO and an "Occitanian socialist" was 4.5%.

In fact, a peculiar phenomenon occurred in the traditional strongholds of both the CP and SP that indicated an uneasiness among the masses of workers that know these parties best. *Rouge* pointed this out in its March 14 issue:

"The Communist Party suffered a general attrition of its vote in Paris and its bastions in the suburbs. . . . In most cases, it was the SP that profited from this, and on a few rare occasions, the far left. This is paradoxical when you consider the themes of the CP campaign (which concentrated its fire on the SP). Where it had the

strongest support, it failed to convince its followers."

Georges Marchais himself, the CP general secretary, made a poor showing in his district, while the SP vote there rose by 5%. The CP's losses in its heartland were compensated for by gains in forty districts into which it has expanded only recently. The same pattern held for the SP. *Rouge* noted:

"In the SP strongholds, we saw a corresponding trend. The CP gained at the expense of the SP."

The most the Stalinists could claim to have gained by their sectarian campaign against the SP was that they maintained more or less their long-time share of the vote, losing only about 1% as compared with the 1973 legislative elections.

The media, both in France and abroad, claimed that the SP was the biggest loser, since its vote was much lower than the 28% that had been projected by some polls. However, to a large extent, the party's score was distorted by its giveaway of votes to the Left Radicals.

Ironically, the SP made a mistake analogous to that made by the Portuguese CP in 1975. It divided its vote to build up a client party, and thus made itself look weaker than it really was. The SP's error is even worse in fact, because while the Portuguese Democratic Movement was a creature of the CP, the SP by no means controls the Left Radicals. In fact, in its anxiety to placate its only bourgeois ally, it tends to let the tail wag the dog.

In any case, the lesson of the election for the SP is exactly the opposite of what the *New York Times* claimed in its editorial on the election, when it said:

"Their [the SP's] strategy for bringing the left to power with the aid of Communist votes is what the balloting chiefly repudiates—perhaps for a long time."

In fact, the results showed that the SP's appeal to voters depended primarily on its dropping its old Social Democratic image. Its alliance with the CP and its overtures to young rebels and new social opposition movements brought it back from the dead. When it tried, in this election, to prove its moderation and its ability to "resist pressure from the CP," its advance slowed to a crawl.

The relative setback for the mass working-class parties came as a bitter disappointment to the workers and aroused joy and a resurgence of confidence in bourgeois circles.

The announcement of the results was followed by the biggest boom on the Paris stock market since the Anglo-French invasion of Suez in 1956. According to the *New York city daily Trib*, one stockbroker said: "I've never seen anything like it in 50 years." Stock prices soared 12.5% in one day.

In its March 14 issue, *Rouge* reported the attitude of workers at Renault-Billancourt,

one of the largest factories in the Paris area:

"Everyone is discussing. . . . In the shops, little groups of activists constantly formed. They thought that one thing was certain, the increase in the percentage [for the workers parties] was a victory. But a foreboding undermined this confidence, the fear that the workers parties would not get enough deputies to form a government, unless—

"Unless 'they stop being asses,' as a lot of rank-and-file workers are saying. That is the way the attitude of the CP and SP has been seen for months. They are acting like fools who may spoil everything. Among those who support the CP and vote for it, sentiment for unity is very strong. . . .

"The attitude of CP members is quite different. They are ready to apply the line, even if the party decides to run against the SP on the second round. . . .

"The slight decline of the CP vote did not surprise them. One said:

" 'Some people wanted to cut us down to 15%. But we held firm.' "

Nonetheless, it is clear that the CP came under tremendous pressure not to split the working-class vote in the second round. Immediately after the elections, representatives of the Union of the Left parties met and then announced that they had restored the unity of the bloc.

However, the SP and CP leaderships have amply demonstrated that they are not interested in waging a strong united campaign against the bourgeois parties.

In its March 14 issue, *Rouge* called on all revolutionists to join in a campaign to mobilize the support needed to assure an SP-CP victory in the second-round election on March 19. The other major Trotskyist groups, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste and LO, have issued similar appeals. □

**Still Available**  
**Complete Back Files (Unbound)**  
**Intercontinental Press**

1967	42 issues (1,072 pages)	\$25
1968	44 issues (1,176 pages)	\$25
1969	43 issues (1,152 pages)	\$25
1970	43 issues (1,120 pages)	\$25
1971	45 issues (1,128 pages)	\$25
1972	47 issues (1,448 pages)	\$25
1973	46 issues (1,520 pages)	\$25
1974	47 issues (1,888 pages)	\$25
1975	47 issues (1,888 pages)	\$35
1976	49 issues (1,888 pages)	\$35
1977	48 issues (1,456 pages)	\$35

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

# Senators OK Revised Panama 'Neutrality' Treaty

By Fred Murphy

By a vote of 68 to 32, the U.S. Senate on March 16 ratified the so-called Neutrality Treaty on the Panama Canal—one of two pacts signed last September by President Carter and Panamanian dictator Omar Torrijos.

The Neutrality Treaty states that the canal is to "remain secure and open" after ownership and operation of the waterway passes to Panama in the year 2000 (as provided in the second treaty, which the Senate is now considering).

Washington's permanent ability to use military force in "defending the canal's neutrality" was tacitly accepted by Torrijos at the outset, although this was omitted from the treaty to facilitate putting across the pacts in Panama.

Now, however, the version voted by the Senate includes an explicit formulation of Washington's "right to take such steps as it deems necessary . . . including the use of military force" if the canal should be closed for any reason. Senator Dennis DeConcini of Arizona sponsored this alteration, saying it would make it possible to deal with "labor unrest or strikes, the actions of an unfriendly government, political riots or upheavals."

Although in the form of a "reservation" and not a formal amendment, the clause must be accepted by the Panamanian government before the treaties can be legally binding.

Other changes made by the Senate in the Neutrality Treaty include an amendment giving U.S. warships priority passage through the canal in the event of "need or emergency," and a reservation affirming Washington's option to seek approval from Panama for keeping military bases and troops in the country after the year 2000.

The latter effectively negates Article V of the treaty, itself an infringement of Panamanian sovereignty. (" . . . only the Republic of Panama shall . . . maintain military forces, defense sites and military installations within its national territory.")

Carter and Torrijos would have much preferred leaving these points in the form of secret commitments. The White House nevertheless went along with the amendments in order to secure the sixty-seven votes needed for ratification.

Carter hailed the vote as "a promising step toward a new era in our relationships with Panama and all of Latin America."

There was a different reaction in Pan-

ama. Alan Riding reported from Panama City in the March 18 *New York Times*: "Instead of the expected euphoria at the Senate's approval of the first of the two canal pacts, the mood here was grim. 'This is not a day for celebration,' Panama's chief of government, Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos Herrera, reportedly told aides. 'There is nothing to celebrate.' . . ."

"General Torrijos was said to be 'furious' at the last-minute reservation . . . granting Washington the right to act 'independently' in sending troops to Panama to reopen the canal if it is ever closed."

In openly putting on paper what was implicit in the treaties from the beginning—continued U.S. domination of Panama—the Senate has greatly complicated Torrijos's position. His carefully

cultivated image as an anti-imperialist was already tarnished by earlier concessions to Washington. Now he must either reject the Senate reservations—and risk Carter's wrath over the failure of the face-lift operation—or else accept them and confront growing domestic unrest.

A majority of Panamanians voted last October to ratify the treaties—unamended—because of Torrijos's assurances that they would mean an end to Yankee imperialism's role in Panama. The Senate's action, with Carter's approval and support, now shows clearly that this is not the case.

So U.S. ratification of the treaties, rather than defusing anti-imperialist sentiment in Panama as Torrijos and Carter had planned, could instead give impetus to it. Students demonstrated against the treaties in front of the U.S. embassy and the Panamanian foreign ministry on March 17. Bigger protests are expected when campuses reopen in Panama in April.

Small wonder that Torrijos is not celebrating. □

## Hitlerites Persuaded to Knock It Off in St. Louis

A group of Nazis called off a planned march and rally in St. Louis, Missouri, March 11.

The forty-one members of the Hitler cult, who sport Nazis-style uniforms, including swastikas, were set to march down Cherokee Street in an old German neighborhood. A crowd of several hundred gathered on the sidewalks to express their indignation over this provocative action.

Despite the protection offered by a motorcycle escort, foot patrolmen along the route, and contingents of police in a bus and two vans, the admirers of Hitler decided to forget about marching. They rode instead on flatbed trucks to their rally site in Gravois Park.

As the procession of vehicles moved down the street, the cultists chanted, "White Power, White Power!" and displayed signs with the same slogan and a swastika.

The counterdemonstrators responded with a volley of snowballs and other objects and chased the racists, despite the police bodyguards, down the street.

When the Nazis learned that several hundred more counterdemonstrators were awaiting them in Gravois Park, they decided to forgo the rally and return directly to their recently established headquarters.

Later, a group of counterdemonstrators attempted to march on the Nazi center. They were attacked by police using night-

sticks, dogs, and horses. Six of them were arrested.

The next day, according to a March 12 Associated Press dispatch, the Nazis, who had gathered in St. Louis for a "national convention," decided not to meet at their headquarters as they had planned, but to move to "an undisclosed location."

Frank Collin, who was named "national commander" of the reorganized Nazi outfit, the National Socialist Party of America, told reporters that the police had been "very reasonable."

Another Nazi put the best possible light on the situation: "Everybody knows about the Nazi Party now."

Several points should be noted:

1. The issue at stake was the democratic right to counterdemonstrate against a provocative action designed to advance a reactionary cause. The right of a group to speak or to worship as it pleases was not involved.

2. It is easy to mobilize sentiment against screwballs who insist on identifying themselves with the late Hitler. What about a group that might denounce Hitler while aping his methods?

3. The real danger of fascism in the United States will come from forces that take as their idol not a clearly identifiable monster like Hitler but someone as natural-looking and appealing to the eye as McDonald's hamburgers or apple pie à la mode. □

## **Grigorenko Launches Fight to Regain Soviet Citizenship**

By Peter Seidman

[The following article appeared in the March 24 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

\* \* \*

NEW YORK—Dissident leader Pyotr Grigorenko, at a news conference March 13, denounced as "illegal" the Kremlin's decree stripping him of his Soviet citizenship. The former major-general in the Red Army demanded the right to return to his homeland where "in an open court, I may prove my complete innocence."

Three days earlier, authorities in Moscow had made public a decree, approved secretly on February 13, that forced Grigorenko into exile and stripped him of his pension.

Grigorenko was charged with "behavior [that] damages the prestige of the U.S.S.R."

Grigorenko, seventy, had been in the United States since November. He, his wife Zinaida, and stepson Oleg have been here on a six-month visa granted so that Grigorenko might undergo an operation near his son, Andrei, who lives in New York.

Upon arriving in the United States, Grigorenko explained that because he intended to return to the USSR he would refrain from any activities while here that might jeopardize these plans.

"I have completely and honestly carried out this promise," Grigorenko said March 13. "This was difficult for me to do, because so many of my friends are arbitrarily imprisoned in the USSR. I should have spoken about them."

Grigorenko distributed copies of an appeal he has made to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

In it he explains, "I am a person who has served his homeland for 21 years by performing physical labor at various collective farms and industry. After that I spent 33 years in the army. I took part in two wars and have twice spilled my blood. I have received five decorations and seven medals and was honored by being promoted to the rank of general and by being given learned degrees."

But, Grigorenko protested, because he has been willing to sacrifice to defend democratic rights in the USSR as well as to defend his country militarily, "the Soviet Government is continuing its illegal acts against me."

### **Rostropovich Stripped of Citizenship**

Cellist Mstislav Rostropovich and his wife, Galina Vishnevskaya, have been deprived of their Soviet citizenship, the Moscow daily *Izvestia* reported March 15.

The decree, made public five days after the revocation of Pyotr Grigorenko's citizenship, claimed that Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya had "engaged in unpatriotic activity and defiled Soviet social reality and the title of citizen of the U.S.S.R."

As in the case of Grigorenko, the two are denied any opportunity to answer

these slanderous charges in an open court.

Rostropovich incurred the wrath of the Kremlin bureaucrats because of his defense of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's right to publish. One of the world's best-known classical musicians, he was initially denied the right to fill requests for concert appearances abroad.

He was subsequently given permission to make a concert tour in the West and has lived abroad with his wife since 1974.

These illegal acts began in 1961. Shortly after criticizing then-Premier Khrushchev, Grigorenko was dismissed from his post as head of the Department of Military Cybernetics at the Frunze Military Academy.

He was first arrested in 1964 after having founded the Union of Struggle for the Revival of Leninism. This group publicized various human rights violations. Grigorenko was never put on trial for this "crime." Instead, he was committed to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry for fifteen months, demoted to the rank of private with a corresponding reduction of his pension, and expelled from the Communist Party.

Following his release, Grigorenko resumed his human rights activity. He was rearrested in May 1969 and again committed to an asylum, this time for five years. A commission of psychiatric "experts" claimed Grigorenko was suffering from "reformist illusions." But an international campaign against this frame-up finally

won his release.

Grigorenko soon sprang back into action, helping to form the Helsinki monitoring groups in Moscow and Kiev in 1976. In his news conference, Grigorenko made it clear that the Kremlin would not be able to get rid of him "quietly." Speaking of the decree depriving him of his citizenship, Grigorenko declared:

"I do not recognize the current Soviet leadership . . . to have such a right. . . . I ask the heads of state who have signed the Helsinki agreement . . . all honest people in the world, particularly my fellow countrymen, to protest.

"I demand the right for me to return to my homeland, in order that there, in an open court, I may prove my complete innocence."

The New York Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners has scheduled a picket line for March 25 at the United Nations to back up Grigorenko's demands. □

### **Grigorenko's Statement to the Press**

[The following is the statement issued by Pyotr Grigorenko at a news conference in New York March 13.]

\* \* \*

On March 10 I saw my smiling face in the *New York Times* and in other American newspapers. This photograph is per-

haps meant to symbolize my joy with the "happy" ending to my human rights activities. But the symbol is out of place.

The deprivation of my Soviet citizenship, that is, the inability to live in my homeland, was a heavy blow to me. I have gone through a war and was heavily wounded, I have been exposed to prisons, psychiatric hospitals, and beatings during the course



of investigations, and I have not cried. But now I am choked by sorrow and my eyes are filled with tears.

I am deprived of my homeland, the opportunity to be with friends, whose numbers grew with every day. Our friendships were blessed, they were friendships based on the struggle for human dignity. They were the sort of friendships for which in totalitarian societies people pay with prison terms, special psychiatric hospitals, exile and the loss of one's homeland. I am deprived of the opportunity to help friends in need, to share in their danger, grief and their joy.

In his statement regarding the illegal decree which has now been issued against me, Academician Andrei Sakharov refers to me as a friend and he says that he and my other friends in the USSR will miss me. And how can I live without associating with my dear Andrei Sakharov and his family, along with the many others that are so close to me, such as the families of Lavut, Grimmov, Bakhmin, the Podrabin-eks, the Serebrovs, the Ginzburgs, the Velikanovs, the family of Lena Kosterin, Masha and Nastya Podyapolsky, Tania Osipov and the many others who are dear to my heart.

Now, I will no longer be able to meet with them, neither in a friendly, informal manner nor in front of the closed doors of "open" trials which await the members of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups and others who were arrested and now languish behind the walls of the KGB: Yuri Orlov,

Alexander Ginzburg, Anatoly Shcharynsky, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Lev Lukyanenko, Pyotr Vins, Viktoras Pyatkus, Shagen Arutunyan, Robert Nazaryan, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Merab Kostava, Viktor Rtskhiladze, Gely Snegirev, and Kirill Podrabin-ek.

I will be unable to convey words of support to Mykola Rudenko, Oleksy Tykhy, and Felix Serebrov who were given cruel prison sentences, and to all of the other Soviet political prisoners. I will no longer hear the thoughtful, spiritual words of Father Dmitri Dudko, and meet with the members of the Christian Committee headed by Father Gleb Yakunin. And how can I possibly forget my friends in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and in the other republics, as well as the Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists, and Pentecostals?

No longer will I meet with my Crimean Tatar friends and visit God blessed Crimea, or see my beloved, all-suffering Ukraine and the village where I was born. I will no longer see the sons, grandchildren and the many relatives who have remained behind.

And why did all of this happen? And by what right? Everything within me is aroused with anger and indignation. In expressing my protest I appeal to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the heads of states who have signed the Helsinki Accords and to all honest people in the world. My statement to the Supreme Soviet is herewith enclosed [see below].

## Grigorenko's Appeal to Supreme Soviet of USSR

[The following appeal was issued by Pyotr Grigorenko March 13.]

\* \* \*

To:  
The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR  
The Heads of State Who Have Signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe  
All Press Media  
All Persons Who May Read or Hear This Appeal, Particularly Citizens of the Soviet Union

The Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR dated February 13, 1978, has deprived me of my Soviet citizenship for allegedly sustaining "continuous activities aimed at undermining the prestige of the Soviet Union." By this act the Soviet Government is continuing its illegal acts against me, which began in 1961 when I spoke against the cult of Khrushchev's personality. This cult cost me the loss of my rank as general, my

comparable pension and 15 months of confinement in a special psychiatric hospital.

Brezhnev's cult cost me even more. I spent 5 years and 2 months in prison and special psychiatric hospitals. Upon my release I was a complete invalid. However, this did not stop me from continuing my struggle on behalf of human rights. As a member of the Moscow and Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Groups I spoke against the violations of the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Accords, and demonstrated on behalf of equal national rights, including against the Russification of the Ukraine and for the Crimean Tatars' right to return to their homeland, after their illegal and inhumane deportation. I acted in support of religious freedom, the right of emigration and the free exchange of information.

The Soviet authorities fully understand that they have taken a position of illegality, and not wishing to give up this position, they have decided to dispense with their critics. As a result of the Western

countries' shutting their eyes to the Soviet Union's crude violations of the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Agreement as well as their disregard for the fates of those persons in the Soviet Union who have risked their liberty and their lives by fighting for the aforementioned provisions, more than half of the original Helsinki Group members (21 out of 40) have now been punished. Four have been deprived of their Soviet citizenship, one person was exiled and 16 were arrested. Two of them have already been given inhumane prison sentences, based on false accusations.

In my case they tried to get rid of me "quietly." In November of 1977, by granting me a visa to come to the United States for the purpose of receiving medical treatment and visiting my son, the authorities demonstrated their "humaneness" to the Belgrade Conference. But soon after the Conference ended, the decree depriving me of my citizenship was made public. I am a person who has served his homeland for 21 years by performing physical labor at various collective farms and industry. After that I spent 33 years in the army, I took part in two wars and have twice spilled my blood. I have received five decorations and seven medals and was honored by being promoted to the rank of general and by being given learned degrees. But now the arbitrary actions of the authorities have turned me into a person without a homeland and without any means of support.

Such insidiousness and hypocrisy cannot be justified. Who can deprive a person of his homeland, of his right to die and be buried in the land of his forefathers? How can a person's right to sustenance, his right to his daily bread in his old age, be taken away, when that person has given his entire life to his homeland, has spilled his blood and was willing to offer any sacrifice?

I do not recognize the current Soviet leadership of the USSR to have such a right.

I strongly protest against the decision to deprive me of my Soviet citizenship!

I ask the heads of state who have signed the Helsinki Agreement on Security and Cooperation in Europe, all honest people in the world, particularly my fellow countrymen, to protest against the arbitrariness of the Soviet authorities, against the fact that a few irresponsible persons, using their unlimited power, should dispense with the lives and fates of other human beings in a completely arbitrary manner.

I insist on my right to demand proof of the accusations which have been brought against me. In this respect I demand the right for me to return to my homeland, in order that there, in an open court, I may prove my complete innocence. I ask all governments of the world and world public opinion to help me in attaining this goal.

# Selections From the Left

## CARI news sheet

CARIBBEAN REVOLUTIONARY LEAGUE  
P.O. BOX 1000, ST. JOHN'S, TRINIDAD & TOBAGO

*Published in London by the Committee Against Repression in Iran.*

The February 27 issue assesses the uprisings against the shah's dictatorial rule in Qom January 9 and in Tabriz February 18:

"The growth of mass protests in Iran during recent months is on the one hand a sign of the deeply felt discontent with the regime and its oppressive policies, and on the other hand shows that the regime is no longer able to suppress opposition.

"The massive crack-down on dissidents since the Shah's return from Washington in November and violent attacks on demonstrators have not only failed to intimidate opponents of the Shah's regime into silence but have made them more determined in their struggles.

"Discontent in Tabriz is increased by the government's chauvinistic policies toward the national minorities, for Tabriz is the capital of Azarbaijan, the home of Iran's largest oppressed national minority. Azarbaijanis are denied even the most elementary cultural and linguistic rights of reading and writing in their native Turkish language or of using their native tongue in schools and other educational institutions.

"Azarbaijan has a long history of struggle. At the beginning of the century Azarbaijan was the centre of the Constitutional Revolution. After World War II the struggle for national self-determination in Azarbaijan led to the establishment of an autonomous Azarbaijani government.

"In the events of the last two months there have been signs of a beginning of a revival of the Azarbaijani national movement. There have been reports of demonstrators carrying slogans in Turkish in clear defiance of the regime's suppression of the use of the Azarbaijani language."

## l'Humanité

*"Humanity," central organ of the French Communist Party. Published daily in Paris.*

The March 8 issue offers an illustration of what the French CP means by its slogan of "socialism in the French national colors." An article comments on an item in the Soviet encyclopedia that makes a distinction between the "native" French population and national minorities, which were estimated at 10 percent of the population of the French state:

"We are dumbfounded by such an absurdity. No doubt it arose through a mechanical transposition of the reality of the Soviet Union, which is really a multinational state, onto our country.

"This judgment is not only a total fantasy. It is also an intolerable questioning of the national unity of the French people, which was forged more than two centuries ago and has been tempered since by constant struggles for social progress, freedom, and independence.

"It is precisely in the framework of this national unity that the French Communist Party calls for full recognition and development of the personality of the various regions. . . .

"National unity and regional diversity are and must be two fundamental and complementary principles in France. It is deplorable that the authors of the Soviet encyclopedia do not realize this."

Actually, aside from terminology, the French and Soviet CPs seem to agree completely on the national question. Although the Kremlin bureaucracy officially calls the state it rules multinational, it generally expresses its support for the "personality" of the "minority nationalities" by publishing odes to the great fatherland on which the sun never sets, supposedly "translated from the Ukrainian."

However, since the French CP is not in power and is trying to prove its "patriotism" to the French bourgeoisie, it apparently finds even lip service to the right of self-determination too dangerous.

## la brèche

*Twice-monthly French-language organ of the Revolutionary Marxist League, published in Lausanne, Switzerland.*

The February 18 issue reports on the number of votes received by the Revolutionary Marxist League (LMR) candidates in recent elections in the canton of Neuchâtel:

"By voting for the LMR, 1,810 voters (10.66%) expressed their opposition to the austerity policy represented by the candidacy of Meylan [the Socialist Party candidate] and backed by the bourgeoisie. The Neuchâtel press has naturally belittled the significance of the votes garnered by the LMR by harping on the low electoral turnout, to which it contributed, by the way, by keeping all statements issued by the LMR out of the FAN (Feuille d'Avis de Neuchâtel).

"Nevertheless, the editorials betray a certain uneasiness. How could the revolutionists have won such a large number of votes? It is true that the LMR's results are fairly impressive—16.8% in La Chaux-de-Fonds, 11.7% in Locle, 10.8% in Neuchâtel, 11.3% in Couvet . . . and even 29% and 22.2% in Planchettes and Fenin-Villars-Saules respectively.

"Gil Baillod, editor of *l'Impartial*, means this and suggests in an editorial that 'to reinfuse a little life into politics, the parties must perk up at the grassroots.'

"After having more or less failed in his slander campaign against the LMR, Baillod must have concluded that things are not as simple as that, that quite a few wage workers voted for the LMR to register their defiance in face of the bosses' policy of layoffs and attacks on social welfare spending, symbolized by the Meylan candidacy.

"Furthermore, it is undeniable that some Socialist Party or Communist Party voters did not follow their party's directives and pulled the levers for the LMR. For them, this was a way of telling their leadership that they are not about to pay the costs of a policy like Meylan's either.

"In addition, by getting more than 5%, the Neuchâtel and Chaux-de-Fonds sections of the LMR have thumbed their noses at the most reactionary elements of the right, who hoped to use the FAN to 'teach these revolutionists a lesson,' and who called for a massive turnout by bourgeois voters. Once a party gets 5%, the Neuchâtel government must reimburse its ballot fees!"

## ARRITTI

*Weekly paper supporting autonomy for Corsica. Published in Bastia.*

The lead article in the February 17 issue comments on the position of the Union of the Corsican People (UPC) in the legislative elections in the French state.

"The decision that no autonomist or sympathizer of autonomy should vote for the candidates of the present regime was inevitable. These candidates are the agents of a policy designed to replace the Corsican people on their own lands by foreign settlers.

"This policy calls for turning over the natural resources of this island to crooked settlers, to land speculators, to the traffickers in mass tourism. It has brought in a more and more intolerable army of overbearing functionaries, teachers with a hardened hostility to everything Corsican, technocrats filled with an imbecilic and pretentious worship of Paris, and military officers and police who conduct themselves here like an army of occupation.

"The candidates of the ruling parties are the agents of a policy that in twenty years has led 55,000 native Corsicans to leave the island and brought in 110,000 outsiders to replace them . . . which has emptied the interior of the island and abolished our village schools.

"These candidates are also backed by figures that Corsican patriots cannot and must not forget: Poniatowski [minister of the interior], who at the time of the Aléria incidents [an occupation of wine cellars owned by settlers in which police precipi-

tated an armed clash with the nationalist occupiers] dreamed of drowning Corsican nationalism in blood; Chirac, who put his authority behind the insults Poniowski and Gilly hurled at the activists who occupied the Aléria wine cellars; Lecanuet, who publicly pronounced Edmond Simeoni [leader of the Aléria occupation] guilty before his trial was even held; Giscard d'Estaing, who said that Corsicans were only 'French citizens living in Corsica' and that the nationalist struggle was only a 'vulgar adventure.'

"It is such people, finally, who organized the September 9 antiautonomist demonstration, whose proclaimed intention was to crush the autonomists, and not by political means alone.

"It is clear what attitude has to be taken to the candidates of the ruling parties. To vote for such people would unquestionably represent a shameful betrayal of the cause of the Corsican people.

"It is no surprise either that the UPC says that autonomists should not vote for the leaders of the local bourgeois cliques. Without these clique leaders, the colonial policy of the French state could never have made any headway in Corsica. . . .

"The UPC communiqué cited by name the candidates for whom no sincere autonomist could vote. Other candidates, six in all, were not included in this list. This means simply that, if they choose, sincere autonomists can vote for them, without putting themselves outside the autonomist current, without going outside the line of the movement. . . .

"Can we vote without endorsing the 'system'? The general assembly of the UPC thinks we can. It is clear that it is not the principle of elections that is in question in Corsica but the evils that denature the electoral process. To vote for a candidate who fights against this system does not mean endorsing it; this is a way of fighting the system.

"Likewise, running autonomist candidates would not have been endorsing the system, but fighting it from the inside, that is, in the most effective way. If the general assembly did not opt for this alternative, it was because this time the 'system' would still be stronger than us and would have shrunk from nothing—absolutely nothing—to minimize the autonomist results. During the electoral campaign, the UPC will inform the Corsicans, with facts and figures, about the extent to which the principle of universal suffrage is still trampled under foot here. . . .

"We know that a lot of elected officials, echoing François Giacobbi, will be quick to shout: 'If you want to represent the people, you have to run in elections.' We do not know if anyone could keep from laughing on hearing a politician like Giacobbi say such a thing.

"We want only to say this: The autonomists, the patriots, claim to represent the

Corsican people. In Furiani in August, at our rally, there were several thousand living and very real men and women. On September 9, at the [anti-autonomist] rally called by Giacobbi and other politicians of his stripe, almost no one turned up.

"This sort of verdict is much more valid than that of any rigged election."

## An Phoblacht

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

On February 26 a reported 7,000 persons marched in Belfast to demand the restoration of political status for republican prisoners. The demonstration was organized by the Relatives Action Committees, a broad organization defending the prisoners, and by Provisional Sinn Féin.

In the present conditions, such a turnout was evidently a success, but was not especially large by comparison with civil-rights demonstrations held in early 1972, when the downturn in the mass movement began in Northern Ireland.

In its March 1 issue, *An Phoblacht* commented:

"More than 7,000 people—men, women and children—marched in West Belfast on Sunday, February 26, in a massive vote of confidence in the leadership of the Republican Movement. . . .

"We had more people marching than ever on August 9," said one of the organizers. "This has been the best attended march and subsequent meeting for a very long time. As well as the contingents from Derry and Dublin we had people from Lurgan and Newry, an indication that people are breaking out of their parochial attitudes and realise the importance of street politics. . . .

"The success of the march and meeting was in sharp contrast to the dramatic failure of the 'peace-women's' attempt to rally support in Belfast and Dublin recently."

This article does seem to reflect an awareness on the part of the Provisional leadership of the importance of rebuilding mass mobilizations in the street. But *An Phoblacht's* attempt to present a march in defense of the rights of prisoners not merely as support for the Provisionals as such but as a "vote of confidence in the leadership of the Republican Movement" is obviously not going to help in achieving that objective.

*An Phoblacht's* article is another example of the extreme defensiveness shown by the Provisional press in the last few months. This is apparently a reaction to growing doubts about the effectiveness of their urban guerrilla campaign. But it is a disastrously shortsighted policy to sacrifice an opportunity for broadening out anti-imperialist demonstrations for the

sake of shouting about the confidence of the masses in the Provisional leadership.



"Breton People," magazine of the Democratic Union of Brittany. Published monthly in Brest.

The March issue has a feature on the problems facing women who want abortions in Brittany. It begins:

"In December 1974, Simone Veil, the minister of health, supported a bill before Parliament permitting the voluntary interruption of pregnancy. The bill was to arouse impassioned arguments and cause a lot of ink to flow. Finally, with the votes of the opposition parties, it was passed.

"Today, many women who had hoped that the passage of this law would allow them to exercise their right, the right of free choice in having children, have found out through embittering and infuriating experiences that there are still many problems facing those who demand that this law be observed.

"First of all, many hospital centers refuse to comply with the requests of women. . . .

"Moreover, as a result of refusal by some hospitals to perform abortions, those that do are overloaded with requests, and this has serious results. Waiting lists grow longer, and some women who have not been helped to find the solution they want, run the risk of having their pregnancies go beyond the ten-week limit for abortions established by the law. . . .

"Moreover, many women . . . say that they are rarely treated the way they expected. Much too often they are subjected to pressures, attempts to persuade them not to go through with the abortion, as well as sarcasm. . . .

"Last year 350 women had to leave Rennes and go to England to get abortions and this is continuing at the same rate this year."

The article cites several cases of the kind of arguments used to dissuade women from having abortions:

"At the ZUP-Sud clinic in Rennes they even came up with the idea of recording the heartbeat of the foetus in order to persuade women not to go through with abortions."

*Le Peuple Breton* points out that the pressures on women wanting abortions are particularly strong among the Celtic people of Brittany, since the influence of the Catholic Church remains strong.

The Catholic Church has held a position among the Breton people similar to that held among the Irish. However, the UDB, unlike the Irish nationalist groups, has not made opposition to abortion a point of national honor or tried to avoid the question.

## Secret Deal to Avoid Fireworks at Swedish CP Congress

By Göte Kildén

[The following article was published in the February 3 issue of *Internationalen*, the weekly newspaper of the Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet (Communist Workers League, Swedish section of the Fourth International). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

\* \* \*

The delegates to the Twenty-Fifth Congress [held in January] of the Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna<sup>1</sup> did not get a chance to consider the "Democratic Manifesto" that was to be submitted for adoption by this body.

Behind the scenes in the imposing convention hall of Folkets Hus, a secret argument was going on between the guests from the Soviet Union and members of the [Swedish] party leadership.

The sharpest contribution to this argument came from the head of the Soviet delegation, P. Fedoseev. He threatened flatly to break relations with the VPK if the congress adopted the proposed manifesto. The leadership capitulated.

Following the split in the party last year [when the most rigidly Stalinist faction left with apparent encouragement from Moscow], the leadership has been obliged to walk an increasingly difficult political tightrope. On the one hand, they do not want to abandon the party's fundamental loyalty to the Stalinist CPs in East Europe and the Soviet Union. On the other, they have been compelled to make more and more public and explicit criticisms of these parties' "errors" or "failings."

If they go too far in one or the other direction, they run a serious risk of falling off their tightrope.

The sharpest confrontation at the VPK's congress was over this question. A bitter argument took place over a motion from the Lund branch calling on the VPK to actively support the Committee to Defend the Workers in Poland. The motion was voted down and condemned by about 75 percent of the delegates. The Lund branch's call for a study of conditions "in the socialist states" was also voted down.

The situation was tense. At some points in the discussion, the guests from the Soviet Union and East Europe walked out in protest. Czechoslovakia was the only East European state not represented.

1. VPK (Left Party of Communists, the Swedish CP).

### Excerpt From 'Democratic Manifesto'

In its February 3 issue, *Internationalen* published the full text of the "Democratic Manifesto" that the delegates to the January 1978 congress of the Swedish CP were prevented from discussing. The following section of this document dealt with the Swedish CP's attitude to the "socialist countries":

"The Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna fights for a socialist Sweden. In the worldwide conflict between capitalism and socialism, it stands on the side of socialism. Proletarian internationalism includes a duty to make independent judgments about the historical experience of socialism and at the same time to help strengthen socialism.

"Socialism has been able to replace the quest for profit by planned production and growth. It has been possible to abolish unemployment. The plundering of human and natural resources is no longer accepted. On the basis of a qualitative expansion of the power of the workers, the people in the socialist countries have achieved revolutionary advances in the economic, political, and cultural fields. In international politics, the socialist countries stand for peace and liberation from imperialist exploitation.

"But in the socialist countries also

there have been abuses and restrictions of fundamental democratic freedoms and rights. This has been true in particular of the rights of opinion and expression. Such abuses and restrictions continue, and have periodically sharpened in recent years. These cases have been used by the opponents of socialism to put capitalism in an attractive light and to discourage the struggle for a new and better society.

"The congress therefore declares that dangerous and prolonged limitations of democratic rights and freedoms such as have occurred and still occur in some of the developed socialist countries do *not* represent a realization of the potentialities of socialism, do *not* help to strengthen socialism, and do *not* promote the development of socialism nationally or internationally.

"The socialist mode of production opens up the way for a society in which the experience of broad strata of the populace will be utilized, the initiative of the common people will be freed, conflicts will be resolved through open discussion, and the freedom to form opinions will be the driving force in social development. The Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna pledges to fight for the realization of these possibilities."

Contributions by the different sides were backed up with applause. The large delegation from Norrbotten [the bastion of the Stalinist old guard] underscored in this way its adulation of the Soviet Union. At the congress, this delegation also presented a reindeer skin to the Soviet CP representatives, Fedoseev and Shaposhnikov. This was an attempt to show to the APK<sup>2</sup> at home that they had not really departed from the straight and narrow path.

The confrontation would have continued on Sunday, the last day of the congress. It was then that the proposed manifesto was

to be taken up. But when the presiding committee's proposal was announced on Saturday evening, it became clear that the leadership had been unable to continue its tightrope walking without making some missteps in both directions.

Many delegates who sympathized with the Lund branch's motion saw that the position adopted was weak, and reacted sharply. Others thought that the criticism of the "socialist countries" was overly harsh and "one-sided."

The biggest commotion, however, occurred behind the scenes. Fedoseev abruptly declared that the manifesto was unacceptable and threatened to break with the VPK if it were adopted. Jörn Svensson, C.H. Hermansson, and Lars Herlitz, who had worked on the proposed statement, did not want to withdraw it. But they had to

2. Arbetarpartiet-Kommunisterna (Workers Party of Communists, the organization of the rigidly Stalinist splitters).

yield to Lars Werner and Bo Hammar, who took a hard line, demanding compliance with Fedoseev's wishes.

Face was saved by having the editing committee go out at the last minute and explain that there was very little time left and many proposals had been made for changes.

Such a situation was predictable. A point of this importance obviously should have been scheduled earlier and more time allotted.

What happened was first revealed in the weekly *Gnistan* [a Maoist publication]. This story was categorically denied by Eva Wiren at *Ny Dag* [the VPK newspaper], when *Internationalen* called and asked for comment on it.

"This was all pulled out of the air, or from wherever Stefan Lindgren got it from."

Hilding Hagberg at *Norrskensflamman* [the paper of the APK] was more talkative. He gave a quick answer to our question whether there had in fact been the sort of pressures described by *Gnistan*.

"Well, that's a rather delicate question. It is true that there was a general pressure, if it can be described as that. All the delegates from the socialist countries protested against this document by walking out during a discussion of it. They were very angry."

However, *Gnistan's* information was correct! What really happened was known only in restricted circles, but enough finally leaked out. Some members of the VPK youth organization explained that their chairman, Lars Johansson, was up to his ears in this affair, and did what he could to help Fedoseev. *Internationalen* has gotten solidly enough based accounts

of what happened so that we have no doubts about the reliability of these sources.

So, this Saturday and Sunday, the VPK leadership is meeting to discuss what should be done about the promised discussion on a democratic manifesto. There is a danger that forces such as Jörn Svensson may be eliminated, and that the discussion will either be relegated to some future time or organized in such a muted and bureaucratic way that no real debate can take place.

Only the opposition on such questions in the party can assure that a discussion will be held in reasonable conditions, and it can do this only by raising a strong protest against any decisions that go against the promises Jörn Svensson made in the congress. □

## Rank-and-File to Vote on Third Contract Proposal

# Coal Miners Ignore Carter's Back-to-Work Order

By Matilde Zimmermann

The United Mine Workers Bargaining Council voted March 15 to submit a new contract proposal to striking coal miners for a ratification vote. The settlement does not satisfy the demands around which miners have been on strike for more than 100 days. The militancy of the miners and the growth of labor solidarity have, however, forced the coal operators to retreat somewhat from their previous cutthroat terms.

The close Bargaining Council vote (22 to 17) reflected the UMWA district leaders' uncertainty as to whether the new contract can be sold to the membership. The Bargaining Council approved by a wider margin a settlement reached February 24 that was subsequently overwhelmingly rejected by the membership.

Dropped from the new proposal are the specific antistrike measures that appeared in two previous versions of the contract. For miners, the right to strike is a basic safety issue, since the mine owners otherwise allow dangerous safety violations to accumulate. The operators have insisted on the contractual right to fine, fire, or otherwise punish miners who engage in unauthorized or "wildcat" strikes.

The new contract proposal omits the "labor stability" measures that caused many miners to oppose previous contracts. An attached memorandum explains that this in effect leaves operational a 1977 Arbitration Review Board ruling with even harsher antistrike provisions than those of

the rejected contract. Union officials say that the ruling, if ever invoked against strikers, could be challenged in court with more success than a signed contract could.

On the crucial issue of health benefits, the new proposal, like the last two, would substitute commercial health insurance on a company-by-company basis for the industry-wide health fund that has provided free lifelong medical care to miners' families since the late 1940s.

The cost to each miner has been reduced from a maximum of \$700 a year in the previous contract proposal to \$200 a year in this one. Pennsylvania miner Patricia Conard voiced a typical reaction to a reporter for the *Militant* newspaper: "If they can come down \$500, they can come down \$200 more. We had it before. Why should they take it away now?"

One of the most bitterly resented provisions of the rejected contract was the disparity between the pensions of miners who retired before January 1976 and those retiring later. Two thousand miners rallied in Castlewood, Virginia, March 12 to defend the rights of the pensioners.

The new contract proposal does nothing to equalize pensions; it simply provides that the projected raise in the monthly pensions of older retirees from about \$225 to \$275 be put into effect immediately rather than over a three-year period. They will still receive only about half what later retirees get.

In at least one aspect the new proposal is

worse than the one miners rejected two weeks ago. It introduces incentive pay, which the miners say will increase the danger of their work. One miner in Morgantown, West Virginia, explained what this would mean, on the basis of his forty years of experience in the mines: "You can bet that some damn fool is going to go for the money and in the process forget to do something, or do something stupid, and somebody's gonna wind up dead."

The coal operators and the Carter administration have tried almost every trick in the book to force the striking miners back to work under terms that would constitute a major setback. All their efforts have failed and have only stiffened the miners' resistance.

On March 6 Carter invoked the anti-strike provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act against the United Mine Workers. The back-to-work order went into effect at 7:00 a.m. on Friday, March 10, but the first real test of its effectiveness was understood by everyone to be Monday, March 13.

Newspaper reports estimated that between 60 and 100 miners reported for work March 13, 30 of them at a single mine in Welch, West Virginia. The other 159,900 or more striking miners did not even bother to set up picket lines. They simply stayed home, in a massive and unanimous display of solidarity.

Kentucky miner Louis Burke had perhaps the most concise explanation of why

miners could not relate to Taft-Hartley: "It is a slave-labor law, and we are not slaves."

Carter's press secretary Jody Powell examined the figures and told reporters it was "a little early to make a definitive assessment" of how Taft-Hartley was working. The president of the Ohio Coal Association was more honest: "It looks like total defiance," he admitted.

The government hoped public sentiment would turn against the miners once Taft-Hartley made their strike "illegal."

Just the opposite happened. Other industrial unions came under considerable pressure to make cash contributions to the strike. The United Auto Workers gave \$2 million and the United Steelworkers \$1 million. A caravan of 300 cars organized by Baltimore steelworkers brought food to the coalfields, other relief caravans came from Detroit and Chicago.

When Carter cut off food stamps for the strikers, even AFL-CIO chief George Meany—who had knifed the miners more than once in the course of the strike—was

forced to protest. He condemned Carter for trying "to force the miners to agree to an unacceptable contract by starving their wives and children," and announced that the AFL-CIO would organize food collections to counter Carter's "vindictive act."

One vehicle in the Baltimore solidarity caravan bore a message from a Shipbuilders local: "President Carter and Washington Say: 'Starve miners, take their food stamps away.' But we union brothers and sisters say: 'We'll feed the miners anyway.'"

Equally unsuccessful was the government's attempt to use Taft-Hartley to provoke violence in the coalfields. A big show of force was put on, ostensibly to "protect" the "silent majority" of miners who wanted to return to work but might be kept home by threats and acts of terror on the part of other miners. But the troops found no one to "protect" and were unable to generate violent incidents.

The bourgeois media have lent their support to all the efforts to isolate and demoralize the miners. Vicious antiminer

cartoons portray the strikers as crudely selfish and unreasonable.

Miners have been responding favorably to one newspaper that tells their side of the story. The socialist newsweekly the *Militant* features firsthand reports from the coalfields and from other industrial centers where solidarity with the miners runs high. Week after week the *Militant* carries extensive national news on the strike and on the miners' support movement. It provides valuable and timely help on political questions confronting the miners today: the demand to open the company books, for example, and the need to break with the Democrats and Republicans and form a labor party.

The Socialist Workers Party has launched a campaign to greatly expand sales of the *Militant* in order to get the miners' side of the story into the hands of tens of thousands of working people. Special sales teams have been dispatched to the coalfields. In some of the Appalachian hollows where miners live, a majority of the residents are now *Militant* readers. □

## Rising Support Despite 'Counter-Measures' by Political Police

# The Russell Tribunal on Blacklisting in West Germany

By Jon Britton

On February 18 a congress of the local Social Democratic Party organization in Aachen, West Germany, endorsed the Third Bertrand Russell International Tribunal on political blacklisting in West Germany.<sup>1</sup>

The decision evoked a good deal of interest and was singled out for attention by the local press. It was, in fact, a significant and even courageous act in light of the campaign initiated by the Social Democratic Party tops to discredit and if possible destroy the tribunal.

These procapitalist misleaders of the workers movement in West Germany, who with the Free Democrats hold national governmental power, have good reason to fear the results of the new inquiry initiated by the Bertrand Russell Foundation. The earlier tribunals investigated and passed judgment on U.S. war crimes in Vietnam and violations of human rights in Latin America, with telling effect.

The Bonn regime, under the pretext of "combating terrorism," has been stepping

up its efforts to stifle political dissent and social protest.

On the basis of a joint statement of principles adopted by state-government ministers and federal Chancellor Willy Brandt in 1972, known around the world as *Berfusverbot*, citizens are denied public employment for their political beliefs. More than 500,000 applicants for public jobs have been subjected to federal investigation and supervision on the basis of this McCarthyite decree.<sup>2</sup>

The government and news media have attempted to intimidate dissidents and critics by smearing them as "sympathizers" of terrorists.

Most recently, by a vote of 245 to 244, the West German parliament on February 16 approved a series of "antiterrorist" measures that further restrict civil liberties. The new law enables police looking for "suspects" to search an entire housing complex with a single search warrant, and to hold citizens for up to twelve hours for "identity checks" during a "terrorist" hunt.

The Third Tribunal was formally

launched on October 28, 1977, at news conferences in Bonn, Paris, and London. The twenty-eight members of the tribunal include distinguished American drama critic and playwright Eric Bentley, Italian SP leader Ricardo Lombardi, French theologian Dr. Georges Casalis, historian and Tito biographer Dr. Vladimir Dedijer from Yugoslavia, Labour Party MP Jo Richardson from Britain, and professor of philosophy Lolle Nauta from Holland.

One of the five members of a "German Advisory Council" is Dr. Martin Niemöller, former president of the World Council of Churches.

In addition to political blacklisting, the new tribunal will look into censorship and the denial of rights in criminal court proceedings.

Even before its formal launching, Chairman Willy Brandt and the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party lashed out at the tribunal as a "publicity stunt that will cause the revered name of Bertrand Russell to be misused to the detriment of the Federal Republic of Germany." According to their October 13, 1977, statement, Brandt also said that he would make sure that the initiators' "transparently propagandist and slander-

1. Information on the tribunal may be obtained from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation Ltd., Bertrand Russell House, Gamble Street, Nottingham, England.

2. See "The Fight Against Political Blacklisting in West Germany," in *Intercontinental Press*, August 2, 1976, p. 1162.

ous motives" were revealed and condemned.

The top leadership body unanimously resolved to demand that no Social Democrats should participate in the tribunal, nor give it any support or signatures, and should withdraw any signatures already given. It also insisted that party members not appear as witnesses before the tribunal.

The Russell Foundation in a press release issued the same day condemned Brandt's use of smear tactics. The foundation said that it regretted his "prejudgment before the Tribunal even exists," and pointed out that the inquiry will be "an entirely rational forum," which "has already attracted widespread support from social democrats in Western Europe."

The following day, Edith Russell answered Brandt's claim that her late husband's name was being misused. She pointed out that Russell's "abhorrence of the influence of the late Senator McCarthy in the USA is a matter of repeated public record. . . . The question of whether modern German practices echo American precedents is a matter for the Tribunal to examine: that Bertrand Russell would have wished for such an examination to be undertaken, as scrupulously and rigorously as possible, will not be doubted by any who knew him."

Nonetheless, the campaign did have some effect. An October 17 dispatch in the Munich daily *Süddeutsche Zeitung* reported that the Young Democrats, youth group of the Free Democratic Party, had withdrawn their signature from the general call for the Third Russell Tribunal. The Social Democratic youth group, the Young Socialists, while not withdrawing their signature, spoke out against the holding of the tribunal for the time being on the grounds that an unprejudiced investigation did not seem feasible in the atmosphere created by terrorist activities. (The government was conducting a massive witch-hunt at the time in its effort to track down and capture the kidnapers of industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer.)

Prior to Willy Brandt's blast in October, officials of the West German Ministry of the Interior had drawn up a secret report on the Third Russell Tribunal that reads like a Cointelpro (Counterintelligence Program) document of the American FBI. The text was published by the Russell Foundation in January.

This memorandum, dated September 20, 1977, claims that the tribunal is a conspiracy by a number of small "New Left" groups to defame "the civil rights and democratic order of the Federal Republic." Despite the supposed insignificance of its political backing, the authors of the memorandum warn that the inquiry could cause a lot of trouble for the government:

"One cannot exclude the possibility that many well-known complaints against our

civic rights and democratic order . . . [may] acquire a new weight in the eyes of many through a verdict by well-known personalities. One is reminded of the political repercussions inside the USA of the first Russell Tribunal."

Besides raising the specter of the Ameri-



BRANDT: Tries McCarthyite hatchet job to counter civil-liberties inquiry.

can anti-Vietnam War movement, the document warns that the tribunal could gather together and intensify existing protest in West Germany and strengthen anew "terrorist extremism."

In a section entitled "Possible counter-

measures," the authors outline steps that might be taken against the tribunal. The first—infiltration and manipulation of the tribunal "with the aim of achieving the verdict of acquittal"—is dismissed as impractical. Measures that supposedly would be more effective include discouraging participation, barring use of public facilities, prohibiting meetings, and barring entry to participants from other countries.

In a classic example of political-police double-think, the secret document even raised the possibility of getting the Federal Constitution Court to deprive participants of their civil liberties "if it can be established that [such] persons in preparing or conducting the Tribunal, misuse basic rights . . . in the fight against the liberal and democratic basic order. . . ."

Nevertheless, the Third Russell Tribunal is going forward, with support groups having been established throughout West Europe.

In its March 2 issue, the West German Trotskyist weekly *Was Tun* pointed out that even before the decision of the local congress in February three Social Democratic members of the Aachen city council had come out in support of the Russell Tribunal, and a successful rally had been held.

"This rally showed," the paper said, "more than any before, a widespread feeling of the need for uniting in struggle against the cutbacks in democratic rights. . . ."

"[The resolution] provided an example of effective and broad support work that should be instructive for the entire movement [in behalf of the tribunal] and thus help to overcome the chaos and divisions that exist within it, and to give it genuine breadth and credibility." □

## Canadians Warned on Radioactive Snow

Residents of Fort Resolution in Canada's Northwest Territories have been warned not to use the top layer of snow for making tea and not to eat the bones of game animals.

The warning was issued by Dr. Roger Eaton of the Atomic Energy Control Board in late February. He said radioactive ash—believed to have originated in the core of the Soviet nuclear satellite that fell from orbit in January—had been detected at Fort Resolution and Pine Point and in a broad track on the ice of Great Slave Lake.

The debris was not discovered in initial searches of the area, but further investigation a month after the satellite fell revealed radioactive particles no larger than buckshot, appearing at a rate of three to the square kilometer. Eaton said cleanup operations would continue until the

weather warmed up, at which time, he predicted, the particles would go into the lakes and soil.

Eaton told area residents that moose and caribou meat was safe to eat, but that radioactive particles ingested by the animals would lodge in their bones. (*Toronto Globe and Mail*, February 28.)

### Derailment in Texas

Fifteen cars of a Santa Fe freight train left the tracks before dawn on March 9 in the rural Texas community of Justin, north of Dallas.

Sixty Justin residents were evacuated when five tank cars filled with flammable butyl alcohol and butyl acetate began leaking.

## Colombia—The First Stage of the Elections

[The following editorial appeared in the March 6 issue of *Revolución Socialista*, a weekly Trotskyist newspaper published in Bogotá. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

\* \* \*

The first stage of the electoral process—that of the elections to the *corporaciones públicas*<sup>1</sup>—has ended. An analysis of the results is useful, since in any case they already show how the political parties are conducting themselves.

### The Absence of a Two-Party Consensus

Regarding the two-party system,<sup>2</sup> it must be said that Turbay's victory over Lleras<sup>3</sup> was certainly no surprise. Although he had the backing of the big newspapers, Lleras did not build a machine of his own strong enough to defeat his opponent's well-oiled one. And if Lleras's opposition to the constituent assembly<sup>4</sup> stirred up some enthusiasm, it quickly became clear that "fighting corruption" would be the fundamental line of his campaign.

This did not win him the support of the sectors he was trying to mobilize, principally the urban middle classes. The fact that Santofimio Botero—who is today a common criminal—dealt a crushing defeat to Lleras's followers showed how little *credibility* the "clean-up" slogan had.<sup>5</sup>

Lleras quite clearly personified the vices of the system and the interests of the

bourgeoisie. During his regime, he was the defender and advocate of the negotiations with Fadul and Peñaloza.<sup>6</sup> He also engineered the scandalous electoral fraud against ANAPO<sup>7</sup> that made Pastrana Borrero president.

With Turbay the party hacks and their entrenched patronage system triumphed. But it was also a victory for the bourgeoisie's effort to maintain continuity, particularly for the financial sectors linked at the top to President López's government. The machinery under their control—with the support of the official bureaucracy—did the job of making sure that the "captive electorate" expressed itself.

Maintenance of the equilibrium between the two Conservative Party factions of Gómez Hurtado and Pastrana (with a slight majority for Gómez) also came as nothing new. Gómez could not keep his hold on the entire Conservative Party while appearing as a member of the Liberal government; to a large degree this made it impossible for him to differentiate himself from the Liberals. Meanwhile Pastrana was seeking to stimulate Conservative sectarianism on the basis of opposition to the López regime in parliament and in the press. He called for "recovering the dignity" of Conservatism in order to paint Gómez as a collaborator and sellout to López's Liberal government. The *pastranista* forces grew, but not enough to impose unity around Pastrana or to force a change in the makeup of the government bureaucracy.

But what the elections really showed about the two-party system was the following:

1. Even though these midterm elections gained added attractiveness by being the mechanism for choosing the Liberals' presidential candidate (in accord with the so-called consensus of San Carlos) and by serving to define the majority in the Con-

servative Party, they were still unable to stimulate a big turnout of the electorate. *The absence of a consensus demonstrated the crisis of the two-party system.*

The very high rate of abstention showed not only the traditional lack of political interest on the part of the masses, but also the growing deterioration of the two-party arrangement. What was registered was exclusively the patronage vote—the vote of those held captive by the public-job system and the favoritism through which the two-party Liberal-Conservative monopoly controls the state.

2. The Liberals' majority was reaffirmed by their margin of 400,000 votes over the Conservatives. Turbay begins his campaign with great prospects for victory over [Conservative presidential candidate] Belisario Betancur.

3. On the whole, the official two-party forces—Turbay and Gómez—emerged as victors over the bourgeois opposition of Lleras and Pastrana. Thus the government's policy has been reinforced, within a context of intrabourgeois contradictions.

4. The candidates who now face each other in the battle for the presidency in the ranks of the two-party system appear clearly to the entire workers and popular movement as advocates of continuing the capitalist system. This must be pointed out and broadly denounced. The struggle against what these candidates represent—two-partyism and capitalist exploitation—is a central axis in the continuing fight to develop class independence.

### The Crisis of the Left

The electoral results for the left were poor. The left could not hide its crisis in ballot-box returns, nor increase its representation in parliament. The left vote diminished, as did the number of seats held by leftists in the municipal and departmental bodies.

The division of the opposition into two poles—the UNO and the FUP<sup>8</sup>—confused the working masses, who could neither understand nor accept such a stupid and sectarian division. The fact that both coalitions were clearly of the popular-front

1. "Public corporations": departmental assemblies, municipal councils, and the national Chamber of Representatives and Senate.

2. Two bourgeois parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives, have a virtual political monopoly in Colombia. From 1958 to 1974, they ruled the country jointly under an agreement called the "National Front," alternately providing presidents every four years and dividing up representation in parliamentary bodies on a parity basis.

3. Ex-Foreign Minister Julio César Turbay Ayala defeated former President Carlos Lleras Restrepo for the Liberal Party presidential nomination, as a result of Turbay's supporters receiving the most votes in the parliamentary elections.

4. A "little constituent assembly" will be elected in June. The Colombian bourgeoisie plans to use it to institutionalize restrictions on democratic rights.

5. Alberto Santofimio Botero is a leader of the Turbay wing of the Liberal Party and president of the Chamber of Representatives. At present he is in jail in Bogotá awaiting trial on charges of corruption.

6. Two friends of Lleras whose accounting firm was favored with lucrative government contracts when Lleras was in power.

7. Alianza Nacional Popular (People's National Alliance). Followers of former dictator Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, who was narrowly defeated in the 1970 presidential elections.

8. Unión Nacional de Oposición (National Opposition Union), popular-front formation controlled by the CP. Frente para la Unidad del Pueblo (Front for People's Unity), a similar grouping controlled by the Maoist MOIR.



variety made this lack of confidence even more extreme. The workers did not recognize these coalitions as their own. Although the Communist Party and the MOIR<sup>9</sup> cynically ignored it, the experience with Echeverry Mejía<sup>10</sup> served as a warning to the workers.

It is necessary here to make an energetic reply to the centrist "theoreticians," who tell us that Pernía and Piedrahíta<sup>11</sup> are not capitalists and that there is not one clearly defined bourgeois sector behind them. But this is precisely the particular way the two wings of the popular front—Maoist and pro-Soviet—appear among us. It is still *in embryo*; Piedrahíta, Pernía, and Aljure<sup>12</sup> are the political attorneys of the bourgeoisie, insignificant rejects from the bourgeois parties. If they do not represent the Colombian bourgeoisie, then still less do they represent the workers and peasants. They represent nothing more than themselves. *Thus the place of the bourgeoisie is occupied by its shadow. They are not capitalists but they identify with the capitalists.*

The Pernías and the Piedrahítas, the Consuelos<sup>13</sup> and the Aljures have suddenly been converted into "revolutionary leaders," thanks to the role assigned them not by the struggling workers but by the MOIR and CP apparatuses. The MOIR-FUP even resorted to the scandalous promotion of Consuelo de Montejo—who persecutes the workers in her newspaper plants, serves as a proimperialist agent, and has been compromised in a number of shady financial dealings.

Marxist theory—the critique of popular-frontism—must be brought to bear here against the mystifications of the opportunists. Another argument of the centrists is that it is unimportant that opposition coalitions are headed by Pernías and Piedrahítas—the historical moment does not allow any other expression of the struggle, which is mainly an anti-imperialist one. They say the logic is one

of adding forces together, and not one of dividing them. This is quite an old argument from the reformist arsenal.

In his time, Trotsky explained the fallacy of such thinking in the following way: "The theoreticians of the Popular Front do not essentially go beyond the first rule of arithmetic, that is, addition: 'Communists' plus Socialists plus Anarchists plus liberals add up to a total which is greater than their respective isolated numbers. Such is all their wisdom. However, arithmetic alone does not suffice here. One needs as well at least mechanics. The law of the parallelogram of forces applies to politics as well. In such a parallelogram, we know that the resultant is shorter, the more the component forces diverge from each other. *When political allies tend to pull in opposite directions, the resultant may prove equal to zero.*

"A bloc of divergent political groups of the working class is sometimes completely indispensable for the solution of common practical problems. In certain historical circumstances, such a bloc is capable of attracting the oppressed petty-bourgeois masses whose interests are close to those of the proletariat. The joint force of such a bloc can prove far stronger than the sum of the forces of each of its component parts. On the contrary, the political alliance between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, whose interests on basic questions in the present epoch diverge at an angle of 180 degrees, as a general rule is capable only of paralyzing the revolutionary force of the proletariat."<sup>14</sup>

We socialists of the Fourth International were the only tendency to point out clearly not only the tragedy of this sectarian division but also the reactionary nature of the coalitions. We therefore insisted—and still insist—on the slogan "No more Echeverry Mejías!" And above all we were obliged to note the spectacular crisis and bankruptcy of this reformist left. As the testimony of those who have understood the need to struggle against division of the working-class forces and class collaboration, our documents, speeches, and articles have great validity. The socialist presidential campaign itself has been the main means of alerting the workers to the danger of popular-frontism and the drawback of division.

Vieira and Mosquera<sup>15</sup> have arrogantly ignored the proposal for a *single* candidacy by the workers movement. But this takes on even more reality now. Let Pernía and Piedrahíta resign! The socialist candidate will be withdrawn immediately if a

*single* candidate of all the workers and revolutionary forces is selected by a democratic congress.

We must insist on this line since what is at stake are the very prospects of the mass movement. The radicalization expressed in the citizens' national general strike, in the more than 100 other strikes last year, and in the strikes of the past two months, has not been translated into political or electoral gains for the left. Such a result can only serve to deepen skepticism and demoralization in working-class and revolutionary sectors. Here the popular-frontists with their sectarian divisiveness and conciliatory policies have played a *conscious* role in disorganizing and holding back the workers' struggle.

Thus from here on we say that every action leading up to May Day, and May Day itself, must be a united action of the entire trade-union movement, of all the workers parties and the left. The four union federations should call a national demonstration around the unified list of demands.<sup>16</sup> The disunited activity of the workers forces in past years cannot be repeated. Nor must the present division brought about by the dynamics of the electoral campaign (of the capitalists as much as of the reformists) be accepted.

### The Socialist Campaign

There were three programs competing in the municipal and departmental elections: the Liberal and Conservative versions of the bourgeois program; the reformist proposal for a democratic revolution, under both Maoist and pro-Soviet guises; and the program of the socialist revolution.

The socialist electoral campaign took the form of workers and socialist candidates. It made a number of important achievements:

1. Workers Conventions were held on the departmental and national level, in which the candidates for the *corporaciones públicas* were selected. These concretized the line of class independence.

2. Hundreds of Support Committees were organized, and meetings and gatherings attended by a total of about 100,000 persons were held.

3. The socialist platform was widely distributed, furthering the fight against the two-party government. Struggles were linked up, turning the election campaign into a tribune for the strikes and demands of the proletariat.

4. Deepening unity was achieved among socialist forces on the electoral level

9. Movimiento Obrero Independiente y Revolucionario (Independent Revolutionary Workers Movement). The largest Colombian Maoist organization.

10. Hernando Echeverry Mejía left the Liberal Party in 1974 and became a UNO candidate for the Senate and later for president. Upon election to the Senate, he rejoined the Liberals and is today a supporter of Lleras.

11. Julio César Pernía, presidential candidate of the UNO; Jaime Piedrahíta Cardona, presidential candidate of the FUP. Both have been members of Parliament representing ANAPO.

12. David Aljure heads the Liberal Left Movement (MIL), a split-off from the Liberal Party.

13. Consuelo de Montejo is a leading figure in the MIL and the publisher of *El Bogotano*, a sensationalist daily.

14. *The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)* (New York: Pathfinder, 1973), pp. 308-09. (Emphasis added by *Revolución Socialista*.)

15. Gilberto Vieira is general secretary of the CP; Francisco Mosquera is general secretary of the MOIR.

16. Demands put forward by the National Trade-Union Council, a coalition of the four main union federations. Among the demands are a 50 percent across-the-board wage increase; an eight-hour day with no exceptions; and restoration of all political and trade-union rights, including the right to strike.

through the building of UNIOS.<sup>17</sup> Various candidates of the four organizations—PST, LCR, OCR, and URS<sup>18</sup>—joined the electoral slates. This resulted not only from better identity and unity among the majority of the forces of the Fourth International, but also from convergence with other organizations. This dealt a sharp blow to the spirit of sectarianism.

5. Workers and socialist leaders emerged as public figures on the national and departmental levels.

All these gains have made it possible for the socialist current to begin to fuse with the class-struggle tendencies now arising out of the workers and popular movement as a result of the citizens' national work stoppage and the strike movement.

The electoral results, as was to be expected, did not reflect these achievements. We never harbored such an illusion, although the fact that our vote topped 10,000 does indicate an advance for socialism.

Having said that, it is necessary to critically acknowledge a situation that worked decisively against our electoral results: the internal crisis and division of the PST into two public factions, one organized around *El Socialista* and the other expressed through *Revolución Socialista*. A similar crisis was evident in the URS, which entered into regional electoral agreements with the UNO in Huila, Boyacá, Barranca, and Cúcuta, and which is being shaken by a deep internal struggle.

The *El Socialista* faction of the PST decided to split from UNIOS and present their own slates in all the areas where they have an organization. They cooked up all kinds of excuses to justify such sectarianism, including last-minute "theories" about the supposed popular-frontist character of UNIOS.

They even resorted to such unfortunate measures as making the internal struggle in the PST public, declaring the other faction around *Revolución Socialista* a rival organization. But for our part we say publicly that we will not debate this matter externally, nor authorize any such debate in our name.

It should not be thought, however, that the *El Socialista* faction's sectarian and divisive policy did not also include the most rank opportunism. They resorted to all sorts of stratagems and tricks, such as claiming that Comrade Socorro Ramírez

supported the slates they were presenting. This was an out-and-out fraud on the electorate. And they also said that theirs were the "only" class-struggle slates.

This confusing and divisive situation meant that people were less inclined to vote for the workers and socialist candidates. UNIOS's activities were virtually paralyzed for some days.

In drawing this balance sheet, we socialists are assuming our responsibility to the masses: There were optimum conditions

that could have been better and more broadly utilized, but instead were wasted.

Therefore it is necessary to guarantee that UNIOS functions at the national and regional levels as the second stage of the presidential campaign unfolds. The Support Committees must be consolidated and extended, and they must operate as committees for building May Day and the other days of struggle. *The socialist election campaign now enters its second phase.* □

## Accused of 'Terrorism'

### Black Activists on Trial in South Africa

Scores of Black activists in South Africa are currently facing trial on various charges under the Terrorism Act and the Internal Security Act.

The largest trial involves eighteen alleged members of the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The defendants include Zephania Mothopeng, a long-time leader of the PAC who has served time in prison on Robben Island, as well as two journalists, Moffat Zungu of the now-banned *Johannesburg World* and Mike Mzileni of *Drum* magazine.

Some of the defendants, according to the PAC, were arrested by South African security police in the Transkei, one of the country's ten African reserves, which is supposedly "independent."

The accused are charged with taking part in "terrorist" activities between 1963 and 1977, including the holding of meetings by prisoners on Robben Island for the purpose of reorganizing the PAC, and recruiting for and undergoing guerrilla training both inside South Africa and abroad. If convicted, the eighteen face possible death sentences under the terms of the Terrorism Act.

The trial of the eighteen is the first major trial of alleged PAC members in recent years. Besides the eighteen, six other alleged PAC members are facing trial in three other cases.

The other major trial now under way involves twelve persons accused of belonging to the banned African National Congress. The original trial of the twelve began last year, but in November the judge died of a heart attack, resulting in a retrial.

The defendants, known as the Pretoria 12, have been charged with sabotaging railway installations, bringing arms and explosives into the country, and recruiting persons to undergo military training.

In the initial trial last year, some of the witnesses against the twelve admitted in

court that they had been coerced into giving evidence and one said that he had been tortured by the police. □

### Africa's Refugees

There are now about 1.6 million refugees in Africa, according to a report by Christian Aid, a relief organization attached to the British Council of Churches. Another 1.8 million persons are either on their way home or have just returned from exile, and are thus also in need of continued relief aid.

The bulk of the refugees appear to have fled their home countries to escape repression or war.

Both Cameroon and Gabon have large numbers of refugees who fled the authoritarian regime of President Macias Nguema in Equatorial Guinea. Thousands of inhabitants of the Western Sahara have fled to Algeria since the forcible partition of the territory by Morocco and Mauritania in 1975. Kenya has received a steady flow of refugees from Uganda, Ethiopia, and southern Africa. Hundreds of young Black activists from South Africa have gone into exile in Botswana and other countries since the massive crackdown on Black opposition that began in the second half of 1976.

At the time the report was written, there were about 135,000 refugees from Ethiopia and Eritrea in the Sudan, although the figure may now be higher. About 515,000 refugees from Angola are in Zaïre, and some 200,000 refugees from Zaïre are in Angola.

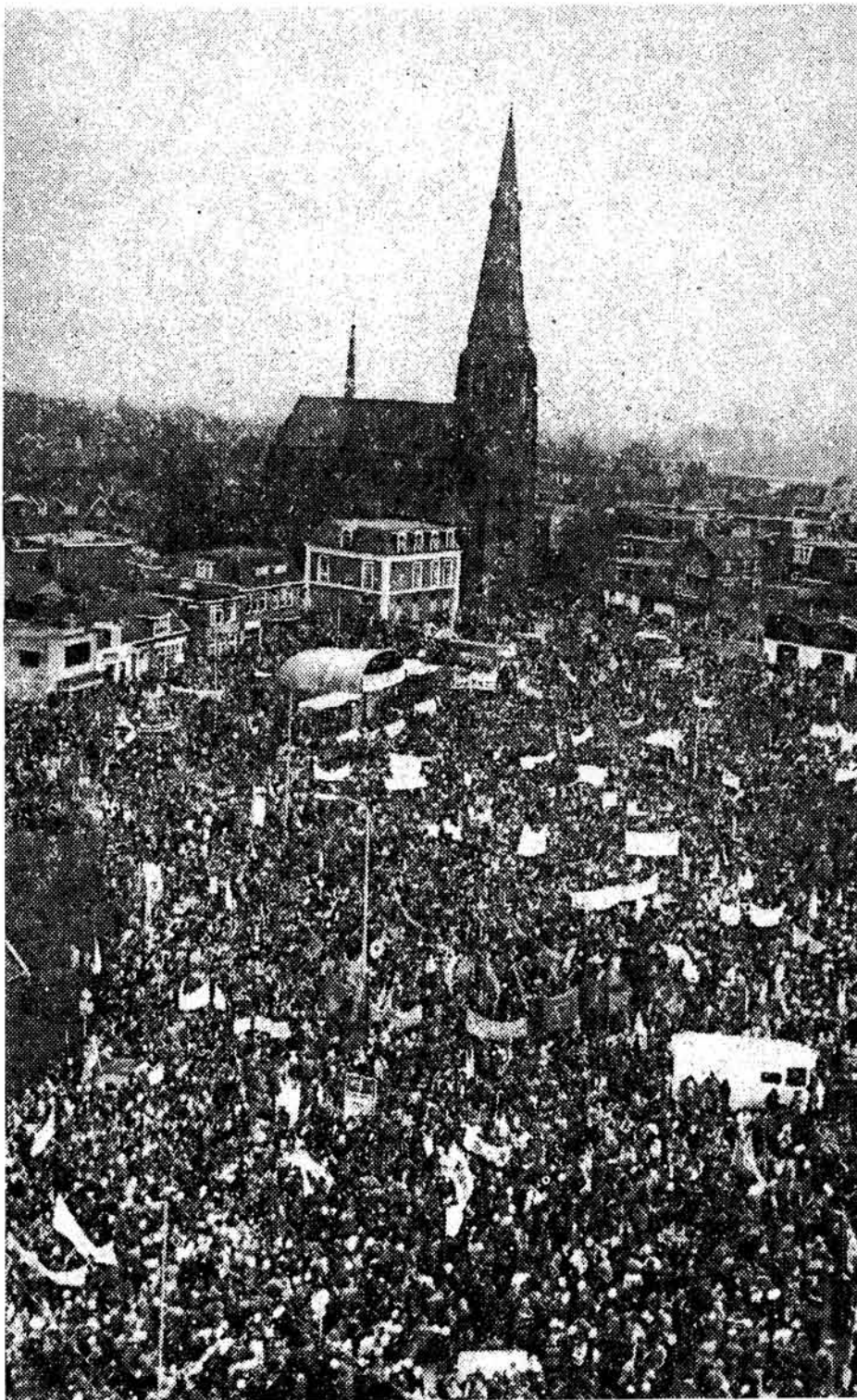
The report noted that for political reasons some regimes refuse to recognize the presence of refugees within their borders, making the provision of relief assistance more difficult. In addition, it pointed out that "British, and European, interest in refugees has decreased in recent years. This is disastrous to the millions who still continue to suffer a bitter human experience through no fault of their own."

17. Unidad Obrera y Socialista (Workers and Socialist Unity).

18. Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party), Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Communist League), Organización Comunista Ruptura (Breakaway Communist Organization), and Unión Revolucionaria Socialista (Revolutionary Socialist Union). The PST and LCR are sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International.

## 40,000 in Netherlands March Against Nuclear Power

By Matt Robson



Antinuclear demonstrators fill center of Dutch town of Almelo.

RIJSWIJK, Netherlands—To the citizens of the world's great cities, traffic jams are just a fact of life. But for the small Dutch town of Almelo, close to the German border, their first-ever traffic foul-up occurred on Saturday, March 4. Whole families came into the street to gaze at the unfamiliar spectacle. This, however, was no ordinary traffic jam.

It resulted from the fact that Holland's growing antinuclear movement was serving notice of its strength. An estimated 40,000 demonstrators poured into the town where the Urenco uranium enrichment plant is located. Some sources have placed the figure at a possible 50,000 persons.

They came from every part of the Netherlands and indeed from all over Europe. Three hundred buses brought demonstrators from the cities and towns of Holland. The railways put on extra staff to cope with the massive increase in passengers. Those who could not come by these means were not deterred—in true Dutch fashion they got there on their bicycles.

Protesters also came across the border from Germany, Belgium, France, and Denmark. A fifth of the total demonstrators were Germans, reciprocating the Dutch participation in the large demonstration at Kalkar the previous year. The international participation reflected the strong links between the European antinuclear groups.

One of Holland's leading national dailies, the *Volkskrant*, reported it as "one of the greatest demonstrations ever held against nuclear energy and a great success." Expecting 15,000, the organizers planned an eleven o'clock start. But the roads were so blocked with the incoming demonstrators, far above that number, that it was not until 12:30 that all were assembled in the town square.

Organized by the Landelijk Energie Komitee (the National Energy Committee), the demonstration featured bands, theater groups and mobile child-care facilities for the march to the plant on the outskirts of the town. Above the demonstrators floated thousands of bright yellow balloons imprinted with a red sun to symbolize alternative energy.

The National Energy Committee unites a broad range of groups, from political parties to environmental groups, around the demand to stop the production of nuclear fuel and power. The speakers from the different organizations addressed the

marchers, indicating the depth of the movement.

The Urenco uranium enrichment plant is owned by a Dutch, German, and British consortium. The Dutch government had agreed to an expansion of the plant to allow it to provide enriched uranium to Brazil. Brazil has contracted to buy eight 1,300-megawatt nuclear-power stations from West Germany, with fuel from the Urenco plant. However, as the British newspaper the *Guardian* reported on March 6 in an article entitled "Rude awakening shatters Brazil's nuclear dreams," an important factor was overlooked in this scheme:

"What neither the Germans nor the Brazilians expected was adverse public

reaction from Holland. It is understandable that Brazil's military rulers are used to ignoring public opinion within their own country and that the West German government would like to emulate them, but the anti-nuclear movement is not something that they or other governments have the power to suppress. Moreover, the spectre of nuclear weapons in the hands of such brutal dictators as Brazil's Geisel is a spur to the movement."

The importance of demonstrations like Almelo is evident:

"The size and exuberance of the demonstration showed the strength of the antinuclear movement in Holland and Germany. On the left it has become the most important unifying issue since Vietnam. It cen-

tres not only on the destructiveness of the neutron bomb but also on the whole strategy of meeting energy needs with fast breeder nuclear power."

Throughout Holland, windows display anti-neutron-bomb posters. And now the division is even reflected in government circles. On March 4, the day of the giant Almelo action, Defense Minister Kruisinga resigned because of his opposition to NATO possessing the neutron bomb.

Because of the "adverse public reaction" the West German government now has plans to enrich uranium for Brazil within their own borders if, as seems likely, this proves impossible in Holland. Kalkar and Almelo reveal that they do not have an easy task ahead of them. And with this problem they are not alone. □

## Husak's Reply to Rising Opposition

# Worker Dissidents Blacklisted in Czechoslovakia

By Hector Sandor

In the Soviet Union, as well as in Bulgaria, Romania, and the German Democratic Republic, oppositionists are declared insane. This holds the same advantages for the bureaucracy as in the past, when they were declared criminals—they can be locked up and their ideas do not have to be discussed.

Previously, it was necessary to locate sufficiently corrupted judges and lawyers to put on the farce. Nowadays their "doctor" counterparts suffice. But there is an added advantage—in the trials of yesterday, it was also necessary to show "collaboration" on the part of the accused, which has now become more and more difficult.

During the 1930s in the Soviet Union and the 1950s in the "people's democracies," a good number of oppositionists could be broken (especially since the majority of those accused were only potential oppositionists, good Stalinists up to then and clearly unable to grasp what was happening to them). Today, however, the crisis of Stalinism is such that despite the undoubted success of the police schools and Soviet "psychiatry," this has become a touchy matter.

The charge of insanity—which is well-suited for the Soviet Union, where as yet only a small number of people dare to appear as nonconformists—has an evident theoretical advantage. In a state that "belongs to the whole people," if the oppositionists are no longer spies on foreign payrolls (as was "typical" from 1936 to 1952), then they can be nothing else but

*deviants, abnormal individuals, in short—lunatics.*

From this standpoint, the struggle against "special hospitals" in the Soviet Union has entirely different implications than challenging the "power of psychiatry" in the capitalist countries, where the bourgeoisie has many other means of repression.

To obtain recognition the world over (and therefore in the Soviet Union) that Leonid Plyushch, for example, was not mad except in the eyes of corrupt psychiatrists bought off by the bureaucrats, who naturally consider attacks on their authority as paranoia, is to deal a heavy blow to the repressive capacities of these gentlemen. And now it is possible to win other victories in this area through mobilizations of the workers movement and ad hoc committees.

### A Mass Opposition

In Czechoslovakia, on the other hand, not a single case of "creeping schizophrenia" has been discovered up to now, but rather real live individuals of sound mind who are nevertheless opposed to the delights of Husak's "socialism." Officially, they are the residue of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois mentalities formerly (i.e., forty years ago) very widespread in the country, reinforced by the "bad habits of '68," and constantly cultivated abroad.

The truth is that while every bureaucracy faces challenges to its legitimacy, this is a particularly sensitive problem in Czechoslovakia. To the question "Who put

you in power?" Husak and his friends can only reply: 500,000 Soviet troops, one fine day in August 1968. And in order to consolidate this "victory," a good part of the old state apparatus (i.e., of the Czechoslovak CP) had to be dismissed.

Thus in addition to all of the opposition aroused by the Soviet intervention, there was the threat of several hundred thousand people being abruptly demoted. These former CP members do not, of course, constitute a homogeneous milieu. They include representatives of the former top layers of the bureaucracy, who in 1967 opted for a degree of liberalization, as well as rank-and-file activists who sincerely believed that the CP could be reformed into becoming the means for attaining "socialism with a human face."

In short, it might be said that in Czechoslovakia, in contrast to the USSR, the opposition is characterized by its *massiveness* and its large component of former CP members. While politically it is very heterogeneous, the absence of probourgeois currents should be noted.

In Czechoslovakia, as elsewhere, repression is obviously not aimed at increasing the government's popularity. Its goal is more modest—to contain dissidence by showing its price to the mass of those who are undecided. Thus, only those who are most determined will take the risk. The danger, then, is that in order to avoid repression, the oppositionists may confine themselves to purely conspiratorial activities of limited effectiveness, that can easily be repressed when it becomes necessary to do so. It is in Czechoslovakia (and Poland)

that the opposition has been most successful, on a *relatively large scale*, in avoiding this trap set by the government.

#### The Czechoslovak Constitution— Bureaucrats' Private Property?

The signers of Charter 77—the “chartists”—have rejected from the start what passivity and common sense had finally led many others to accept—namely, that it could be taken for granted that the law and its enforcement were the private property of the ruling bureaucracy. By demanding strict enforcement of the constitution, the “chartists” are challenging this stranglehold of the state in practice and in theory. Or, as the East German oppositionists say, they are challenging those who view society as one big automated enterprise at their disposal.

This concern with enforcement of the law, which is even overscrupulous at times, does not stem from any legalistic naïveté. In addition to being a sensible defense tactic, it relates to a questioning of the bureaucracy's power that also has different implications than the legal battles that can (and should) be waged by worker militants in the capitalist countries.

In “quiet periods,” the capitalists have no need to *systematically* violate their own laws. The (legal) private ownership of the means of production automatically ensures their domination, for the most part. It is a different story in the bureaucratized workers states, where violating the Czechoslovak constitution, Stalinist as it is, is an unending necessity for the bureaucrats. We need only imagine what independent trade unions, or freedom of association or of the press, would mean in Czechoslovakia.

Since psychiatric hospitals are not on a par with the extent (i.e., with the “normalcy”) of opposition, and since political trials have the drawbacks mentioned earlier, the most common type of repression will be economic: dismissals. Nevertheless, several trials have taken place—those of Vladimir Lastuvka and Ales Machacek in the city of Ústí nad Labem on September 26-28, to take the most recent examples, and the better known trial of Jiri Lederer, Ota Ornest, Vaclav Havel and Frantisek Pavlicek in Prague. In each case, the sentences ranged from fourteen months to three-and-a-half years in prison.

Officially, none of those sentenced were convicted for having signed the charter, but for having owned and circulated “seditious” books, in the former case, and for having published articles abroad in the latter. Except for Ornest, who pleaded guilty, none of them will knuckle under. Clearly, the political advantage of such trials for the bureaucracy is minimal.

Economic retaliation, on the other hand, offers the advantage of having a dissuasive impact, as do prison sentences. Here,

however, the sentence is carried out without even the semblance of a contradictory verdict, without any possibility of defense. Finally, it is assumed that this type of punishment will arouse fewer international protests.

What is involved is a type of *Berufsverbot* (blacklisting in the professions in West Germany), but it is carried out in a country where the state is the *sole* employer. Such retaliation can range from censure to partial blacklisting in artistic fields (see Charter Document No. 13 on the current situation of pop music in Czechoslovakia) to outright permanent dismissals.

To be sure, after the dismissal, the charge of “hooliganism” may be added, as in the Soviet Union—unless the person forced into unemployment has received money from abroad, in which case he may be prosecuted for ties to imperialism or currency speculation (the latter charge aiming to smear him in the eyes of the public).

In response to this new form of repression, there must be an appropriate reaction from the workers movement. So far, nearly all the trade-union federations (including those controlled by the CP) have issued statements condemning these practices. To be effective (i.e., to lead to mobilizations), more concrete responses, that involve further commitments, must now be obtained.

Why should local unions not take responsibility for defending individuals fired for “crimes of opinion,” in the same branch of industry if possible. This means that, once the full facts are on record, the local union should make contact with its counterpart in the other country, first to inquire and then to protest; that it should also make contact with the person who has been dismissed by letter or telephone (and if possible even send someone to visit him; can it be that in Czechoslovakia there are persons who are barred from contact with-

out having been indicted?), and, if necessary, send financial assistance *on behalf of the local union*. Let the bureaucracy try to denounce this as “the long arm of the CIA.”

Repeated actions of this type, apart from being an elementary gesture of internationalism, will have a dual effect—in the capitalist countries, of proving that a rejection of “gulag” socialism is taking place at this very moment, and in Czechoslovakia, of giving the opposition a very powerful *boost from the working class*.

Today, oppositionists in the people's democracies have opted for the widest possible publicity, and they have done so with political courage and intelligence. It would, after all, be a shameful paradox, if in the capitalist West, the response of the workers movement were a clandestine one. □

#### Old Newspapers Worry Uruguay Regime

Retroactive press censorship has been imposed by the Uruguayan dictatorship.

The January 1978 issue of the monthly bulletin *Uruguay News* reports that “reading at the National Library of almost all of the written press within the 1950-1974 period” has been prohibited. “A spokesman for the regime said that the press of that period served the Tupamaros and communists.”

Access to the press of the 1880-1925 period is limited to “serious and registered researchers,” who must pass a police inquiry before being allowed to read turn-of-the-century newspapers.

The newspaper *La Paz*, edited and published by the Uruguayan educator José Pedro Varela in the mid-1800s, has also been banned. Varela falls under the regime's suspicion for having translated and published an article by Karl Marx.

# MEMO

# to:

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

# from:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Country \_\_\_\_\_

\$24 enclosed for one-year subscription.

\$12 enclosed for a six-month subscription.

Send information about first-class and airmail rates.

## In Defense of the Writers Association of Iran

[The following appeal is being circulated in the United States by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.\*]

\* \* \*

The Writers Association of Iran, an organization of poets, novelists, playwrights, translators and scholars, has come under a new round of violent attacks by the regime of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. Since mid-November 1977, the Shah's regime has launched an open campaign of harassment against the adherents of the Writers Association, whose primary cause is the ending of censorship and the restoration of free speech in Iran.

In recent months, the truncheon-carrying thugs of the Iranian secret police, SAVAK, have broken up poetry readings and lectures sponsored by the Writers Association, beating and incarcerating its members. The government has now banned all such cultural gatherings.

The safety of all advocates of free speech in Iran is subject to constant government threat. Only an international campaign of protest will stop these attacks and help win the implementation of the legitimate demands of the courageous intellectuals gathered in the Writers Association of Iran.

In a statement issued in March 1968, thirty Iranian intellectuals declared the initial formation of the Writers Association of Iran. The writers' initiative was taken in response to continuous violations of the constitutionally-guaranteed rights of free speech and free expression by the Iranian government. The founding statement of the Writers Association declared the following as its principal aim:

*"The defense of freedom of expression according to the Iranian Constitution—articles 20 and 21 of the Supplementary Fundamental Laws; and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—Articles 18 and 19."*

The pursuit of this aim was viewed by the Iranian government as an impermissible challenge to its censorship apparatus. All efforts to register the Association with the government failed. In addition, the government launched an immediate campaign of harassment against the founders of the Association. Many of them were fired from their jobs, imprisoned and tortured, and in some cases died under mysterious circumstances. After two years of

### Shams Al-Ahmad Arrested in Tehran



Caifi Newsletter

SHAMS AL-AHMAD

Shams Al-Ahmad, a prominent member of the Writers Association of Iran, was arrested in Tehran March 2.

Al-Ahmad was one of the main organizers of last October's ten "Evenings of Poets and Writers" in Tehran, which were attended by tens of thousands of persons. In his speech on the third evening, Al-Ahmad called for the immediate dissolution of the government's censorship bureau.

The trumped-up charge against him is "forgery" of government documents. It is widely believed, however, that the real reason for his arrest concerns his role in publishing the complete version of the book *Gharbzadegi* (Westomania) by his late brother. The book has been banned since its original publication in 1961.

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran asks that letters and telegrams of protest concerning the arrest be sent to Jamshid Amouzegar, Prime Minister of Iran, Tehran, Iran. Copies of such messages should be sent to CAIFI, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

scattered activity the Writers Association was forced to disband.

In the course of the next seven years, the Shah's repression was further tightened. In 1974, the Shah ordered his own self-created political parties to dissolve and created a one-party system with compulsory membership for the entire adult population. He also shut down 95 per cent of the Iranian press. Many writers were black-listed, and the number of published books dropped to its lowest ever. Advocates of free speech such as the leading playwright Gholamhossein Sa'edi were placed under ban from traveling abroad. (The two-year ban on Sa'edi was recently lifted by the Iranian government, following an international campaign of protest.)

The situation was summarized by Liz Thurgood in the January 9, 1977, issue of the British weekly *Manchester Guardian*:

"Repression is tighter than ever in Iran. Many writers, artists and academics languish in prison, and according to one writer: 'Censorship is absolute.'"

The intolerable level of repression, to-

gether with encouraging international efforts in defense of human and democratic rights in Iran, led to a new mood of protest in the country.

Throughout 1977, many individuals and groups of intellectuals issued open statements, demanding basic civil liberties. And, on June 13, 1977, an Open Letter to the Prime Minister announced the reestablishment of the Writers Association of Iran. Signed by forty prominent intellectuals, it made the following demands:

- 1) that the Writers Association of Iran be activated as a gathering place for the dialogue of Iranian intellectuals;
- 2) that all existing obstacles to the creation of centers and clubs for the gathering of members of the Association in Tehran and other cities be removed;
- 3) that legal facilities be provided for the publication and unhampered distribution of an organ by the Association.

The courageous act of the forty had an immediate impact both inside and outside of Iran. A Second Open Letter to the Prime Minister, this time bearing ninety-eight

\*853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003.

signatures, was issued on July 19. Subsequently, the adherents of the Writers Association grew to more than 120, making it the gathering place of all the prominent writers and poets, as well as many outstanding historians and social scientists. International support for the Writers Association came from such world-renowned intellectuals as Simone de Beauvoir, Arthur Miller, and Jean Paul Sartre.

Despite much harassment from the government, the Writers Association took another bold step and organized ten evenings of public poetry readings from October 10 to 19. The unprecedented event proved to be enormously successful. Thousands attended these meetings, and every time a speaker mentioned the word *freedom* the audience would applaud, at times rising to a standing ovation.

In a statement issued after the final evening, the Writers Association said: "For years Tehran has not witnessed a crowd of 8,000 to 10,000 or more voluntarily gathering, at times under a heavy downpour, to hear words that were not sickening repetition of the official lies and deceptions."

It was during these ten evenings that the depth of opposition to government repression and the willingness to publicly defy it was clearly demonstrated. This led to a change in the government's response from one of wait-and-see to naked suppression of the Writers Association.

On November 15, while the Shah was being welcomed to Washington by President Carter, a massive terror campaign was unleashed in Iran. Meetings sponsored by the Writers Association were broken up by plain-clothes police, "brandishing wooden clubs, brass knuckles, and chains and shouting 'long live the Shah.'" (*Washington Post*, November 22, 1977).

At least sixteen students were reported to have been killed during these attacks.

On November 22, historian Homa Nateq and poet Nemat Mirzazadeh, both active members of the Writers Association, were beaten to near death by SAVAK attackers. The next day, the 63-year-old Mahmoud Behazin, a founding member of the Association and one of its executive officers, was arrested on a trumped-up charge of "inciting thugs and hooligans to riot." He was later released on approximately \$500,000 bail, and is now waiting for his upcoming trial.

On December 8, writers Manouchehr Hezar-Khani and Islam Kazemeh, were set upon by a mob of plain-clothes police in the city of Lahijan. Following this attack, Kazemeh was hospitalized and received 18 stitches on his right arm.

The leaders of the Writers Association of Iran have explicitly been told by the government that if the Association holds any assembly, their "safety cannot be guaranteed." □

## 'General Disenchantment With Janata Rule'

### Behind Gandhi's Comeback at the Polls



GANDHI: Ex-dictator demonstrates how low support for current rulers has sunk.

In a sudden upturn in the fortunes of former Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the faction of the Congress Party led by her won electoral majorities in two state legislative assemblies February 25.

Both of her victories over the ruling Janata Party were in southern states. In Karnataka, her party won 152 of 224 seats in the assembly and in neighboring Andhra Pradesh she won 149 of the 239 seats for which initial results were available. The two states have a combined population of 80 million persons.

In a third southern state, Maharashtra, Gandhi's party came in third, but never-

theless did better than had been expected. Gandhi herself did not run for a seat, but she campaigned actively for her Congress Party candidates.

Coming nearly a year after she was overwhelmingly defeated in national elections because of her dictatorial rule, the current results were seen as primarily a rebuff to the Janata Party. Reporting from New Delhi in the February 23 *Christian Science Monitor*, correspondent Mohan Ram noted that there was a "general disenchantment with Janata rule."

Moreover, the southern states were not affected as directly by Gandhi's state of emergency as were the northern states, where the Janata Party now has its strongest base of support.

Nationality frictions may also have been a factor. The Dravidian peoples of southern India have long feared domination by the northern Hindi-speaking population. The inhabitants of Karnataka speak Kannada and those in Andhra Pradesh speak Telugu, both Dravidian languages. It has been official policy in New Delhi for decades to encourage the spread of Hindi as a countrywide language, to the detriment of peoples speaking other languages. Though Gandhi also supported this policy, the ruling Janata Party includes some of the most vociferous proponents of Hindi domination.

Gandhi has naturally sought to present her party's gains as a sign of popular support. In particular, she is now using the election results to try to weaken the rival faction of the Congress Party that was led by Brahmananda Reddy (he resigned as head of his party after the vote totals were in). Gandhi is now seeking to have her faction recognized as the official opposition party in parliament. □

### Pinochet Calls Off State of Siege

General Augusto Pinochet announced March 9 that the state of siege in effect in Chile ever since the overthrow of Allende in 1973 will be allowed to lapse.

The state of siege—under which the junta suspended constitutional guarantees and the right of habeas corpus, conducted military trials, and banished opponents from the country—has been renewed every six months since the September 1973 coup. Pinochet said that when the present siege expired March 11 it would not be renewed.

"This is not a threat, but I am testing how the people will behave," he said.

Pinochet claimed he enjoyed the support of 80 percent of the Chilean people. "I believe that this backing permits me to lift the state of siege and maintain only a state of emergency," he added. Why he felt a state of emergency was still required with such overwhelming support was not made clear.

In addition to the state of emergency Pinochet said a limited nightly curfew would also remain in effect, but mainly for "economic reasons—to save fuel and energy."

## Statement by a Group of Communist Oppositionists

### For Socialist Democracy in Poland!

[The following document is now being circulated clandestinely in Poland. Its authenticity has been established. The authors define themselves as communists, which in itself is highly significant in Eastern Europe, where for years the bureaucracy has tried to usurp that label.

[Since the famous "open letter" by Kuron and Modzelewski in 1965, this is one of the first opposition documents from Poland that is written from an expressly Marxist standpoint and criticizes the bureaucracy from the point of view of the working class.

[Of course, on some questions we would have differences with the analysis outlined in this document—for example, their definition of the bureaucracy as a ruling class, and their description of the relationships of production in the Eastern European countries as "state capitalism."

[But these differences in no way diminish the importance of this document as a reflection of an authentic Marxist current. The authors clearly distinguish themselves from reactionary or liberal dissident views and have a vision of socialist democracy that is the antithesis of the bureaucratic caricature that reigns in Poland and Eastern Europe.]

\* \* \*

#### 1.

The socialist revolution—we are often told—has already taken place. Class antagonisms have disappeared, the class struggle has been replaced by the collective effort of the entire nation, and for the first time in history the prevailing social relations allow for the unhampered development of the productive forces.

From this standpoint, however, the mass workers' rebellions that have taken place several times in our country over the last few years are utterly incomprehensible. Against whom are the toiling masses rebelling, if the Polish United Workers Party [the Polish CP] and the people's state represent their interests? So far as the government is concerned, workers demonstrations can clearly only be antisocialist by definition, and those who take part in them can be nothing but adventurists who should be severely punished. As a matter of fact, these strikes have shown

that if the workers want to better their living conditions, or even to defend their living standards against deterioration, they are forced to confront the government. Furthermore, these demonstrations—as was shown in the early 1970s—are precisely what has made possible an accelerated development of the productive forces and more rapid industrialization, even if the workers did not explicitly demand this. *Through their struggle, the workers have proved that the bureaucratic apparatus of the party and the state is a fundamental obstacle to further social progress, and that the present social relations must be radically transformed.*

Up to now, the bureaucracy has succeeded in convincing the workers that economic development requires discipline and total subordination to a "professional" leadership. The slogan "Build another Poland," put forward after December 1970, enabled the bureaucracy to disarm the workers. Any possibility that the strike committees would be converted into ongoing workers commissions responsible for watching over the carrying out of the promises made by the bureaucracy, and capable of helping in this themselves, was ruled out in advance.

It turned out that the slogan "Build another Poland" had been put forward precisely to prevent the building of another Poland, in which the masses of workers could manage production and make all of the decisions about the economy.

After December 1970, there was an increased awareness that social contradictions—of which strikes are an obvious reflection—are not a matter of incidental conflicts, a "temporary rift between the party and the masses," but rather constitute the *essence* of the system of production in Poland and other countries that are called "socialist."

#### 2.

The goal of production in our country is supposed to be "a systematic upgrading of workers' living standards, the creation of conditions favoring the development of each individual's human potential, and the strengthening of social bonds of a socialist type" (E. Gierek, Sixth Congress of the Polish CP, 1971). It can easily be estab-

lished, however, as Gierek himself explains, that this definition in no way represents the outcome of an analysis of our system of production, but rather a device for ideological cover-up and control of the system. "Our party," Gierek continues, "sees the principal reason for strengthening its tie with society in such a definition of the goals and motor forces of the future development of socialism."

The nature of a system of production is not determined by its leaders' statements of intention, but by the way production is actually controlled. In our country, the entire social process of production is controlled by the party and state apparatus, which is highly centralized and cut off from the rest of society. It is external to production and stands above society, in the sense that all administrative power is concentrated in the hands of a caste of "professional" directors of the society as a whole. The bureaucracy itself considers the fact of having such power as the basis of a separate social position (see, for example, the decree of December 1972 establishing a special pension system for persons with leading functions in the party and state apparatus, and for the members of their families).

For this ruling layer, the bureaucracy is not only an instrument of power, not only a means, but the very source of its internal cohesion, its body and spirit. That is why it can accept only those goals of production that do not conflict with but rather preserve the separation of the government apparatus from society.

The present system of production thus precludes a genuine socialization of power, that is, the abolition of a state apparatus separate from society. This can be seen as one of the mainstays of the regime. Therefore, the present system precludes all that constitutes the very essence of socialism.

#### 3.

The existence of a separate state apparatus has always been a visible sign of the class struggle in a society. The contradiction between the bureaucratic oligarchy and the working class is the most recent historic reflection of the class struggle.

The source of this contradiction is the kind of state that developed following the October revolution. Early on, Lenin perceived the danger of Soviet institutions degenerating, and he stated that "the bureaucratic methods that have reappeared in Soviet institutions were bound to have a pernicious effect even on Party organisations, since the upper ranks of the Party are at the same time the upper ranks



of the state apparatus."<sup>1</sup> While at the beginning the degeneration appeared as only a tendency among others (Lenin said, "it is a workers' state with bureaucratic distortions"<sup>2</sup>), this tendency soon overshadowed the rest, and the history of what is called the "world socialist system" is in fact the history of the transformation of the bureaucracy into a ruling class.

It is the first ruling class in history that has an internal structure. The element that gives it cohesiveness and provides it with moral and political unity is the party. This, of course, does not mean that the party apparatus cannot become a breeding ground of struggles and rivalries between various groupings and factions. But these rivalries nearly always have as their basic cause a concern for protecting the interests of the ruling layer as such, not isolated individuals.

Even if leaders who were venerated in the past are ousted and punished, this is done only with the aim of saving the bureaucratic power structure that their policies had threatened. "We are the party that remains even if people leave; for people leave but the party remains, people make mistakes, lose hope, but the party will always be victorious" (Eighth Plenum of the Polish CP, 1956).

This political function that the party serves is in no way contradictory with the fact that the majority (60 percent) of party members are workers. They serve as a smokescreen, for without them the party would be instantly exposed as the organization of the bureaucracy.

The role played by the bureaucracy in the process of production can be compared to that of the capitalists only in a very superficial way. The organization of production in the "socialist" countries represents a higher stage of historical and social development. Production is no longer organized within individual plants, but on a nationwide scale, or rather on a scale of all the countries that belong to a single economic and political system. Metaphorically speaking, one might say that they all constitute one big "plant." This "plant" is self-sufficient, in the sense that both the material means of production and the workers belong "naturally" to it. They are the components of "state capitalism," and as such, are caught up forever in its gears.

This also explains the absence of unemployment. The market has been abolished, that is, it continues to exist solely as a certain agreed-upon type of economic management. This changes the condition of the proletariat in a fundamental way. Irrespective of its educational level, skills, or income, the proletariat constitutes a new

class of modern-day industrial slaves. The workers no longer sell their labor power as they do under capitalism, for selling assumes that one is the owner of one's own labor power, and that one sells it for a predetermined, fixed period of time. By contrast, in our society, no one may leave this "plant" without special permission. Not only during work hours, but throughout their lives, the workers are subject to the tyrannical discipline of a plant.

#### 4.

The class contradiction between the bureaucracy and the working class becomes manifest not only during large upsurges, but above all in the day-to-day workings of the economy. The class interest of the bureaucracy—safeguarding a separate state apparatus—is the real goal of the national economic plan.

For this reason, the plan is utterly foreign to the genuine interests of the immediate producers, who are shackled to it against their will. Consequently, the productive units—from the work crew on up to the units made up of several plants—make an effort to fulfill the plan only insofar as this corresponds to defending their particular interests (collecting bonuses, improving their position). Each productive unit must therefore treat the other units solely as a means for obtaining its particular ends. In this way, spontaneous rivalry among the units envelops the entire economic system. The consequences of this general privatization of the whole economic system are "inexplicable" phenomena such as poor quality of products, resistance to modernization, the difficulty of getting different plants to cooperate, and so on. All of this only testifies to the fact of an enormous waste of human effort and material means of production.

All of the experience of recent decades is a forceful negation of the official doctrine that present social relations are no longer a barrier to the development of the productive forces, that technological development is the motor force of social development. Despite the fact that the bureaucracy is conscious of the harmful political consequences (for itself as well) of economic waste, it is absolutely incapable of discerning the real sources of waste, owing to its role in the process of production. It loudly condemns poor organization of work and low productivity, the lack of concern for the general welfare on the part of the various productive units—but it is absolutely incapable of perceiving that the so-called "poor organization of work" is the most elementary manifestation of a class contradiction, of a "poor organization" of society itself.

The extremely atomized character of the entire system of production, moreover, is not only the result but also the social goal of rule by the bureaucracy, because it favors the continuation of its power. The

power structure separated from society remains essential only as long as the workers are incapable of cooperating among themselves to the extent that they still do not have control over their working conditions.

When waste gets to the point of paralyzing the economy, it is the workers who pay the price. This obviously represents a form of exploitation of the working class. When Gomulka in 1970 and Jaroszewicz in 1976 presented their plans for "regularizing prices and wages," they alluded to "economic necessity" (that is, the need for the workers to bear the costs of waste).

In contrast to this, what has now become a real economic necessity is the organization of production by the producers themselves. In other words, what has become essential is the political autonomy of the proletariat.

#### 5.

The foundations for the political autonomy of the proletariat are set down during workers' demonstrations. To the extent that workers become capable of organizing to collectively defend their interests, they more and more reduce the day-to-day rivalries among themselves, thereby making inroads into the atomized system of production. The bureaucracy can control the situation only if it is able to neutralize these rudiments of organization among the workers.

It is true that so far the workers have always run out of steam, and have not been able to proceed from defense of their interests to an assault on the bureaucracy. But the "order" that has been reestablished has never been simply a throwback to the previous state of affairs. The development of the productive forces, of urbanization, and of industrialization, which were the result of workers struggles, have themselves provided the material conditions necessary for a future consolidation of the ties that have been formed within the working class.

At the same time, by their show of strength, the workers have perfected the bureaucratic apparatus, by forcing the bureaucracy to employ more and more open and heavy-handed means of exercising its authority. Because of this, the class antagonisms have been more and more revealed and exposed.

#### 6.

In its struggle, the proletariat cannot rely on any of the existing institutions of the "socialist" state. All of the plans for "regularizing prices and wages" have always met with wholehearted support from the "genuine" representatives of the workers in the party, the Sejm (the Polish legislature), and the trade unions.

Under these conditions, only strikes provide a real opportunity to break the

1. Lenin, *Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1966), vol. 31, pp. 421-22.

2. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 32, p. 48.

bureaucracy's monopoly of power. What the workers have not yet clearly grasped is that during strikes, power passes into their hands.

The demands of striking workers have focused mainly on economic issues. The strike committees have dissolved when promises were made to satisfy the workers' demands. Even when simultaneous work stoppages took place in several plants in different parts of the country, the workers did not coordinate their struggles, and often were not even aware of the existence of simultaneous strikes elsewhere.

Marx said in his day (and this is still timely): "Above all things, the workers must counteract, as much as is at all possible, during the conflict and immediately after the struggle, the bourgeois endeavours to allay the storm. . . . Their actions must be so aimed as to prevent the direct revolutionary excitement from being suppressed again immediately after the victory. On the contrary, they must keep it alive as long as possible. Far from opposing so-called excesses, instances of popular revenge against hated individuals or public buildings that are associated only with hateful recollections, such instances must not only be tolerated but the leadership of them taken in hand."<sup>3</sup>

Internal antagonisms and lack of solidarity on the part of the proletariat are always to the advantage of the bureaucracy. In particular, the latter has benefited from the differences that separate industrial workers and the intelligentsia. The formation of the Committee to Defend the Workers (KOR) as an outgrowth of the events of June 1976 was the first display of solidarity on the part of the entire proletariat since 1956. In face of such solidarity, the bureaucracy found itself helpless. They were forced to tolerate the existence of a public opposition, and to release from prison all those who had been arrested for "hooliganism" in June 1976.

Although the KOR itself proved incapable of providing a structure for this solidarity and of converting itself into a workers committee of struggle (the KOR in fact never set itself such a goal), it contributed to the process of organizing the antibureaucratic opposition on a larger scale.

The chances of the current opposition becoming transformed into a negation of the bureaucratic system depend above all on the ability of industrial workers to rid themselves of reformist illusions of the "defensive" type, and also on the capacity of the intelligentsia—which up to now has been rather literary-minded—to help the workers in this effort.

The current antibureaucratic opposition, in its theoretical writings, has not come

out against the bureaucracy as such, but rather against its "abuses of power." It has condemned the despotic and totalitarian character of this government, and demanded that the government's rules be



POLISH CP BOSS GIEREK

enforced and that the freedoms guaranteed by the constitution be implemented.

Accordingly, it has not opposed the government's ultimate goals, only the means employed to achieve them. It has accepted the existing relations of production (the "socialist foundation"), and demanded only improvements in the "superstructure," i.e., the introduction of a multiparty system. It has not even been able to state how and by whom such democratization might be carried out.

The intellectual opposition represents nothing but the antithesis of the ruling ideology, and as such, is dependent on its adversary. Its understanding of the system is in consonance with that of the bureaucracy, in the sense that it is based on a superficial opposition between this system and capitalism, according to an "East-West" geopolitical perspective, rather than explaining it in historical terms that permit grasping both the historical superiority and the serious limitations of the system of production in the "socialist" countries.

For us, what is involved is not thinking up, in a purely theoretical way, entirely new social systems that would be better. It is a matter of discovering, in the history of this system, the incipient forms of possible liberation that are in the process of being created.

In this system, the means of production are already socialized, in the sense that

production of all the necessities of life by means of them takes the form of the organizing and managing of individuals at all levels of society. But they have not yet been socialized for themselves; that is, organization and management have not yet acquired a social character. There is no organization of production by the producers themselves. This system, therefore, is shown to be a type of despotism that envelops all areas of life. Insofar as atomized individuals defend their private interests (which are in fact completely illusory), they are capable only of realizing their own powerlessness.

## 7.

The fundamental problem confronting the reawakening workers movement, which arose at the same time as this movement, can be summarized in the question, "What should we replace the bureaucratic apparatus of the party and state with?"

It is a question of organization. We have to take into consideration all of the bonds that have been formed within the working class in the course of struggles, and take this as the actual point of departure. Right now these bonds take the form of a network of informal contacts, but it is only because of them that an exchange of information and the coordination of activities has become possible. Because of them, it will one day be possible to convert the current strikes into a conscious political struggle.

At the same time, beginning with this network of contacts, an autonomous workers organization will begin to emerge, which will provide opportunities for greater and greater coordination. Such an organization will not merely stand in opposition to the regime, it will represent both its antithesis and its replacement. Its function will not be to serve as a vehicle for workers' interests (in the context of a division between the representatives and those they represent, which can serve as the basis for bureaucratization); it will be the embryonic form of organization of the future society.

By basing themselves on such an organization, strike committees could be converted, once the strike is over, into workers councils. By taking direct control of the management of a plant, of an industrial complex, and so on, the councils would become the basis for workers self-management, for the workers resuming responsibility for production, thereby eliminating the separate management apparatus—the bureaucratic apparatus—and consequently eliminating class antagonism.

## 8.

The struggle to abolish the bureaucratic system is the struggle for socialist demo-

3. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League," in *Selected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969), vol. 1, p. 180.

cracy. These are the principles that the revolutionary workers movement has always been built upon. They were put forward during the Paris Commune in 1871, and formed the basis of the activity of the workers councils in Russia in 1917.

Today it is essential to recall these principles, not, of course, to demand that the bureaucracy adhere to them, but so that out of the struggle for these principles, a genuine workers movement can arise:

1. *The right to strike.* All those who stop work in an organized fashion may not be victimized, and have the right to defend their strike.

2. *All officials must be elected and recallable on the basis of democratic elections.* For an end to the practice of appointments and cooptations, and elections with prearranged lists of candidates. Those who are elected to serve on leading bodies must reenter their workplaces once their term of office has been completed. This also means

that the management of a plant (or other workplace) should be elected by the workers in that plant, and may be recalled by them, which means abolishing "professional" managers.

3. *Adjustment of the wages of all party and state officials to the level of the wages of an average worker.* Abolition of all the privileges now connected with the exercise of authority. Equality and social justice do not mean that all wages should be identical, but only that fulfilling leadership functions at whatever level should not involve the opportunity to acquire privileges.

4. *Freedom of activity for all organizations that respect the rules of socialist democracy.* No political organization may usurp the right to exclusive representation of workers' interests. From the standpoint of socialist democracy, all organizations are legal that accept as the only authority that of the workers councils.

9.

The class antagonism between the bureaucracy and the proletariat that is manifested so clearly in our country is the foundation of the entire "world socialist system." That is why the prospects for the struggle of the Polish proletariat depend on the struggle of the proletariat in the other countries of the "socialist bloc." The progress of this struggle can be evaluated by measuring to what extent we will be able to overcome the internal atomization that characterizes the "socialist bloc," and to base the international solidarity of the proletariat on the economic and cultural ties that are being formed between these countries. Only international solidarity can ensure that an effort to win political freedom, to carry out a political revolution, and to establish socialist democracy will not be brutally cut short through outside intervention.

January 1978

## Is NATO Too Soft on 'Soviet Social-Imperialism'?

# Peking Dresses Up Its Theory of 'Three Worlds'

By Livio Maitan

Mao's successors are continuing his policy of subordinating the struggles of the workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world to the defense of the privileges of the bureaucratic caste that rules China.

The theory of the division of the world into three parts that Mao came out with in 1974 was reiterated in 1977 in a series of Chinese documents. The titles were as follows: "Soviet Social-Imperialism—Most Dangerous Source of World War," "Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds Is a Major Contribution to Marxism Leninism," and "Soviet Social-Colonialism Stands Exposed." The first and third of these articles appeared in *Red Flag*. The second was written by the editors of *People's Daily*. (For the texts of all three articles, see issues no. 29, 45, and 49 of *Peking Review*, respectively.)

### Mao's 'Theoretical' Heritage

The article "Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds . . ." is the most systematic effort thus far to provide a theoretical basis and political explanation for this Maoist conception. It says, for example:

Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds scientifically epitomizes the objective realities of class struggle on the world arena today. . . .

The international bourgeoisie has never been a monolithic whole, nor can it ever be. The international working-class movement has also expe-

rienced one split after another, subject as it is to the influence of alien classes. In waging the struggle on the international arena, the proletariat must unite with all those who can be united in the light of what is imperative and feasible in different historical periods, so as to "develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and isolate the diehards."

As the Chinese leadership sees it, following the degeneration of the USSR, it is no longer possible to use the category of "the socialist camp." According to this document, a new reality has to be recognized—that is the emergence of three worlds: (1) that of the "two imperialist super powers," the USSR and the USA; (2) that of the developed countries; and (3) that of the socialist countries and oppressed nations, who are the victims of imperialist exploitation.

Analyzing these three worlds separately, the document cites the reasons for which the USSR has also to be considered an imperialist country:

(a) It exacts profits abroad, although these are less than those exacted by the USA. It does this by means of "economic aid" and "military assistance," and by "buying cheap and selling dear" in its dealings with the countries receiving its aid.

(b) It carries on through Comecon "activities" similar to those carried on by the American imperialists through the multinational companies and other instruments of aggression.

(c) It has more military bases and forces abroad than the United States (e.g., in Czechoslovakia and Angola).

What is more, the USSR is "the most rapacious imperialism" and "constitutes the most dangerous source of world war." The reasons for this are as follows:

(1) It arose as a great imperialist power later than the United States.

(2) ". . . because comparatively speaking Soviet social-imperialism is inferior in economic strength, it must rely chiefly on its military power and recourse to threats of war in order to expand."

(3) It has "a state-monopoly capitalist economy without its equal in any other imperialist country."

(4) ". . . it can exploit Lenin's prestige and flaunt the banner of 'socialism' to bluff and deceive people everywhere."

Thus, it would be an error to "undiscriminately put the two superpowers on a par."

In the struggle against the two superpowers, the main role belongs to the peoples of the third world. They represent "the overwhelming majority of the world's population." Because they have been most cruelly exploited, they have fought back the hardest.

### Revolution Not on Agenda in Europe

Since the end of the Second World War, the struggle for national liberation has become general through the third world

## Support for NATO Against 'Soviet Threat'

In its February 3, 1978, issue, *Peking Review* reprinted an article from *People's Daily* of January 18, entitled "Defense of National Independence And Second World Countries." In its conclusion, this article summarized the task that Maoist analysts think faces the masses in Europe today—to prepare the way for national unity with their bourgeoisies. The USSR was portrayed as the main threat:

"Hence it is absolutely necessary and correct for the people of the second world countries, faced as they are today with the threat of bullying, oppression and aggression by Soviet social-imperialism, to expose thoroughly the Kremlin's war machinations, oppose appeasement and be well prepared

against a war of aggression. Should the war break out, the proletarians of these countries should come to the forefront of a national war, and fight for the survival and independence of their nations."

So, it is not surprising that in one of its rare international notes, *Peking Review* featured the summit meetings of NATO, the Atlantic military organization of the imperialists. These conferences, the magazine noted, "called for beefing up defences in face of the increasing Soviet military threat." (*Peking Review*, December 26, 1977.) The general staff of the European counterrevolution could not hope for more ideological support.

and will have a decisive weight "for a fairly long historical period." Support for the struggles waged by the peoples of the third world is the primary task of the workers movement in "the first and second worlds," which in the present stage is unable to play a decisive role.

The document says:

... generally speaking and for the time being, as a result of the Soviet ruling clique's betrayal, the spread of revisionist ideology and the splits in the ranks of the working class, the workers' revolutionary movement in the developed capitalist countries cannot but remain at the stage of regrouping and accumulating strength. In these countries there is as yet no revolutionary situation for the immediate seizure of state power.

The second world itself is "a force which can be united with in the struggle against hegemonism." In fact: "... today Soviet social-imperialism obviously represents the gravest danger to the West European countries." So, while not forgetting the "deep-rooted exploitation of and control over many third world countries," by the "second world countries," it is necessary to make a distinction. This involves among other things the need "to put forward the slogan of defending national independence" in the countries of the second world as well.

War is inevitable, the document says, and will remain so until there is a socialist revolution in the Soviet Union and in the United States. But it is possible to put off such a conflict by upsetting the timetable of the superpowers. China can benefit from such a delay since "we... urgently need a long period of peace."

War would bring widespread disaster. It would also bring great changes. "It is also likely that the whole structure of imperialism will completely collapse."

The fight against war has to be based on a united front in which the socialist countries and the international proletariat fight alongside the countries of the third and second worlds, rejecting any policy of appeasement or détente with social-imperialism, which is the main danger of war.

### Quotation Hunting in Marx and Engels

The editors of *People's Daily* resorted to a series of quotations from the classics in the attempt to demonstrate the legitimacy of their theory. Their claim that they based themselves on Marx, Engels, and Lenin lacks the slightest foundation.

Most of the quotations from Marx and Engels prove only one simple fact—that they clearly understood the full importance of the struggle for national liberation, notably in the well-known cases of Poland and Ireland. The only quotation that has any relevance for the question raised is a passage from Engels discussing the possibility of a Tsarist war of aggression against Germany:

We can inform the government that we are prepared to support it in a struggle against the external enemy, if we are given the chance, if we are treated decently. We are ready to do this if the government wages a war without quarter, using every means, including revolutionary ones. . . . The very existence of the nation would be at stake in that case, and for us the important thing would be to maintain our positions and the possibilities for the future that we have won for ourselves. [Letter to Bebel, *Marx-Engels Werke*, vol. 38, pp. 159-163.]

In this passage, Engels raised the possibility of a war in which Germany would not have imperialist aims and in which its very existence would be in danger, a war

that would also threaten to halt the advance of "the socialist movement in Europe for twenty years."

Such a possibility did not come to pass. (In general, it is hardly likely that in such a war, bourgeois Germany would not already at this time have had imperialist aims.) When war did break out in fact between Russia and Germany some decades later, both belligerents were motivated by their imperialist nature. And the genuine followers of Marx and Engels denounced the imperialism of their own countries, waging an intransigent struggle against it.

It was the reformists that Lenin fought against who thought, to use the words of *People's Daily*, that their countries were faced "with the question of safeguarding their national independence and the working class in Europe . . . faced with the question of maintaining the positions and prospective opportunities already gained."

Lenin did not exclude a priori the possibility of national wars in the epoch of imperialism, and he even wrote that if the 1914 war had been limited to a conflict between Serbia and Austria, or Belgium and Germany, that the workers movement would have had to take a position in support of the small states attacked by empires. But once again, this was an extremely hypothetical possibility, and it did not come to pass.

The editors of *People's Daily* repeatedly quote the documents of the second congress of the Communist International. But they forget that the theses on the national and colonial question adopted by this congress said, among other things, that "the whole policy of the Communist International on the national and colonial question must be based mainly on the union of the workers and toiling masses of all nations and countries in the common revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the landlords and the bourgeoisie." (Thesis 4.)

As for the passage, also in the second congress documents, in which Lenin included in the same category oppressed colonies and dismembered countries such as Iran, Turkey, and China, as well as defeated countries, including Germany, it is clear that this was a purely empirical and conjunctural classification. Subsequent events, both after the first and second world wars, showed that Germany could quite rapidly resume its role as an imperialist power.

### Strike Gold in Stalin

But more important, while Lenin and the other Bolshevik leaders took advantage of this new room for maneuver to carry out diplomatic operations such as the Rapallo pact, they never tried to form a united front between the USSR and defeated Germany. They never kept quiet about the revolutionary tasks of the German proleta-

riat, which were constantly on the agenda of the congresses of the Communist International.

Continuing their culling of quotations, the authors cite two passages from Stalin. One is from 1939 and concerns characterizing Germany, Italy, and Japan as aggressor countries; and Great Britain, France, and the United States as nonaggressor countries. The other, from 1942, draws a distinction between the Italian-German coalition and the Anglo-Soviet-American one. Obviously our eager quotation hunters neglected the period 1939-1941, the period of the German-Soviet pact.

But in any case, this counterposing of aggressor and nonaggressor countries covered up the class nature of the two coalitions, prettified it, and thus opened the door for the Tehran, Potsdam, and Yalta conferences and the division of the world into spheres of influence.

Moreover, the article brings up the thesis of Stalin's last book that "the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains in force." This is, to say the least, a dubious thesis, inasmuch as the existence of a series of countries where capitalism has been abolished represents an obstacle to the expansion of such conflicts much greater than existed before the Second World War. The implication of such a thesis, that is, that a war among capitalist countries is more likely than a war between capitalist and collectivist countries, is obviously still more dubious.

#### Is the USSR Imperialist?

The first and main argument used to demonstrate that the USSR is an imperialist country is totally false. Contrary to the United States and the second world countries that Peking is waltzing around with, it does not exact profits abroad by exporting capital. The document itself speaks of specific forms of exploitation. But these do not involve creating Soviet-owned operations. The plants and facilities that the USSR has built in India, for instance, are Indian property.

It is true that after the war, especially in certain East European countries, joint companies were formed in which the Soviet state had a share. In some cases, concerns of this type still exist. In the postwar period, the Yugoslav Communists in particular raised some sharp arguments against such operations. But they were a passing thing, and in any case of limited scope. No one could claim that they represented an inherent necessity of the Soviet economy, and in fact, it was possible to abolish the joint companies without the slightest repercussions.

It is also true that in its relations with other countries, the USSR has been able to profit from the unequal exchange that is a result of the fact that the capitalist world market is still, in the last analysis, the decisive regulatory mechanism. But even

in its dealings with the countries in its sphere of influence, the USSR exports raw materials and imports industrial goods, and thus, in general, it pays the price of unequal exchange.



MAO: Originator of theory that Soviet Union is the "most rapacious imperialism."

Moreover, the USSR has concluded long-term accords with some countries that have had the effect of stabilizing raw materials prices over relatively long and even extended periods at levels advantageous for the exporter countries. (The Cuban sugar agreement is an example.)

All these facts indicate how arbitrary is the analogy between the activities of the "Socialist Commonwealth" and those of the multinational companies. This does not mean that Moscow does not use Comecon and other "instruments," such as military bases and military occupation to safeguard its hegemony over its "sister" countries.

But what the Chinese theoreticians have never succeeded in demonstrating is that the analogy they make between the hegemonic "superpowers" reflects a fundamental identity between the socioeconomic structures in the USSR and in the USA.

If capitalism had been restored in the USSR, it would be possible to describe this process of restoration in very precise terms. But no Chinese document has so far succeeded in doing this. Peking's theoreticians have been unable to avoid falling into two major contradictions:

They date the degeneration of the USSR from 1956, or the death of Stalin, and at the same time, as proof of this degeneration, they point to phenomena that had already emerged under Stalin. While insisting that the workers can only achieve power through revolutionary violence, they maintain, even in the document under

consideration here, a gradualist and "reformist" conception of the way capitalism can be restored.

#### Praise for France's 'Civilizing Mission'

To counter "Soviet hegemony," Peking calls for greater unity between the second and third worlds. The Chinese leadership has not hesitated to follow the logic of this position to the end, openly hailing the direct military intervention of an imperialist power, in this case France, in support of the reactionary Mobutu regime in Zaïre. It took this attitude at the time of the attack of the so-called Katangan gendarmes.

In its June 6, 1977, issue *Pékin Information* said:

When, at the instigation of the Soviet Union, mercenaries invaded Zaïre, France and certain West European countries provided military and logistical aid [to Zaïre]. Thus, the tendency for West Europe and Africa to unite to oppose hegemonism is becoming stronger."

Arguments, based once again, on abstract analogies, that the USSR is the most aggressive power and "the most dangerous source of world war," can be countered simply by raising some very elementary questions. Who has been at the origin of all the more important military conflicts in recent years, from the Korean war to the one in Vietnam? Who staged an overt aggression against the Cuban workers state? Who backs what is really the most dangerous source of war in the Middle East, that is, the Zionist state of Israel?

How can it be explained, on the basis of the Maoists' present "theories," that in all the major confrontations in recent years, such as the ones in Korea and Vietnam, the USSR was on the side of what the Maoists themselves consider "socialist countries"? (This includes Cuba, at least at the time of the Yankee aggressions.) And how, on the basis of these theories, can it be explained that the Cubans and the Vietnamese have continually stressed how vital Soviet aid has been for them?

#### A Medal for Mobutu?

Can such gigantic facts be countered with references to the events in Angola, or, still worse, those in Zaïre? Can anyone be unaware of the fact that in Angola it was not the USSR that provoked the war but that it only militarily aided one of the contending sides? More precisely, it aided the side against which were arrayed all the most reactionary forces, with the South African racists in the forefront. How is it possible to see in the Zaïre conflict a Soviet plot and to present Mobutu as a hero of his country's struggle for independence?

The Maoists' entire theoretical-political construction is based on the idea that "judging from their deeds and general orientation in international political struggles over the last 30 years or so, the

oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America are revolutionary and progressive as far as their essence and main aspect are concerned. . . ."

Thus, our theoreticians exclude any concrete analysis of the way in which the colonial countries have achieved independence. They are all revolutionary, those that won independence by a prolonged struggle and by very broad mass mobilizations, as well as those that benefitted from colonialist maneuvers from above. Bokassa equals Boumédiène; Samora Machel, Houphouët-Boigny. The existence of native ruling classes is mentioned only in passing, as if it were an entirely secondary factor.

Such important developments as the changes brought about by partial industrialization of countries like Mexico and Brazil and the relative strengthening of national bourgeois strata more closely linked to imperialist enterprises are totally ignored. As a result, the political and military implications that flow from these developments are ignored as well.

#### Hangman of Tehran Not All Bad

For example, nothing is said about the ties between American imperialism and the Brazilian and Iranian ruling classes, or about the policeman's role that Brazil and Iran play in their respective zones of influence. Obviously it would be difficult to denounce this, while singing the praises of the hangman Reza Pahlevi and presenting some of the moves of the Geisel government in a favorable light!

As I mentioned, China is included in the third world. The essential criterion for this classification is not the class nature of the state but the backwardness of China's economic development as compared with that of the "rich countries." Moreover, the document does not specify who the other socialist countries are. The Chinese leaders include—for the moment—the three countries of Indochina in this category, as well as North Korea.

With respect to East Europe, the situation is more fluid. Albania remains a socialist country, but risks being demoted if its relations with Peking deteriorate further. Yugoslavia, on the other hand, might make a formally endorsed comeback. Romania was presented a few years ago as socialist. Such fluidity is the result of the regime's interest in including or excluding one or another country depending on its needs of the moment.

The problem with the analysis that the "second world," including countries involved in all sorts of neocolonialist operations such as Great Britain, France and the Federal Republic of Germany, can be won over to the united front against "hegemonism" is that it glosses over the class nature and real role of the countries concerned. Only an aberrant application of the simplistic notion of focusing on the

## Hail Meeting of Asian Dictators

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is made up of five dictatorial regimes, the ones in Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand.

Today, the Chinese leadership no longer hides its support for ASEAN, which it so long denounced as an instrument of neocolonialism. The *Peking Review* hailed the second summit conference of ASEAN held in Kuala Lumpur last August, saying:

"In 1977, the Association of Southeast Asian nations . . . made continual progress in safeguarding independence and national sovereignty. . . ."

The economic negotiations carried on

during the conference, the ensuing discussions with "leaders" of Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, and the commitments entered into with the Common Market and Canada, deserved support, according to *Peking Review*.

Indeed, the magazine said:

"These talks achieved some results in promoting ASEAN economic relations with second world countries under relatively favorable conditions." (*Peking Review*, January 13.)

These talks also tended to strengthen imperialist domination in the region and shore up the stability of military and police-state regimes that are bulwarks of counterrevolution.

"main enemy" could lead to forgetting that Japan, Germany, Great Britain, and other such powers are pillars of the world imperialist system.

A workers state can, of course, try to take advantage of interimperialist contradictions. But it is quite a different thing to present enemies as allies; to cover over the class divisions; and to make overtures to the worst kind of reactionaries such as Nixon, Strauss, Fanfani, and Sá Carneiro. It is quite a different thing to promote a stronger Common Market, which reflects the trend toward capital concentration, and a stronger Atlantic military alliance, which is designed to preserve the "free world," that is, the world capitalist system.

However, the most negative result of these wrong analyses about the second world and of the Chinese conception of a "united front against hegemonism" is the clear underestimation of the role and potential of the workers movement in the first and second worlds. The document is unambiguous about this. The article from *People's Daily* cavalierly glosses over everything that has happened in West Europe since 1968! A long time ago, the Chinese press forgot what it itself wrote about May 1968 in France.

The Chinese press has not analyzed in their full scope the great political and social struggles that have rocked Italy for a decade. It has maintained an extreme discretion as regards Spain. It minimized the events in Portugal, showing an interest only in pointing to alleged maneuvers by "Soviet social-imperialism."

In the document under analysis here, which is intended to be an overall synthesis, the working-class rise in Western Europe is simply ignored, and the authors strive rather to show that there is no perspective there of a revolutionary situation.

When the polemics began between the

Chinese CP and the Soviet CP, Peking accused Moscow of following a policy of appeasing American imperialism. Today, it accuses not only the "second world," but also the United States of taking too soft an attitude toward the USSR. For example, in an interview in the October 23-24 issue of *Le Monde*, Teng Hsiao-P'ing said:

I hope that the entire world, the third world, the second world, and even the first, the United States, will join in the effort (to smash the general war plan of the USSR).

This quotation is sufficient to show what a change has occurred not only in the analyses but also in the criteria of the Chinese leaders and their representatives.

In this regard, there is a flagrant inconsistency in the Chinese analyses. If it were true that the USSR had gone over to the imperialist camp, as a result of a degeneration the Chinese themselves have described as a "historic tragedy," and if, moreover, the workers movement in the capitalist countries had not shown any rise in thirty years, it would be hard to see what the basis could be for the unflinching optimism expressed in Hua's report to the Eleventh Congress of the Chinese CP. He said, for example, that the international situation was "quite good, quite good, not just good or rather good."

All these incongruities and contradictions in the Chinese analyses, however, should not lead us to lose sight of the ideological continuity and the real basis of the Maoist theoretical innovations. The elements of continuity are reflected by the numerous quotations from Mao concerning different periods, as well as those from Stalin. They consist of an application, mechanical in form and opportunist in content, of the concept of the "main enemy," along with the Stalinist-originated method of making up theories to justify an empirical course.

When, in replying to their critics and first of all the Albanian defenders of Stalinist orthodoxy, the Chinese leaders recall Stalin's alliances with capitalist powers, they are on solid ground. The continuity between them and Stalin is not limited simply to ideological formulas or methodological procedures.

The essential fact remains that, just like the Stalinist and post-Stalinist USSR, Maoist and post-Maoist China subordinates the interests of the workers movement and the exploited masses of the entire world to its state interests, to the needs of maintaining the dominant position and privileges of the ruling bureaucratic caste. That is why, for instance, that it remains faithful to the theory of socialism in one country.

#### What Nixon's Visit Showed

The changes in orientation in China's international policy, which in certain respects led to the resumption of positions held in other periods, although then in a less systematic and sustained way, are in the last analysis the result of the turn American imperialism made in 1970. Washington resigned itself to accepting the reality of the new China, abandoning the strategy it had followed in the preceding twenty years. It opened the door to economic and political accords, seeking to establish a more or less stable *modus vivendi*.

The Maoist leadership responded favorably to this opening, among other things extending a spectacular invitation to Nixon to visit Peking at the time when the imperialist attack on Vietnam was at its fiercest. All the subsequent ideological rectifications, leading up to the adoption of the theory of the division into three worlds, fit into this new orientation, in which Peking aims not only to appeasement but at compromise on a rather broad scale. In this way also, the Chinese leaders hope, if not to prevent, at least to delay the outbreak of a war, and thus to be able to gain time they need to strengthen the country's economic underpinnings.

#### Cost of Mistaken Course

If this is true, some might think, the Chinese policy is not so disastrous, regardless of the pseudoscientific theories designed to justify it. Such a conclusion would be wrong.

First of all, the Sino-Soviet conflict (the responsibility for which, it must not be forgotten, for a long period fell on the bureaucrats in Moscow) has in the past offered imperialism considerable room for maneuver, and continues to do so today.

Secondly, China's concentrating its fire on the USSR automatically means weakening the struggle against American imperialism.

Thirdly, the orientation involving sub-

stantial political compromises with the capitalist countries of the "second world" inevitably has negative implications for the struggle of the working class in an entire decisive region. Likewise, the compromises with the Mobutus and the Nimeiry and the scandalously ambiguous attitude taken toward Pinochet are not without grave consequences.

## But Worried About Labor Unrest

### Wall Street Eyes More Investment in India

By Sharad Jhaveri

JAMNAGAR—The American imperialists, who are seeking to advance their economic interests in India, have shown some concern over the political situation there. In a confidential questionnaire sent to some of the biggest corporate figures in India, the American businessmen expressed doubts about the Janata Party regime's ability to maintain stability.

According to a report in the January 30 *Economic Times*, the circular asked such questions as: What has been the performance of the Janata regime? How do you view the new government's policy towards the private sector? Is the private sector consulted before the major policy decisions are taken?

The answers from the Indian bourgeois figures were reported to be that while there were initially some differences within the government, it is now stable.

The imperialists also showed concern over the growing industrial unrest in the country and were anxious to know whether the Janata regime was planning to tackle the situation. The Indian businessmen replied that 1.5 million workdays had already been lost as a result of the industrial strife. But they reassured the American imperialists that the regime was planning to adopt comprehensive legislation designed to "improve" the situation.

This exchange of views was spurred by a recent visit to India by a delegation of eighty-five senior executives representing fifty-five American firms. The group was headed by Orville Freeman, president of Business International Corporation, which represents 175 American imperialist companies.

The delegation was here to get a firsthand feel of the situation, through off-the-record discussions with government officials and business figures.

The delegation found that the investment climate in India was much more favorable than before. But in an interview in the January 31 *Economic Times*, Freeman noted that a "welcome mat" had not

yet been laid out. Nevertheless, he found former labor and Socialist leader George Fernandes, who is now industries minister in the government, to be very "impressive" in this regard.

In their talks with the regime, the Americans pressed for a lion's share in the manufacture of essential consumer goods, but this was not accepted. They told their Indian counterparts that investment in India was not sufficiently remunerative and that New Delhi should offer more inducements, especially relaxation in some of the provisions of the Foreign Exchange Regulations Act (FERA).

The Indian officials stressed that American technology was very welcome in some of the more modern sectors, such as the petrochemical industry. They also maintained that the labor situation was not all that bad. Whereas 4 million workdays were lost in 1974, they said, the figure was only 1.4 million for the first ten months of 1977.

In relation to the American pressures for more inducements, the Indian regime has already provided massive concessions, including sizable tax rebates. A report prepared by the delegation itself acknowledged this, stating, "Foreign owned companies have been able to maintain their original ownership pattern and . . . certain of the provisions of FERA have been eased out slightly in 1976."

To further advance American corporate interests in India,\* the report suggested certain lucrative fields of investment, including oil, machinery, special steels, industrial and scientific instruments, and others.

At the same time, the report warned that industrial unrest in India was expected to continue, at least through the first half of 1978. □

\* As of 1974, American corporations had \$345 million invested in India, mostly in the manufacturing sector.—IP/I

# FROM OUR READERS

Contributions to help cover the extra expenses of the combined International Press/Inprecor continue to arrive. Last week's mail brought a check for \$100 from a supporter in California, along with one of \$3 from J.G. in Salt Lake City, Utah, "to help out with the paper."

These are welcome boosts to a publication that has always operated on a shoe-string budget. Can anyone match either of these amounts?

Several subscribers have told us that the combination of Intercontinental Press and Inprecor turned out to be just what they were looking for—a point that a new reader in Norwich, England makes loud and clear. He writes:

"I subscribed to your journal for the first time, this year.

"After reading the first seven copies, I began to realize what an armoury of information and top class Marxist journalism I had been without.

"Your coverage of foreign affairs is commendable. Of special interest to me has been the articles relating to the U.S. economy, etc.; the Selections From the Left column, Indochina and the U.S. miners strike.

"The U.K. 'Independent Television News' programme 'News at Ten' (p.m.) on Monday 20th February carried its first full report on the miners strike, or should I say an incomplete report.

"The report was heavily 'biased' against the miners with all the emphasis on the 'damage' it was doing to the U.S. economy, and that President Carter was to intervene.

"I didn't recall the commentator giving the reasons for the strike. Neither did my fellow work-mates.

"However, right-wingers at my workplace (I'm a hospital worker) were quick to slam me for defending the U.S. miners, who in their opinion were demanding more 'pay.'

"They put them in the same boat as the United Kingdom miners, who are usually accused of being 'wreckers' wanting to bring down the Government.

"I eventually hurled back this invective (yes, directed at me for being a revolutionary socialist) and corrected them as to the nature of the strike.

"This I couldn't have done without the excellent coverage given the strike by IP/Inprecor. I shall go on subscribing.

"International Revolutionary Greetings, "Stephen Page, a Senior Shop Steward and District Secretary of the National Union of Public Employees (N.U.P.E.),"

Stephen Page's comment about resubscribing brings to mind a piece of pertinent information we'd like to share.

We had always thought that most of our readers became "hooked" for life, but this was an impression, not a conclusion drawn from the facts.

Our business manager, Harvey McArthur, prefers precise figures. After pushing a few buttons on the computer, he told us that 64 percent of all IP subscribers renewed their subscriptions last year—a figure far above that of bourgeois publications.

In addition, many new readers have become subscribers since the first of the year. However, our question is, What happened to the 36 percent that didn't renew?

"Thank you very much for adding my name to your list of those receiving Intercontinental Press," a reader behind bars in the United States writes.

"IP is not filled with a lot of the trash contained in traditionally accepted newspapers and gets right to the point when dealing with the issues contained.

"It's like a breath of fresh air!"

"This is to inform you of a change of address," W.B. of Montréal said.

He added: "I find it curious to see that [after the merger] both publications are still being published. One doesn't know whether to renew subscriptions to both, as it seems there continues to be some discrepancy in the coverage."

Others may have wondered the same thing. The culprit is the deteriorating mail service, which may initially have given the impression of an overlap between the two publications.

That is, because of postal delays some readers may have received the final issue of the English-language Inprecor (dated December 22, 1977) and the first issue of the combined Intercontinental Press and Inprecor (dated January 16, 1978) at about the same time.

Since that time, however, all former subscribers to the English-language Inprecor are receiving instead the combined magazine each week.

A.H. of Austin, Texas, who also sent a change of address, added this note:

"May I take this opportunity to wish you the best in the great task of advancing the programme of the Fourth International. The political analysis offered by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' remains the best and most relevant on the left."

"Enclosed is \$5 for the book of sketches by Copain," M.K. in Baltimore writes. "I'm eager to get it."

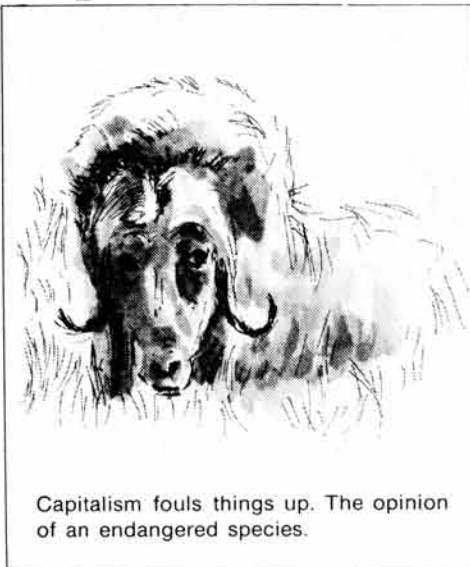
If your bookshelf is still without this handsome volume, consult the announcement below.

## Sketches by Copain

A sampling of sketches by Copain. Published in 1974 to help celebrate the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press*.

The reproductions, of various sizes, include portraits of Hugo Blanco, Malcolm X, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, James P. Cannon, Che Guevara, Leon Trotsky, and others, some of them suitable for framing.

An 8.5" x 11" soft-cover book at the original price of only \$5.



Capitalism fouls things up. The opinion of an endangered species.

Intercontinental Press

P.O. Box 116

New York, N.Y. 10014