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Kayhan

Demonstrators take over streets of Iran as strikes and protests demanding end to shah's rule sweep country. Here protesters in Tehran October 28 use autos to

block army vehicles from reaching demonstration. See six pages of news coverage on revolutionary upheaval that threatens foundations of shah's rule, pp. 1236-41.

Revolutionary Upsurge in Cities Across Iran

Silence in Havana Over Mercader's Death

By Joseph Hansen

The first dispatch directly from Havana reporting the death of Ramón Mercader, the assassin of Trotsky, was called to our attention during the week. It appeared in *Uno Más Uno*, a Mexico City daily, and was signed by the paper's correspondent Carlos Ferreyra on October 19, the day after the assassin died.

According to Ferreyra, "Mercader lived in this city for five years, working in small electronics jobs. Several months ago he showed symptoms of the illness that led to his death: bone cancer. The Spaniard died in the Hospital of the Ministry of the Interior, known locally as the Minit.

"Here, absolute official silence surrounds the dead man. But unofficially it is known that the body was cremated and that the ashes will be sent next Saturday to the Soviet Union. There is also word that the funeral services will be 'very discreet.'"

No one is talking in Havana, Ferreyra reports, "although some high functionaries of the Cuban government have admitted Mercader's presence at the Minit."

In the recent period only one person came to visit Mercader, his wife Roquelia Mendoza. She met him originally at the prison in Mexico City.

"The two children, sons of Roquelia, with whom Mercader came to Cuba five years ago, left their parents' home in Marianao several days ago," according to Ferreyra. "The neighbors know little or nothing about them, and still less about Roquelia and the criminal."

"Mercader's wife renewed her passport a year ago," according to Ferreyra. "She was accompanied to the Mexican embassy in this city by her husband, who appeared to be 'robust,' completely in good health, although a little pale, to use the words of those who met them.

"Nothing more was heard of them after that until a week ago, when Luis Mercader del Río surprisingly announced in Moscow that his brother was gravely ill in a hospital in Havana.

"Federico Villagrán, correspondent of the EFE agency here, was able to establish

that Trotsky's killer was in the Minit hospital, despite official denials.

"Later, Mercader's presence in the clinic was admitted, but no information about the case was made available to the public."

The rest of Ferreyra's dispatch, which is a rather long one, deals with the assassination. Despite some small errors, the account is truthful, pointing to Stalin's guilt as the figure standing behind Mercader.

Aguilar Condemns Stalin

Uno Más Uno also quoted from a statement made by Manuel Aguilar Mora, general secretary of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party), Mexican section of the Fourth International. Mercader was "a henchman," Aguilar said, "one of Stalin's gangsters, an assassin who aroused Trotsky's suspicions."

"Mercader's stay in the Soviet Union and then in Czechoslovakia showed that Trotsky was right in affirming that Stalin sought his death."

Aguilar continued: "The communist movement must take this into account and repudiate the assassination, in addition to rejecting tactics such as those represented by Mercader."

Aguilar appealed to the Mexican Communist Party "to also repudiate Mercader's tactics."

For Trotsky's 'Rehabilitation'

In an accompanying editorial, *Uno Más Uno* called for the "rehabilitation" of Trotsky in the Soviet Union.

"The assassination of Trotsky," in the opinion of the editor, "is as condemnable as the liquidation of many other leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, crimes engineered by Stalin because of his persecution mania in the best of cases or, in the worst, because of the implacable squabbles carried on among sectors of the political bureaucracy in those days. In any case, Trotsky's only fault was to present views different from those held by Stalin at a time when differences constituted an unpardonable heresy in the CPSU and in the entire framework of the international Communist movement."

It can be argued that Trotsky was wrong, "but neither his ideological positions nor his attitude merited—let's not mention death—even expulsion from the party."

Trotsky, already renowned as the leader of the soviets in 1905 and in 1917, as creator of the Red Army, and as Lenin's collaborator, has grown in stature since falling victim to Stalin.

"Trotsky has already been vindicated by many communist militants, but he deserves to be vindicated in the USSR too, in his own country, where he devoted the best of his theoretical efforts and his indomitable energy to the first proletarian revolution in history." □

Why Ian Smith 'Postponed' Elections

By Ernest Harsch

Speaking at a news conference in Salisbury October 29, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith announced that the "free" elections that had been promised for December would be postponed.

Smith claimed that the delay was due to "purely mechanical reasons." But the real reason was political. His Black colleagues in the Executive Council—Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, and Chief Jeremiah Chirau—had, quite simply, failed to deliver the goods. They had not been able to generate anywhere near enough Black support for Smith's "internal settlement" (which seeks to perpetuate white dominance under a Black cover) to undercut the rapidly growing popularity of the Zimbabwean liberation forces.

Under the circumstances, Smith had little choice. An attempt to stage-manage the elections would have been so patently

fraudulent as to expose even further the fundamental weakness of his regime.

In announcing the postponement, Smith claimed that during his visit to the United States the Carter administration expressed understanding about the move. He also said that U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance had given him "prominent attention," and that this amounted to a de facto American recognition of the Smith regime.

While Smith may view his U.S. trip as a political boost, he at the same time realizes that such diplomatic forays, by themselves, will do little to effectively bolster the eroding position of his racist regime. It was for that reason that Smith combined his trip to the United States with stepped-up military assaults against Zimbabwean refugee and guerrilla camps in Zambia and Mozambique.

The raids, launched on October 19, were among the largest ever carried out by

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"The Strange World of James Robertson and the Spartacist League: An American Sect Heads for Outer Space."

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Salisbury and were the first simultaneous strikes into both countries. Hundreds of Zimbabweans, many of them refugees, were killed by Rhodesian bombers, helicopters, and ground troops. Journalists accompanying the Rhodesian forces to the Mkushi camp in Zambia reported that the Rhodesian soldiers systematically went through the camp after the initial attack to finish off the survivors.

Smith boasted about the raids and warned that they would "continue and, if need be, will be increased."

A few days later, on October 31, the regime announced that its forces had destroyed a Zambian military installation just across the border. And on November 2, Rhodesian warplanes again struck into Zambia, hitting a Zimbabwean camp just ten miles from the capital of Lusaka. Initial reports from Lusaka said that about 100 persons had been wounded in the attack and that about a dozen were killed. According to Salisbury, the target was a guerrilla base, but the Zambian government said it was in reality a children's refugee camp.

While hoping that such raids would boost white morale, Lt. Gen. Peter Walls, the chief of the security forces, warned against "euphoria." Referring to the guerrillas, he said, "They are not finished off or anything like that. What is more, we can expect them to make a major effort to try and recoup their position a little."

Confirming the seriousness of the military situation, Smith further extended martial law October 31 to cover nearly half of the country.

The white minority is well aware of the precariousness of their position. Figures on immigration and emigration for September showed a net loss of 1,490 whites, the highest for any single month since Smith declared Rhodesia's "independence" from Britain in 1965.

Although white troops still form the core of Smith's combat forces, the steady drain on white personnel and resources has forced him to try to enlist greater Black assistance. Both Muzorewa and Sithole are reportedly training their own "armies" (totaling perhaps 1,500 armed soldiers so far). In addition, the regime has announced that it would begin conscripting young Blacks into the regular military next year.

Given the increasingly active opposition to Smith's racist regime, however, his ability to carry through such plans appears to be extremely limited.

One example of the difficulties he will face in trying to draft Blacks came on October 30, when hundreds of Black university students signed petitions rejecting the conscription move. "Our participation in your army is immoral," the petition declared. "We are in no position to reconcile our conscience with the idea of fighting for a minority government against the majority of our country." □

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Revolutionary Upsurge Demands End to Shah's Rule

By Parvin Najafi

The massive onslaught against the shah's regime continued into its fourth week in early November, more powerful than ever.

Tens of thousands of workers in the most strategically important industries have gone on strike, demanding an end to political repression.

The streets of Iran are scenes of daily demonstrations of tens of thousands of angry citizens determined to deal the final blow to the hated Pahlavi dictatorship.

The students have transformed campuses throughout Iran into "red universities," educational and organizing centers for the movement against the monarchy.

In short, a prerevolutionary situation has opened in Iran that is more and more assuming the form of insurrectionary outbursts.

Workers Strike for Democracy

The \$22-billion-a-year oil industry, the single most important industry in Iran, accounting for 80 percent of the government's revenue, was hit by a nationwide sit-down strike October 31.

Oil workers in the production facilities, refineries, petrochemical plants, and all other related branches downed tools, cutting off the flow to foreign markets of millions of barrels of crude oil and billions of cubic meters of natural gas a day.

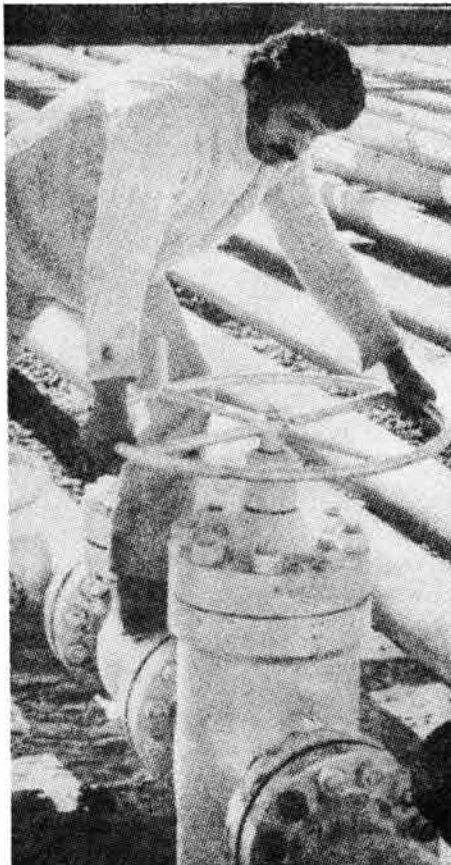
The striking workers said that they would produce and refine just enough oil to meet domestic requirements.

The strike was called to back up the demands of all the oppressed and exploited of Iran for an end to martial law, freedom for political prisoners, and punishment for the perpetrators of massacres carried out by the regime.

The oil workers are also demanding dissolution of "security offices" of the secret police in their work places, a guarantee by the government that security officers and army personnel will never again be allowed inside the plants, and the resignation of Colonel Kalyaai, the head of the "security office" of the Abadan refinery, for insulting the workers.

The government is carrying on an intense campaign to break the oil workers' strike. In an address to the Iranian parliament, Prime Minister Sharif-Emami threatened to charge the strikers with "treason."

On November 1, the army was sent to plants to oust the strikers. When the workers resisted, the army opened fire, killing and injuring scores of strikers.



R. Norman Matheny/Christian Science Monitor
Valves for Iran's oil now turned off.

According to a UPI dispatch in the November 3 *News World*, "the move sparked angry protests from the strikers, who declared they would not negotiate a settlement until the army left."

The same day, troops fired on a mass meeting of striking workers at the world's largest integrated refinery, in Abadan, killing and wounding many strikers.

In yet another move to break the strike, oil company officials have threatened to fire all workers who do not return to their jobs by November 4.

Officials have also warned that soldiers would be used in place of the striking workers. But this is unrealistic since most jobs in the oil industry require a high level of skill, which the soldiers do not possess.

Despite these and other threats, the oil workers are holding fast to their pledge not to return to work until their demands are met.

One day after the oil workers stopped

work, the workers of the state-owned Iran Air, Iran's only airline, went on strike. A UPI dispatch from Iran reported that "striking Iran Air employees said they walked off the job to join an opposition-led 'solidarity movement' against the shah's regime. Like the oil workers, they presented tough political demands including an end to martial law in Tehran and 11 other cities."

The strike has grounded all Iran Air flights and has severely slowed air traffic in Mehrabad and other international airports in Iran.

'Open the Books'

On October 28, workers of the state-owned telecommunications company announced that they will not resume work until their demands are met. These are:

1. Immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners jailed in the last twenty-five years.

2. A swift investigation into the corruption and abuses by high officials of the telecommunications company and the immediate dismissal of these officials.

3. Termination of all colonial-type agreements between this company and the Americans.

4. Making public the records of the work performed by American companies that have received millions of dollars from the country's revenues.

5. Expulsion of the American advisers (employees of Bell Helicopter) hired by the company at exorbitant salaries.

6. A thoroughgoing purge of all corrupt officials in the company and the election of trustworthy persons in their place.

7. Dissolution of the "security office" of the company, which has created an atmosphere of repression and terror.

8. The right to form a union.

9. Investigation of all purchases of the last five years, especially the purchases of hundreds of American trucks and pieces of electronic equipment.

The demands for opening the books and putting an end to the imperialist abuses of the country are becoming more and more popular in Iran.

In addition to the strikes in these key industries, the broader strike movement continues—more massive than ever. The bank workers are back on strike, as are the workers of utilities in many cities. The longshoremen are still striking. Sugar beets are rotting in the fields because the 7,000 agricultural workers of the giant agribusiness complex of Haft-Tapeh have

been off the job for more than a month.

A month and a half after the official opening, no classes have been convened in schools or universities. The strike of teachers, 400,000 strong, has entered its second month. At the same time, the teachers continue their efforts to build a union. Many province-wide conferences of teachers delegates have met in past weeks and elected temporary executive committees.

Strikes involving the huge civil-service work force are continuing at full force, including the employees of many city governments, workers in the ministries of finance and commerce, and the employees of the Bureau of Rural Development.

The *Washington Post* of November 2 summed up the situation this way: "A strike by Iran's 1 million civil servants, already a month old, has brought government services to a near standstill."

Radio and television employees who were on strike for a week to protest government censorship returned to work October 29 after receiving assurances that censorship would be lifted.

The next day, the workers of *Ayandegan*, a Tehran morning paper, struck against the censorship imposed on the paper by its own publishers. Their strike has received the enthusiastic support of the workers of *Kayhan* and *Etela'at*, Iran's largest dailies, who led a victorious strike against government censorship in early October.

"Workers in Iran do not conduct strikes as Westerners know them," explained William Claiborne, writing in the *Washington Post* of November 4:

There are rarely walkouts because strikes are illegal and there are no organized unions.

Workers go to their jobs and receive pay, but simply do not work, or conduct "work to rule" actions so exaggerated that production is practically nil.

Many factories, while technically open, reportedly have become little more than meeting places for disgruntled workers to hold political meetings and discuss new demands.

Some of the demands that have been accepted are extraordinary: paid meals, paid transportation to work, rehiring of employees fired during the last 15 years no matter what the cause, pay for travel time to work, and dismissal of some supervisors.

Claiborne continues: "Despite official denials, Iranian Finance Ministry officials concede privately that labor unrest has permeated the country's entire industrial base." He adds:

"Iranian government economists should know, since about half the Finance Ministry's employees are on strike and crowds of National Front supporters have recently staged demonstrations inside the ministry headquarters, running up and down the corridors, shouting "Death to the shah."

The unprecedented mass mobilizations in the streets of Iran are also continuing, with no sign of running out of steam.



Rastakhiz

Students in Tehran October 27 use automobiles to build barricades.

Everywhere SAVAK agents are being attacked by the demonstrators. In some places the shah's statues have been overturned and his pictures torn down.

On November 4 the army opened fire on a large demonstration of students in Tehran, killing at least forty persons, according to students.

The next day nationwide protests erupted. Radio Iran reported that by early morning a huge crowd comprising students and a wide cross section of the population had assembled in front of Tehran University and began marching in the streets.

The minister of information later reported in an interview that he barely escaped after being forced out of his office building by the protesters, being rescued by friends and taken to another ministry building, being discovered again, and finally hiding in a pastry shop for several hours waiting for the crowd to leave.

Eyewitnesses reached by telephone told *Intercontinental Press* that in the last few days soldiers have frequently refrained from shooting demonstrators even though they are under orders to do so. In one instance a truckload of soldiers passed by a demonstration and the soldiers waved at and cheered the protesters. Despite ongoing clashes with the troops, demonstrators continue to attempt to fraternize with them.

In an effort to turn back the tide of mass mobilization, the government has been hiring and arming thugs and declaring

open season on the lives and property of protesters. The police have been acting as auxiliaries to the thugs, coming to their support whenever they get into trouble.

Many cities in Iran have been targets of these armed goons. The *New York City News* of November 1 reported one such instance:

Iranian newspapers reported that 2,000 armed tribesmen hired by Salar Jaf, a member of parliament loyal to the shah, invaded the town of Paveh in west Iran on Monday night [October 30] on horseback and in trucks.

Residents of Paveh, who had feared the attack, had marched out of the town earlier to avoid a confrontation, the report said. They were holding a protest meeting and offering prayers when the attackers arrived. Three people were killed while praying.

The attackers then turned back and attacked the town, burning private cars, shops and houses.

The town's women and youngsters, left behind by the men, retaliated and burned three trucks filled with raiders and hurled stones at horsemen, killing 12 attackers.

This organized terror has not produced the intended intimidating effect. On the contrary, it has welded the masses more tightly together and brought them closer to the practical tasks of the struggle, forcing them in some cases to form their own defense guards.

In Amol, a city on the Caspian Sea, which has been the target of repeated attacks by government-hired toughs, the youth formed a defense guard 3,000 strong on October 29.

Armed with sticks, they began to patrol



Kayhan

Section of the protest in Tehran October 28. Sympathetic motorists use their autos to block army vehicles.

the city in groups of fifty and to search all incoming cars to keep out the hired thugs.

In the Kurdish city of Sanandaj, which has been another target of repeated attacks by thugs, the population has armed itself with sticks and held mass demonstrations brandishing them, in this way announcing their readiness to defend themselves against attacks.

'Red Universities'

The newly formed union of university teachers announced a week of solidarity beginning Saturday October 28. This call fell on receptive ears and was backed by almost all political parties and civil-rights organizations in the country.

Major campuses across the country announced their programs—teach-ins, rallies, lectures, and other meetings—and these were publicized in the Iranian press.

But just as the week of solidarity was to begin, the government ordered the major universities closed. After a storm of protest, including a sit-in by 5,000 persons at Tehran University, the government was forced to back off and on October 29 the universities were reopened.

Since then, universities in Iran have become real centers of higher education.

Hundreds of thousands are participating in teach-ins, lectures, and rallies.

At the Tehran universities, the attendance at many sessions has exceeded 10,000. It is here that representatives of striking teachers and workers and newly released political prisoners have received the warmest receptions.

When Safar Ghahremani, the longest-held political prisoner, having spent thirty years in the shah's dungeons, came to speak at Tehran University, some 22,000 persons turned out to hear him.

The students and teachers have also succeeded in pushing the guards off many campuses.

Khomeyni Refuses Compromise

With the eruption of a massive strike movement that is seriously threatening the shah's regime and with it the capitalist system in Iran, the bourgeois opposition has been pushed sharply to the right.

These politicians are actively seeking ways to stop the mass mobilization and are coming out more and more openly in support of the monarchy. The religious hierarchy in Iran is basically following the same course. In fact negotiations have already begun between the leaders of the

National Front, the main bourgeois opposition formation, and the monarchy, to reach a compromise solution.

The only prominent opposition leader who has steadfastly refused any compromise with the shah's regime is Ayatollah Khomeyni. It is to his credit that he has held out despite strong pressure put on him both by the National Front leaders and the religious hierarchy inside Iran.

Khomeyni's calls for the uprooting of the monarchy in Iran are not warmly received by either the bourgeois opposition or the religious hierarchy.

On the other hand, he is strongly supported by the workers, peasants, unemployed, and other impoverished and exploited layers of Iran. Because of his uncompromising stance, Khomeyni has by far the largest following among the insurgent masses, more than any other single leader or organization.

Shah's Back Against the Wall

Obviously the shah is in a difficult situation. The mass movement has been encroaching on his authority by leaps and bounds. There is no strong reformist organization or labor bureaucracy to divert the struggle. Using the army to drown the

movement in blood, and in this way breaking its back, runs the high risk of causing deep fissures in the ranks.

Alarmed by the shah's dilemma, all the reactionary forces of the world have closed ranks behind his bloody rule. Washington and the other western imperialist governments have on different occasions expressed their solid support to the shah. The Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies have done no less.

According to the London *Times* of November 4, "an article in Pravda today reported the importance attached by the Kremlin to stability in Iran, which shares a 1,250-mile border with the Soviet Union.

The paper attacked Iran's religious leaders and said Ayatollah Khomeini could not count on the least Soviet support in his struggle against the shah."

In light of this support the shah has been receiving from his allies, the striking workers in Iran need the support and solidarity of their co-workers around the world.

The workers in the imperialist countries, especially the United States, have a special responsibility to let the whole world know that they stand behind their besieged brothers and sisters in Iran, not behind the shah, the tyrant.

November 5, 1978

Iranian Dailies Publish Prisoners' Testimony

Inside the Shah's Dungeons

By Parvin Najafi

"He was a physician. He spent a few nights in a small cell with two other persons. Then they took him for interrogation. In only a few minutes his screams filled the whole section of the prison. There was nothing we could do. All we could do was cover our ears with our hands.

"They brought him back at noon. He was shaking terribly. We wrapped all the clothes and blankets we had around him, so that maybe he would stop shivering. But this was in vain, even after we had wrapped him in the worn-out, bloodsoaked rug under our feet.

"He had been hung from the ceiling and beaten severely. He said he wanted to go to the bathroom. He could not stand on his feet. With the help of another person, I lifted him up. With great difficulty we reached the bathroom. He could not put any weight on his feet. I lifted him from behind so that he could urinate. Believe me, he was urinating blood. Then we knew the reason for those horrible screams. . . .

"Do you think that in the few sentences I have said, I have been able to portray for you the horrible scenes I have witnessed with my own eyes? I say there are no words to describe the bitter, hateful moments of interrogation and imprisonment.

"Even after interrogation—accompanied by beating and torture—was over, we did not have even one secure moment in prison. If our smallest movement was not pleasing to the prison guards, we had to undergo severe beatings and solitary confinement."

These are the words of one political prisoner to reporters from the Tehran daily *Kayhan* a few moments after he was released on October 26.

After a month of relentless struggle for the freedom of political prisoners, the shah yielded on October 26—his birthday—and supposedly "pardoned" 1,126 political prisoners.

But it was soon discovered that the list of political prisoners "pardoned" by the shah that was printed in the Iranian press was fraudulent—like everything else the shah does.

Most of the political prisoners supposedly pardoned had been released months earlier, when their terms had ended.

The terms of many others were about to expire, and still others had only a few weeks left to serve.

There were also prisoners on the list of "pardoned" who in fact remain in jail.

Nevertheless, the release of hundreds of political prisoners was an important victory wrested from the butcher's hands. More than anything else, it highlighted the plight of tens of thousands more who are still held captive by the sadistic torturers of the bloodthirsty monarch of Iran.

The released political prisoners have given chilling testimony in mass meetings attended by tens of thousands across the country, and in interviews with the Iranian press.

The following is an excerpt from the testimony of one released prisoner, printed

in the October 30 *Kayhan*:

It was one of the last days of winter in 1975. The door of cell number 9 of section 5 of Comite Prison opened. . . . The guard looked inside and asked, "How many are you?"

"Thirteen," we answered.

He left, and a few seconds later a tall, thin, pale man appeared in the doorway.

He looked at us in astonishment, without moving. The guard pushed him inside and closed the door. . . . As he stood in the middle of the room looking straight ahead, we heard his trembling voice:

"Listen! They have sent me here, I have been in solitary confinement for ninety-five days. They are working on me, they are putting pressure on me to spy for them in this cell. I have not yet agreed. But I may be forced to under pressure. So from now on, as long as I am here, don't say a word."

After the new arrival was calmed by his fellow inmates, he began telling his story. His name was Eraj Tiamorian. He had been a teacher in a private school, earning 750 tomans a month (US\$107).

He had been arrested once before in 1972, for reading a few pamphlets with his friends. After a year in prison, he vowed that he would never again risk involving himself in politics.

But one night he wrote a poem against the shah. He hid the poem in a book and forgot about it.

He confided his story to his landlord about four months ago. (Later he would learn that his landlord was a SAVAK informer.) Tiamorian told his fellow prisoners what happened next:

It was night. I was sitting in my room drinking tea and listening to Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. I heard some noises. I looked out the window. They poured into the yard; a few others climbed the walls. They all had machine guns. They burst into my room. I was terrified. What had happened? I hadn't done anything. They searched everywhere. They looked among the books, but they could not find even one that could be considered banned.

They told my wife: "We are taking him for a few questions. He will come back tomorrow."

Just as we were walking out the door, a new person arrived. He came in and went straight toward the books, and totally by accident picked up the one I had hidden the poem in. Then they brought me over here. I have been here for four months.

Tiamorian was tortured on a daily basis. The testimony of his fellow prisoner continued:

They came and took him every day. As soon as the guards awakened us at dawn, he would begin sitting and staring at the door. His mouth would not open. When he returned from interrogation he would say: "Mr. Kamali cannot begin work until he has seen me." Kamali was the name of his interrogator. . . .

A few months later we heard that Eraj had been taken to Qasr Prison. He had been convicted by a court. . . . Eleven years! Eleven years for writing a poem, a poem only four lines long.

This was just one account among scores

of others about life in the dungeons of the shah—the tyrant that President Carter calls “a great democrat.”

Is it any wonder that millions of Iranians, through strikes, demonstrations, sit-ins, rallies, and other protest actions are carrying on an uncompromising fight for the release of all political prisoners and the overthrow of the shah’s regime?

More chilling testimony to the barbaric rule of the shah was reported in the October 29 issue of *Kayhan*. The following is a summary of a much longer article:

Early on the morning of October 28, all the rooms and halls of the Bar Association of Iran’s headquarters are jammed with people. Women are in the majority. There are mothers, sisters, daughters, wives, and other relatives of tens of thousands of political prisoners held by the shah.

Everyone is busy filling out forms so that the Bar Association can pursue the effort to free their captive relatives.

A mother is filling out the form. It reads:

First name: Alieh

Last name: Emmamzadeh

Age: 18

Occupation: student

Sentence: 6 years

Charge:

She stops and raises her head, a perplexed look in her eyes. She does not know what to write. They never gave any reason for the arrest and imprisonment of her daughter.

Most people write in this space: “Reading a book,” “talking about politics,” or “charges not known.”

A relative of Mohammad-Ali Jabbary, a thirty-three-year-old political prisoner, writes: “Specific charges are not known, but the security officers said, ‘The existence of this person outside prison is not right.’”

An old illiterate mother asks help from a young man next to her. She says: “Please write, my son Lotfollah Masami, both his eyes have been blinded under torture, one of his ears has been deafened. His right arm has been cut off from the elbow down, and he has a constant headache. Write that until a year and a half after his arrest no one was allowed to visit him. He has been sentenced to life imprisonment. And please add that I am for the release of all political prisoners.”

An old man with a cane says: “My son was a senior at the polytechnic institute. One night three men came to our house, and we served them tea, pastries, and fruit. When my son came home they arrested him. We did not hear of him again until last year on May 29, when they told my wife, ‘Your son died under interrogation.’”

“Hearing this news, she died instantly of a heart attack. My son’s name was Esma’il Akbarianazar.” The old man fills out a form and hands it to the person in charge.

Another father, Seyyed Tabib Ghafari, begins filling out the forms. He has three

sons in political prisons. Seyyed Habibollah, thirty years of age, is a law-school graduate. Seyyed Azizollah, twenty-seven, is a student. Both were arrested in 1971; both were sentenced to ten years. The oldest son, Seyyed Enayatollah, thirty-two and a teacher, was arrested in Ahwaz in 1973. He has been sentenced to life imprisonment.

By 10:30 a.m. the Bar Association offices are overflowing with people. It is so crowded, as a Persian saying goes, there is no room even for a needle. Housain Hazeh, an oppositionist attorney and president of the Bar Association, invites everyone to a big lecture hall in the same building.

Nazeh goes to the microphone and tells the audience that the Bar Association supports freedom for all political prisoners and will do everything within its power to make that a reality.

He says the government has announced that some of the political prisoners will be freed, but not “terrorists” or those who have violated the constitution (by demanding the monarch’s abdication, and so on).

Nazeh says that such charges were brought against persons in military tribunals that according to the Iranian constitution itself have no right to try civilians in the first place.

According to the constitution, he explains, political offenders must be tried by jury in civilian courts. But political prisoners now in jail should not even be tried in such courts, because they have been imprisoned for merely exercising the rights granted to them by the constitution.

After Nazeh finishes, a woman goes to the microphone to read a message from some political prisoners. The message says that the fact that some prisoners have been released is the result of the struggle of the oppressed people of Iran. Now the government is trying to create arbitrary

divisions among the political prisoners, and wants to put new obstacles in the way of the fight to free them all. When she is finished a father cries out from the crowd, “None of my three captive children have been released.”

A woman yells out, “My daughter was eight months pregnant when they arrested her.”

Another woman goes to the microphone: “I am the mother of Taqi Solimani Lavasani. They arrested him in Shahreza Street [in Tehran] at 7 a.m. on April 4, 1976. They immediately came to our house, where they could not find anything. I am a worker and I raised my son with thirty years of hard work.

“Two months after the arrest, the authorities called my son’s wife. They told her, ‘Your husband was very stubborn. For this reason, he was unconscious for a week until May 11. He was under the oxygen tent for three days. He died on May 14.’”

Because of the marks of evident torture, the SAVAK did not hand over this person’s body to his family. His mother continues: “Now my request is, if they have murdered my son, at least show me his grave. For two and a half years I have searched all the cemeteries for my son’s grave. I want the lawyers of the Bar Association to just find my child’s grave for me. That’s all.”

* * *

There are many more such stories. Each one of them gives the lie to Carter’s cynical, shameless praise for the shah.

But as these stories are published day in and day out in the Iranian press, they fuel the anger of the Iranian people. They show the people of Iran the truth of what one prisoner said: “As long as the shah stays, everyone in Iran is either a political prisoner or a potential political prisoner.” □

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Carter, Wall Street Praise Butcher of Tehran

By Will Reissner

The headlines reveal near panic: "Iran: 'Situation Is Out of Control'"; "Crisis in Iran"; "His reforms in tatters." The articles under those headlines in the *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *New York Post* underline the tenuous nature of the shah's hold on power.

Because of Iran's vast importance as a source of oil and as a junior military partner, the Carter administration has been watching developments in that country with a great deal of anxiety.

On October 31, Carter made two moves designed to bolster the shah. First he issued a strong public statement of support for the shah's regime, praising the shah's "move toward democracy."

The same day, he met with the shah's son, Crown Prince Reza, a student at the U.S. Air Force Academy, on the youth's eighteenth birthday.

Carter told Reza that "our friendship and our alliance with Iran is one of our important bases on which our entire foreign policy depends."

"We wish the Shah our best," the president said, and "we're thankful for his move toward democracy."

The Carter administration has been echoing a consistent theme of reports in the Western capitalist press—that the present conflict is the result of conservative religious opposition to the shah's modernization of Iran. Accordingly, Carter told the young prince that he realizes that the shah's program "is opposed by some who don't like democratic principles, but his progressive administration is very valuable, I think, to the entire Western world."

Up to now the Carter administration's response to the upheaval has been restricted to strong verbal support for the shah's regime. But Washington is undoubtedly discussing what additional steps to take if the shah's situation continues to deteriorate.

On November 3, the editors of the *Wall Street Journal*, an authoritative and well-informed voice of American finance capital, examined the range of possible actions open to the U.S. rulers. They noted that "doubts are growing that the shah can hold power, though no one knows who or what might replace him."

The "deteriorating situation in Iran," they said, may in fact "present the Carter administration with its first full-fledged foreign policy crisis. The events there also call into question many of the premises on which recent U.S. policy has been based."

Intercontinental Press vs. Associated Press

One major obstacle to increased American support to the shah, particularly military support, is the Iranian dictator's well-earned reputation as one of the most brutal despots on the face of the earth.

As the *Wall Street Journal* lamented, the shah has been the victim of "bad press in the West in recent years" in regard to human rights and democracy.

Carter would have little chance of convincing the American people to support military intervention to maintain a bloody butcher. But by portraying the shah as a great modernizer, and his opposition as reactionaries, Carter hopes to convince Americans that maintaining the shah in power is in the best interests of the Iranian people.

This view of the current struggles in Iran has dominated news coverage in the American press.

"Political unrest and crippling strikes by civil servants and oil-field workers plague efforts by the Shah of Iran to modernize this ancient land," says an Associated Press dispatch from Tehran that appeared in the November 1 *New York Post*.

An AP dispatch in the November 2 *Washington Post* states that "Iran's troubles began early this year when conservative Moslems started demonstrations against the shah's reforms that gave greater freedom to women and redistributed mosque lands to peasants."

Newsweek, in its November 6 issue, devotes its entire coverage of Iran to religious leader Ayatollah Khomeyni, describing him as the "chief instigator of the continuing demonstrations and strikes against Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi."

This type of coverage, which ignores the shah's entire bloody record of re-

pression, is used by Carter and the American media to praise the monarch for moving "toward democracy." The capitalist press reports the strike wave and the political demands raised by the strikers, but does so within the context of a movement controlled by Muslim religious leaders who aim to turn the clock back to the nineteenth century.

Intercontinental Press/Inprecor's coverage of events in Iran has given the lie to these outrageous distortions of the revolutionary upheaval that is shaking the very foundations of the imperial butcher's "Peacock Throne."

The upsurge in Iran is a movement of millions of workers and peasants, religious and nonreligious, based on political demands that flow from their own experiences and needs. They are fighting for their political freedom—for an end to censorship, for freedom for political prisoners, for a return of the exiles—and for a living wage. These are not struggles instigated from Khomeyni's exile in France, as *Newsweek* or the Associated Press or any of the other capitalist organs would have one believe. They flow instead from the experiences of the Iranian people under the shah.

By portraying the struggles in Iran as a reactionary campaign to turn the clock back, and by portraying the shah as the proponent of modernizations, the press helps Carter's attempt to convince the people of the world that the shah's survival in power is vital to the future of Iran.

That is why it is especially important to combat this one-sided picture of the upheaval in that country. That is why *IP/I* has been devoting so much space to reporting the true character of the mobilizations, and to presenting evidence of the brutal, dictatorial character of that regime. □

Four lessons are drawn by these Wall Street advisers to the Carter administration. They merit close attention, for they offer an invaluable glimpse into the options being weighed by strategists in the Pentagon and the White House.

The first lesson, say the *Wall Street*

Journal editors, is that the vital interests of the U.S. extend beyond Europe and Japan, recent "trendy thinking" notwithstanding.

Second, "our capability to defend such interests has withered." They point out that the last time the shah's regime was in

serious trouble, in 1953, covert actions by the CIA were able to depose Premier Mohammed Mossadegh and bring the shah back to power. Therefore, despite the difficulties faced by Carter, they hope he will act in such a way as not to hamper "future Presidents in future crises."

Third, they note, modernization and industrialization do not solve anything by themselves. In fact, "the more reform is carried out the larger the remaining injustices and inequities are seen to loom."

Fourth, "democracy is not an easy form of government," and in present-day Iran it is an impossibility. Lincoln, they point out, suspended habeas corpus in the American Civil War, and Franklin Roosevelt interned Japanese-Americans during World War II. Therefore, they conclude, "while the U.S. should certainly not support tor-

ture or assassination or the like, some perspective is necessary in judging our allies."

In particular they bemoan the fact that Carter's human-rights propaganda offensive fell particularly heavily on the shah's regime "and may have helped erode his legitimacy."

The editors take note of the fact that the administration is now making a "public show of backing the shah" while calling for the release of prisoners and other reforms. This is a mistake, in their view. What the *Wall Street Journal* editors feel is now needed is a *tougher* attitude by the shah against his opponents, and they call on Washington to back the shah in such a policy. On this they do not mince words:

"What the U.S. ought to do now is let everyone concerned know that the shah is

our man, and that we will back his decisions on how to cope with his crisis."

This editorial illustrates both the seriousness with which the crisis in Iran is being viewed in American ruling circles, and the limited options the U.S. has at its disposal to keep the shah in power.

But while the Pentagon's ability to intervene militarily around the world has been weakened by the American people's opposition to foreign military involvement since the Vietnam War, such an intervention cannot be excluded in light of the vital interests U.S. imperialism has in Iran and the entire Middle East.

Therefore, opponents of the shah's regime around the world must be ready to oppose any form of imperialist intervention in Iran. □

Fight Continues for Exiles and 'Disappeared'

López Portillo Feels Heat From Amnesty Campaign

MEXICO CITY—On October 2, 1968, thousands of demonstrators, most of them students, gathered in Mexico City's historic Plaza of the Three Cultures (Tlatelolco) to demand an end to government repression and the release of all political prisoners.

A short time after the rally began, a helicopter swept low over the crowd.

Most demonstrators watched in curiosity, unaware that this was the signal to begin one of the bloodiest massacres in Mexican history.

Minutes later, government troops attacked the demonstration, killing hundreds and arresting thousands.¹ Thus began a severe wave of repression against the entire Mexican left and the country's massive student movement.

Ten years later, on October 2, 1978, Tlatelolco Plaza was again filled with thousands of demonstrators. Again, they were demanding an end to the repressive policies of the PRI² government and the release of all political prisoners.

It was the largest show of antigovernment sentiment so far this year. The

government-controlled radio reported that approximately 60,000 persons attended the commemorative rally and march. Organizers of the demonstration estimated attendance at 100,000.

Contingents representing *campesino* and trade-union organizations, student groups, and various left-wing political parties peacefully passed through the downtown area despite numerous police provocations.

At one point thousands of heavily armed riot police attempted to halt the march. Once again, a helicopter flew low over the crowd.

But this time there was no massacre, and those present were able to meet in an atmosphere that reflected the victories won over the past decade.

The last ten years have witnessed a gradual resurgence of independent political activity in Mexico, despite the defeats suffered in 1968. An increase in working-class struggles and the growth of democratic trade-union currents independent of the government-controlled CTM³ have been accompanied by a new wave of generalized social unrest.

However, one of the most important obstacles to political change continues to be the repressive policies of the Mexican government. Despite its self-image as a model of democracy, the PRI regime of

Mexican President José López Portillo has continued in the tradition of its predecessors, resorting to torture, kidnappings, and imprisonment of political dissidents.

According to figures released by Amnesty International last year, the Mexican government at present holds more than 300 political prisoners in various federal and state prisons.

Besides these victims of Mexican "democracy," an additional 300 or more are listed by Amnesty International as "disappeared persons" illegally kidnapped by the Mexican secret police. Though it is feared that many of the "disappeared" are dead, it is believed that many others are being held in secret military prisons where harsh living conditions and repeated torture are the rule.

The campaign against repression began to gain momentum in late 1977. The Comité Nacional Pro-Defensa de Presos, Perseguidos, Desaparecidos y Exiliados Políticos (National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled) was formed by relatives of victims of repression.

Early this year, a broad coalition of political and trade-union organizations was formed—the Comisión Nacional Representativa (National Representative Commission). Its aim is to coordinate a national campaign for amnesty.

The objective of both these organizations is to build the broadest possible campaign to force the government to free all political prisoners, release the names of those being held in secret detention, and put a halt to

1. Though the government went to great extremes to cover up the results of their hideous massacre—to the point of burning the bodies of those killed during the attack—estimates range from 300 to 500 dead and as many as 5,000 arrested.

2. Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party). The PRI is the government party and has maintained an absolute monopoly on power for the past half century.

3. Confederación de Trabajadores de México (Mexican Workers Confederation). The CTM is the main union federation in Mexico and is directly affiliated to the PRI.

all other illegal activities of repression and persecution.

On June 10, and again on July 26, tens of thousands marched in Mexico City to back up these demands. Support was generated internationally by human-rights organizations and by other defenders of democratic rights, such as those active in Héctor Marroquín's fight to gain political asylum in the United States.⁵

A hunger strike was begun in late August by relatives of political prisoners and the "disappeared." The strike was carried out in the National Cathedral, next door to the presidential palace. It drew widespread publicity and support. Not long afterwards, the effect of the campaign on the Mexican government was demonstrated.

4. June 10 and July 26 are important dates in the history of the modern Mexican left. On July 26, 1968, a massive demonstration was held in Mexico City to protest against police repression. That demonstration marked the beginning of the 1968 student movement.

On June 10, 1971, a gang of right-wing thugs, supplied with guns and other weapons by the police, attacked a student demonstration, killing dozens of demonstrators.

5. Héctor Marroquín is a Mexican socialist who was forced to flee Mexico in 1974. He is now seeking political asylum in the United States. See *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, March 13, 1978, p. 308.

On September 1, one week after the hunger strike began, President López Portillo delivered his annual address to the nation. A key feature of the address was the announcement of a "Plan of Amnesty" for political prisoners.

Though details of this plan remain sketchy, it is expected to result in the release of most of those currently being held in public prisons.

A statement by the Mexican Trotskyists of the PRT,⁶ published in the September 6 issue of *Bandera Socialista*, characterized López Portillo's proposals in the following terms:

"The movement for a general amnesty . . . has taken a big step forward. It has forced the Mexican government—through the admission of the president himself—to acknowledge the existence of persons who are prisoners or who are being persecuted for political reasons. For a long time the government had, in effect, tried to present the political prisoners as common criminals.

"This gain is the result of many years of mobilization and organization against official repression. . . ."

But participants in the amnesty cam-

6. Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party), Mexican section of the Fourth International.

aign were also quick to point out the limited character of the amnesty plan. As the PRT statement indicated, "The recognition by the government of the political nature of these prisoners is nevertheless not sufficient. . . ."

"The amnesty must be general. It must benefit not only those currently in prison or under some indictment . . . but also those compañeros who have been forced to leave the country for similar reasons. Dozens of persons are in exile, among them Héctor Marroquín in the United States, Jorge Sánchez Hiraes and Fernando Poo Hurtado in Cuba, José Luis Rhi Sauci in Italy. . . ."

López Portillo may have hoped that his limited amnesty plan would succeed in silencing the activists in the amnesty campaign and their supporters. But the October 2 demonstration proved how wrong he was.

Tens of thousands of Mexicans demonstrated their determination to continue the struggle to eliminate all forms of repression, to force the government to release those prisoners who continue to languish in secret military prisons, to extend the amnesty to those imprisoned for trade-union activity and who are therefore not considered political prisoners, to allow the return of all political exiles, and to completely dismantle the secret-police corps. □

Campaign Against Peruvian Left Running Out of Steam

By Miguel Fuentes

LIMA—Peru's military rulers seem to have backed off—at least for the time being—from their experiments with paramilitary terror against the revolutionary left. Since the September 3 kidnappings of the FOCEP¹ activists and Colombian socialist journalist Roberto Fanjul there have been no new attacks of such a nature.

Instead, the left has become the target of a campaign of slander in the right-wing and government-controlled press. Also, deputies from the workers parties in the Constituent Assembly have come under harassment from the assembly's bourgeois majority.

Trotskyist leader and FOCEP deputy Hugo Blanco has been a special target of these attacks.

1. Frente Obrero, Campesino, Estudiantil, y Popular (Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front). For further information on the September 3 kidnappings and Blanco's narrow escape, see *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, September 18, p. 1026.

An independent tribunal is being formed to investigate government involvement in the kidnappings. See *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, November 6, p. 1223.

Typical of the scurrilous charges being bandied about was the headline on the front page of the October 6 edition of *Opinión Libre*, a right-wing weekly. "Inside Story on the Collection for Hugo Blanco," it screamed. "Communist Priests Make Off With Swedish Money."

The article inside all but accused Blanco of living high off the hog on funds collected in Sweden for Peruvian union militants fired after last year's general strike.

Unable to offer concrete proof, *Opinión Libre* devoted much of the item to character assassination aimed at William Bullón, the priest in charge of distributing the funds here. Bullón is accused of having equated Peru with Vietnam and of saying that Peru needs a "Ho Chi Ming [sic]." In the eyes of *Opinión Libre*, this proved the existence of "a close alliance, even at the financial level, between a sector of the clergy that have become preachers of Marxism and Trotskyists and Communists of the most varied denominations." Finally, Bullón is charged with being the "Trotskyist-priest."

More headlines and big articles were forthcoming when Hugo Blanco's ex-wife brought a lawsuit against the Trotskyist leader—with the aid of a right-wing

attorney—demanding half of Blanco's salary as an assembly deputy for child support. Newspapers that will not give Blanco or his party half a column for their political views played this story up big.

After several days, one daily, *El Comercio*, finally ran Blanco's response. Blanco explained that except for periods when he was in prison he had always assumed responsibility for his fifteen-year-old son Chaupimayo, and that this fact was well documented.

Blanco explained the real purpose of the slander campaign: "Not being able to fight me with ideas, they have now resorted to other methods."

Workers Deputies Slandered

The October 13 *Opinión Libre* ran a vicious cartoon depicting the workers deputies disrupting the Constituent Assembly, drinking, assaulting other legislators, throwing paper airplanes, and so on, along with the headline "Reds Collect, Make a Nuisance, and Don't Work."

Inside, an article quoted APRA² deputy

2. Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American People's Revolutionary Alliance). The APRA is Peru's principal bourgeois party; it

Josmell Muñoz as charging that the leftist deputies were taking their 70,000 soles a month (US\$384) in compensation but were refusing to participate in the working commissions of the assembly.

Muñoz singled out FOCEP deputy Hernán Cuentas, who was accused of using his salary "to travel to various parts of the country, in particular the mining districts of Cujajone and Toquepala, with a plan of agitation and subversion."

In fact, Cuentas has long been a central leader of the Cujajone copper miners. In 1973 he was general secretary of the miners union there and at present serves as the union's representative to the national miners federation, the FNTMMP. So there is nothing out of the ordinary about his travels to Cujajone or to other mining districts.

As for the charge that the left is refusing to participate in the assembly's work, the truth is that despite holding almost one-third of the seats, the leftist deputies have been excluded from chairing any of the twenty-four commissions into which the assembly has been broken down. Their participation in the commission deliberations has been effectively blocked by the right-wing bourgeois majority.

Neither on the floor of the assembly nor in the working commissions has assembly President Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre (the "chief" of the APRA) allowed any substantive discussions about the real problems facing Peru—the thousands of fired workers, the miners strike, the public employees facing layoff threats, the skyrocketing cost of living, or the huge debt to imperialist banks.

El Comercio recently reported Hugo Blanco's complaint that one of the commissions he sits on has not even been meeting regularly—in the very same edition that claimed the left was boycotting the commission sessions!

Attack on Trotskyists Backfires

The government daily *La Crónica* has specialized in attacking the Peruvian Trotskyists as "dominated" by "foreigners." A series of articles that appeared the week of September 14 accused "North Americans" and "Argentines" from the Fourth International of infiltrating Peru with subversive intent.

Behind this smokescreen lay the simple fact that a small delegation of Trotskyist leaders visited Peru for a few weeks to promote the unification of the badly split Trotskyist movement here, and then left.

This slander campaign found no echo in the population—let alone among the worker and peasant supporters of the Trotskyists and the FOCEP. By the time of his October 13 news conference, President Francisco Morales Bermúdez was having

second thoughts about the value of the anti-Trotskyist drive.

Pravda's Peru correspondent Vadim Listov tried to elicit an attack on the Trotskyists from Morales at the news conference—a move that backfired on the Stalinist reporter, as can be seen from the following exchange:

Vadim Listov, daily "Pravda," Moscow—I will try, like my colleagues, to be as brief as possible. Thus I have divided my question into two parts. First, the daily *La Crónica* published a report on the subversive activities that the Fourth International is carrying out in Peru through the groups that belong to it. What is your opinion, Señor Presidente, your thoughts as the Peruvian chief of state on this problem?

The President—In the first place, your reference to the publication is not fresh in my mind. But I get the idea from what you have told me. First of all, within the political pluralism that this government has proclaimed (and I hope the next government will do likewise), we do not call it subversion when people get together to debate their political ideas, whatever those may be. That is not subversion. Any meeting, with whatever political ideas, is not subversion.

Vadim Listov, daily "Pravda"—Then what do you consider subversive actions?

The President—Subversive action is that which goes against the livelihood, the physical well-being, of every Peruvian. . . . When something is destroyed that serves to produce and provide work, for example—fortunately we are far from that kind of situation in Peru—that is subversion, a subversive act. When something is done against a person, whoever he may be—capitalist, socialist, or whatever—against the liberty of that person. Isn't that subversion? [Quoted from transcript of news conference in *El Comercio*, October 15.]

Deputies from the FOCEP and other workers parties have also been faced with harassment on the floor of the Constituent Assembly itself. Leftist speeches are continually interrupted, both by APRA and PPC³ deputies and by their supporters in the galleries. Lighted cigarettes and other objects have been thrown from the galleries at Blanco, Cuentas, and other workers deputies.

On October 11, APRA's *búfalos* (goons) launched a physical assault on the leftist deputies and their supporters in the galleries. Members of the news media were also attacked. As a result, deputies from the FOCEP, the Democratic People's Union, the Communist Party, and the Revolutionary Socialist Party walked out of the assembly.

The workers deputies returned on October 17 and put a motion on the floor demanding the removal of the APRA goons and other guarantees of their safety. To the surprise of many the bourgeois PPC broke ranks with the APRA and indicated agreement with the demand for the remo-

val of "private bodyguards" from the assembly chamber. The PPC called for their replacement with Civil Guards and also asked that seats in the galleries be apportioned on the basis of the parties' numerical representation. For the first time since the assembly opened, the APRA bench found itself in a minority.

This split in the ranks of the bourgeois parties can undoubtedly be traced to the vigorous campaign waged by the FOCEP and the other leftist deputies for their democratic rights. Given the sensitivity of the Peruvian masses on this question, the PPC decided to beat a tactical retreat and take its distance from the APRA.

Why the FOCEP Is the Target

In their October 18-24 issue, the editors of the independent weekly *Equis* offered their opinions as to why the FOCEP has been the special target of the recent wave of harassment and slander:

[The campaign is designed] to create the conditions for eventually outlawing the FOCEP and, as a corollary, ejecting the FOCEP deputies from the assembly. What worries certain sectors of the armed forces, the APRA, the PPC, and even the Communist Party is the rapid and unprecedented growth of the FOCEP—growth that will be multiplied by the more and more harsh effects of the economic crisis. . . .

A powerful and growing FOCEP could be the multitudinous political expression of post-Velasco Peru, of the Peru of the marginal shantytowns and the [peasant] occupiers of land, the youth without a future and the unemployed without hope. Such a FOCEP, with an intelligent structure open to all the socialist and anti-imperialist groups, and with leaders of national prestige . . . could spell the end of the schemes, the projects, and the ambitions of many.

The slander campaign has been designed not only to enable the future outlawing of the FOCEP, but also to create a climate for physical attacks aimed at eliminating Hugo Blanco and the revolutionary leadership of the FOCEP.

But the events of the past month have demonstrated that it is possible to counter these attacks and unmask their perpetrators, through uniting the leftist parties and other groups in defense of democratic rights and conducting a vigorous educational campaign on the issues involved.

This defense should not be restricted to Peru. It would be naive not to see the hand of the CIA in the terror and slander campaign. Where, for example, did the inside dope on "North American Trotskyists" that *La Crónica* published come from? Did the Peruvian political police have international help in the September 6 attempt to kidnap Blanco? It would not be the first time that the CIA has mounted an attack on a leftist leader outside the United States.

All defenders of human and democratic rights should stand ready to respond to similar assaults in the future.

October 20, 1978

holds 37 of the 100 seats in the Constituent Assembly.

3. Partido Popular Cristiano (Christian People's Party). Right-wing bourgeois party with twenty-five assembly seats.

Elsa Reiss Dies in Paris

By Pierre Frank

[The following article appeared in the October 24 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Inter-continental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

Elsa Reiss, whose book *Our Own People* was published under the name Elisabeth K. Poretzky, died several days ago in Paris. A Pole born at the beginning of the century, she was a student in Petrograd (Leningrad) in 1917 and became a supporter of Bolshevism at that time.

In that period she met another young Polish militant, Ludwig Poretzky, with whom she shared a joint life until 1937 when, at age thirty-six, he was assassinated by the NKVD. She herself, and her son, barely escaped attempts by the NKVD, on Stalin's orders, to murder them.

Ludwig (Ignace Reiss) was from Galicia, a Polish province that had been divided between tsarist Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. After taking part in the revolutionary battles of the early years of the October revolution and in the struggles in Western Europe, he was part of a small group of Poles, all from Galicia, who were assigned to various special missions, first for the Communist International and later for the Soviet state. As a result he lived for several years in various Western European countries, holding a high post in the security service.

Elsa knew and shared the lives of these men. In her book she describes the contradictions they felt, how their lives were torn apart by the problems arising from the degeneration of the revolution, caught as they were between the work they were doing and the revolutionary beliefs that had led them to Bolshevism and to the posts they held. These men had not chosen their positions out of a taste for adventure or for venal reasons. They had been placed there because of their ability to carry out useful tasks, tasks that were indispensable to the young workers state they had helped to found.

Their reactions varied greatly during this period of step-by-step degeneration of the Soviet state. A person like Sorge was able to totally immerse himself in his espionage work in Japan until he was executed there, pretending all the time to be totally ignorant about what was going on in the Soviet Union. Others became Stalinist executioners, even carrying out these crimes against their own comrades. Most became disoriented, helpless, some



ELSA REISS

Wichard/Rouge

trying to flee, others delivering themselves up to the executioner.

Ignace Reiss himself not only retained his revolutionary convictions, but also all the vigor of his personality and a lucidity that allowed him no doubt about the mortal dangers facing him on the road he was to embark upon. He was the only one to write to Stalin and his crew: "Up to this moment I marched alongside you. Now I will not take another step. Our paths diverge! . . . For it will indeed be necessary to begin everything all over again to save socialism. . . . Forward to new struggles. For the Fourth International!" (July 17, 1937)

On September 3 of that year he was murdered on the outskirts of Lausanne. This assassination was part of the orgy of counterrevolutionary crimes committed by Stalin in that period, both inside the Soviet Union and abroad, particularly in Spain during the civil war. Crimes that reached their apogee, if such a word can be used, in the assassination of Leon Trotsky. Counterrevolutionary crimes that today's post-

Stalinists attempt neither to deny (they no longer can) nor explain politically.

Some would have us think that these crimes were due to mental illness on the part of Stalin. Actually, in that period of Thermidorian reaction in the Soviet Union and of movement toward a new world war, Stalin was determined to ally himself with a group of capitalist states, whether the imperialist democracies or the Nazis.

As it turned out he was allied first with one side and then with the other during the war. But he had to provide guarantees to his future allies, to assure them that he was in no way seeking the victory of the world revolution, that "socialism in one country" was enough for him. The best show of good faith, the best guarantee he could offer was to suppress the revolutionists and those who might be nostalgic for the years 1917-1923. The example of Reiss might be contagious.

Having survived, Elsa had to live under a different name. She wrote her book so people would know about the lives of Ludwig and those of his group who were killed by "our own people," to take up the expression used in advance by one of these men.

When Elsa was writing, and until her death, she relived with undiminished intensity her personal drama and the drama of the terrible period of the "Yezhov terror," during which Stalin exterminated more revolutionary militants than the capitalist world, including Hitler.

Her aim was not to create a work of literature or a sensationalist account, but rather a testimony whose eloquence lay solely in its tragic truthfulness. Two or three years after the publication of the book, she was approached to make it into a movie. She asked me to accompany her to a meeting with the director who had developed the idea for the film: "Help me make sure they don't make it into a 'James Bond.'" For strictly material reasons this proposal for a film never saw fruition.

She followed with enormous interest the events taking place in the states dominated by the Kremlin, especially, as might be expected, in her native Poland. She was confident that they would extend into the Soviet Union. One day, smiling, she remarked to me: "We Poles had our own workers party before the Russians."

In Elsa we have lost one of the last survivors of a period which, although dating back some forty years, still exerts considerable weight on the workers movement because of the crimes and falsehoods that filled it, a period that still hampers the political development of the workers movement.

She had no personal pretensions other than to having been one person among many who dedicated her life to the cause of socialism. Circumstances caused her to write a book that is part of the history of the workers movement.

October 19, 1978

Storm of Protest Over Carter's 'Tortilla Curtain'

By Bruce Kimball

[The following article appeared in the November 10 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

* * *

SAN ANTONIO—Chicanos and Mexicans have condemned a Carter administration plan to build a ten-foot-high border fence that could cripple climbers.

The galvanized steel grating is to be "so sharp it will shear off toes," according to the government contractor, and the Anchor Post Products company of Baltimore.

Plans for the fence, dubbed the "tortilla curtain" by its opponents, were announced October 23 by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). In addition to the razor-sharp grating, the fiendish device will be set in a concrete base to prevent tunneling.

Fences are initially planned for two locations: between El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juarez; and the San Diego-Tijuana border. Total cost for the two projects is estimated at \$3.5 million.

In addition to brutality by INS cops, Mexican workers will now face a further risk in trying to escape Mexico's sub-poverty wages and 60 percent unemployment.

"Building these fences is an act of unwarranted, stepped-up hostility directed both toward Mexico and Mexican-Americans," declared Vilma Martínez, president of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF).

"Is this the administration's new Good Neighbor Policy?" Martínez asked. "Is this the new proposal to defend human rights—barbed wire fences?"

Rubén Bonilla, Texas director of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), noted, "Most people equate a wall with oppression."

INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo, himself a Chicano, has responded to these protests by announcing that some aspects of the fence may be modified. An INS spokesperson granted that the fence may have "too many exposed edges."

"They may try to round them off, or something like that," the spokesperson said.

But Castillo remains firm on the need for a "better" barrier. "The current fence is filled with holes and is constantly being repaired," he said. "It's really not much of a fence at all."

The fence is part of Washington's attempts to blame U.S. economic problems on "aliens." Congress recently approved

\$1.5 million for a fence on the Arizona border and \$900,000 to repair the existing fence near San Diego. It also voted to allow INS and Border Patrol agents to search vehicles without warrants.

A *Los Angeles Times* dispatch noted that the proposed new barriers "are steps along a technological road that could one day seal the entire border."

Shortly after taking office, Carter announced a "plan" for dealing with the

"problem" of undocumented workers. He wanted to step up deportations of these immigrants, while denying democratic rights to those allowed to stay.

United opposition from the Chicano movement forced the administration to recently shelve its plans.

The proposed fence, though, is part of the same scheme. And the same kind of united opposition is needed to turn back this latest attack. □

'Drafted by Ghost of George Orwell'

Carter's Explanation of Arms Budget

While campaigning for office, Jimmy Carter called for reductions in both the arms budget and in U.S. weapon sales abroad.

On June 10, 1976, candidate Carter wrote to the Democratic Platform Committee that "without endangering the defense of our nation or our commitments to our allies we can reduce present defense expenditures by about \$5 billion to \$7 billion annually."

But as president, Carter has come out for an annual \$3 billion increase (after inflation) in arms spending through 1983. This would increase the Pentagon's budget, in today's dollars, from \$117.5 billion this year to \$131.7 billion in 1983.

On October 10 the U.S. Congress approved a war budget of approximately \$117.5 billion, the highest in history. This was about \$1.5 billion less than Carter had requested.

Ironically, one of the few places where spending was cut from this record-breaking allocation was in eliminating most funding of abortions for female military personnel. About 26,000 such abortions were performed in a twelve-month period.

The new Pentagon budget does, however, contain funds for the development of a new generation of intercontinental ballistic missiles, the MX blockbuster. The final price tag for this system is expected to reach \$40 billion. Billions are also committed to development work on the cruise missile system.

Other new weapons systems to be developed include a new nerve gas weapon, which Congress had refused to authorize in 1976, and components for the neutron bomb.

The new nerve gas weapon would use the same substance that killed 6,000 sheep in a 1968 accident in Utah, but would be of the "binary" type that the Pentagon claims is safer to store and transport. A binary chemical warfare weapon is one in which two components are stored separately within the weapon and are then mixed together to produce the deadly substance.

By ordering production of fusion devices for the neutron bomb, a weapon that kills people without destroying property, Carter has brought it a step closer to deployment.

While increasing the arms budget and giving the go-ahead for development of new weapons systems, Carter has also increased sales of weapons to foreign countries, despite a promise to decrease these sales by 8 percent in fiscal 1978.

Foreign sales are expected to total \$14.4 billion in the current fiscal year, up from over \$13 billion in fiscal 1978, and \$11.4 billion in fiscal 1977.

Last year, Carter divided up U.S. arms sales into two categories. One category of countries, comprising the members of NATO and Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, was allowed to make unlimited arms purchases.

A second category, comprising the rest of the world, had a ceiling of \$8.55 billion

in total arms sales from the U.S., 8 percent less than in 1977.

According to administration figures, this ceiling was maintained, with sales to countries covered by the limit only \$8.52 billion.

It so happens that the bulk of all U.S. arms sales go to three countries in the second category: Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Israel. Between them they purchased over \$8 billion in weapons from this country last year. This left very little for other stalwart U.S. allies in the second category, such as South Korea, Taiwan, Brazil, and the like.

Therefore, in order to stay under the \$8.55 billion ceiling for second category countries, some accounting changes have been put into effect. No longer is military construction, such as the building of an air or naval base, included in the total of weapons sales.

In fact, sales of these "military services" to ceiling countries totalled \$2.8 billion.

In addition, some sales of components have been farmed out to U.S. allies in order to keep down the amount of U.S. sales while still providing the weaponry. The Carter administration told Iran, for example, that the U.S. would supply all the weaponry for naval frigates, but the hulls should be purchased from another country.

As a result of these changes, Carter has claimed success in reducing foreign arms sales 8 percent, even while sales increased by more than \$1 billion.

The administration's explanation of this situation prompted Representative Stephen Solarz of New York to comment that "it sounds as if it were drafted by the ghost of George Orwell, because at the same time total arms sales are going up, we claim they are going down." □

A Glimpse Into the Future

The Vatican Election of 1985

By Allen Myers

[The following article appeared in the October 26 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in Sydney, Australia.]

* * *

Some Vatican observers took 1978, when the first non-Italian pope in 450 years was elected, as the turning point. The selection of a pope from an Eastern European country, in this view, was a foretaste of what was to happen in 1985.

While not denying this, other commentators traced the origins of the 1985 papal election further back into church and political history. For some, the crucial year was 1973, when the Italian CP first proposed its "historic compromise." Others put the turning point in 1945, or 1936 (the French Popular Front). One professor of Soviet history has even argued that the key event was the forced collectivisation of the peasantry in the Soviet Union.

Of course, all these wise explanations have the advantage of hindsight. Certainly, when the College of Cardinals convened in early July 1985 to elect a new pope, no one would have dared to predict what actually happened.

The entire world was stunned when, after three weeks' deadlock, the cardinals elected as pope the Communist mayor of an industrial town in northern Italy.

In the Middle Ages, non-cardinals had occasionally been elected pope, but this was the first time ever that a non-Catholic—an atheist, in fact—had been selected. Before he could be ordained as a priest, bishop, cardinal, and pope, the new pontiff first had to be baptised and inducted into the church.

These necessary formalities were accomplished with a minimum of delay, and Pope Maurice Enrico I was crowned in a relatively simple ceremony.

Symbolising the new directions he intended to bring to the papacy, the pope broke with tradition by making his first official activity a press conference rather than a mass.

The reporters who crowded into the Vatican were of course eager to hear the new pontiff's views on the significance of his election. Maurice Enrico I explained that his elevation was not such a great departure from tradition as might appear at first glance.

"We may view this as corresponding on the moral and religious plane to the historic compromise which the Communist

Party has long sought on the political level," he said. "The party took the first steps toward compromise through such policies as its opposition to legalisation of abortion. The church has now reciprocated by electing me to the papacy."

A modest man, Pope Maurice Enrico I stressed that he had not been selected because of his personal qualities, but as a compromise candidate. "While the church is sincere in its desire for this historic compromise, the more conservative elements within it would have been offended if the College of Cardinals had chosen the general secretary of the party. But the name I have chosen symbolises the important role of Italian and foreign party leaders in preparing the way for my election."

As a Communist, did the new pontiff feel awkward about overseeing the management of the vast wealth of the church?

"Not at all. The party has repeatedly indicated that it is willing to manage the Italian state in such a way as to maintain capitalist wealth. If I succeed in protecting the property of the church, this will be evidence of the sincerity of the party's offer."

Did he expect any difficulties within the church from people offended by the idea of having an atheist as pope? Maurice Enrico's reply indicated that he could be both diplomatic and firm.

"We understand the feelings of those who feel that church tradition has been violated unnecessarily. However, they should realise that a belief in God has been important chiefly as a justification for conservative social and political policies. The Communist Party has shown that it is possible to defend such policies without reference to God, and the cardinals in their wisdom have now recognised this.

"We might add that church and party have converged not only in ideas but also in organisation. Both are hierarchical; both know how to protect themselves against Trotskyites or agents of Stalin who question the authority of the leader."

But, asked another reporter, did the pope feel that he, as an atheist, possessed the authority to make infallible judgments of church matters?

"My son," replied Maurice Enrico, "it is true that the church invented the doctrine of infallibility. But if you study the history of the Communist parties, you will see that the church never had a monopoly on the idea."

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Brazil Socialist Leaders Face Laundry List of Charges

By Fatima Oliveira

SAO PAULO—Political police of the Brazilian military dictatorship sent a request to Military Justice in mid-October demanding continued "preventive detention" for eight members of the Socialist Convergence organization. The eight were arrested in São Paulo August 22 and have been held ever since [see *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, September 11, p. 1009].

The police request was accompanied by a 14-volume, 3,000-page inquiry report on the formation and activities of the so-called Partido Socialista dos Trabalhadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party).

The cops claim that the eight suspects—Arnaldo Schreiner, Maria José Lourenço, José Azis Creton, Bernardo Marques Cerdeira, Waldo Mermelstein, José Welmowicki, Edson Silva Coelho, and Ronaldo Eduardo Almeida—should remain in custody, even though they have a fixed residence. According to the inquiry report, releasing them "would amount to releasing the leadership of a subversive organization that is demobilized for the time being. They are the coordinators and authors of all the political-subversive work carried out by the rank and file of that organiza-

tion throughout the country."

Police officials declared that the inquiry had been carried out through "extensive investigations, supported by photographic evidence of the activities of the accused, who maintained connections with, and counted on the political and financial support of, elements directed by parties connected to the Trotskyist Fourth International—Bolshevik Tendency, both here in Latin America and in Europe, through the Argentines Hugo Miguel Bresano and Rita Lucia Strasberg, and through Antônio Maria Sá Leal, a Portuguese citizen."

According to the presiding officer of the inquiry, the investigations showed that the activities of the suspects and their supporters "resulted in the disruption of the national economy and an increase in the cost of living, by getting workers involved in foolish strikes."

"The seized documents," the officer continued, "prove that the PST, through its leaders, was actually the advising leadership of the strikes that surged throughout the country in the middle part of the year among metalworkers and unions such as

the doctors and teachers."

The reference is to a series of union struggles in which more than 30,000 metalworkers went on strike in May for wage increases and better working conditions. Those strikes were followed by important work stoppages by publicly employed doctors and by bank workers and teachers in São Paulo. These workers' mobilizations have been the most significant and militant union activity during the past ten years.

"On the basis of the proof that we have compiled," the inquiry report continued, "the suspects could even be brought to trial for violating Article 45 of the National Security Law—carrying out subversive propaganda."

Socialist Convergence activist Maura Veiga (who was herself among the twenty-two socialists originally arrested on August 22) responded to the police charges during a recent meeting between defense attorneys and Socialist Convergence supporters:

"We know who is *really* causing inflation, and we wish we could say that we were leading all of the workers' struggles.



São Paulo, Aug. 19-20: Hundreds attended first national congress of Socialist Convergence.

Versus

But although the Socialist Convergence is growing and gaining support among the working class, we certainly have not attained that kind of strength yet."

Veiga added that the cops' request for "preventive detention" represents "an attempt on the part of the Brazilian dictatorship to destroy an open and legal movement working to found a socialist party that will represent and defend the interests of the working class. We are actively supporting socialist and workers candidates in the November congressional elections. Because the Socialist Convergence has raised the banner of socialism and has received tremendous nationwide support from workers, the government is trying to destroy our movement."

The police report further charged that the eight alleged "PST" leaders had "infiltrated the Socialist Convergence and the newspaper *Versus* in order to use them to obtain funds and seduce new elements into the ranks of the PST." The report also accused *Versus*, a legal monthly paper published in São Paulo, of defending Trotskyism and "even the Communist Party."

Officers of the political police have also said that the "Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party" indicates that the "said participants in the PST want to found a government of workers through the Socialist Convergence." And the cops claimed that a document drawn up during the Socialist Convergence's first national congress a week before the arrests could be considered a crime under Article 23 of the National Security Law, since it has to do with "the establishment of the dictatorship of a class or of a political party."

Socialist activist Veiga responded, "The government is trying to prove that there is a clandestine parallel organization inside the Socialist Convergence that is controlling the movement. That is simply not true. We were even told during police interrogation that the Communist Party had infiltrated Socialist Convergence and had denounced our comrades. But we know that that is just a lie aimed at dividing the left."

Attorneys for the eight imprisoned socialists have declared that the very nature of the police request for preventive detention is illegal and shows the totally fabricated nature of the accusations. "The police have no legal right to request preventive detention or to argue whether or not it is necessary in this specific case," one attorney said during the meeting with Socialist Convergence supporters.

"It is the role of the state prosecutors and not of the police to determine the conditions of imprisonment," the attorney continued. "If you look at the report you can see that the government has no case against the members of the Socialist Convergence and is thus accusing them of leading every workers strike in the past six months and causing inflation."

Maura Veiga said that after sixty days

Two More Arrests

Two more leaders of the Socialist Convergence organization have been arrested in Brazil.

Julio Tavares, national coordinator of Socialist Convergence and an editor of the newspaper *Versus*, and Romildo Fernandes, also a coordinator of Socialist Convergence, were taken into custody at the group's public campaign headquarters in São Paulo at noon on October 30.

Tavares and Fernandes face the same charges as the other eight Socialist Convergence leaders that have been in jail since August 22. The two were

expected to be held incommunicado for up to ten days.

The new arrests were denounced by São Paulo metalworkers union leader Benedito Marcílio. Marcílio is one of four opposition candidates for the Brazilian Congress that Socialist Convergence has been campaigning for.

Letters and telegrams demanding the immediate release of Tavares and Fernandes, and of the other eight imprisoned socialists, should be sent to Brazilian embassies or to Ministro Armando Falcão, Ministério da Justiça, CEP 70064, Brasília, Brasil.

of interrogation of the eight socialists the political police had put together a "fruit salad":

"They have thrown in every kind of accusation against the Socialist Convergence comrades, mixed it all up, and now hope that they have come up with something that tastes good. But they won't succeed. We have done nothing illegal. This is just one more form of disruption."

The police are harassing the socialists in other ways as well, Veiga said. "The national coordinator of the Socialist Convergence, Julio Tavares, is being followed constantly and kept under surveillance. Members of the Socialist Convergence distributing congressional campaign literature for workers and socialist candidates

have been detained by police and have had their literature seized."

The morale of the eight imprisoned socialists is reported to be high. One of them, journalist Arnaldo Schreiner of *Versus*, said in a message to members and supporters of the Socialist Convergence:

"It does not do any good to cry for the prisoners, because whoever is building a socialist party of the masses will be imprisoned many times. We must continue to build this movement. Instead of being depressed here in jail, we are studying and reflecting on our work so that when we are free this time we will be able to continue the struggle for a socialist party here in Brazil."

October 22, 1978

Gaels Support American Indians

In its October 20 issue, *Inniu* (Today), an Irish-language weekly published in Dublin, reported on the First International Day of Solidarity with the American Indians held in Ireland.

Inniu noted that the Gaelic League, the main organization engaged in the fight to defend and promote the Irish language and the native Irish culture, issued a press statement supporting the right of the Indian peoples in the United States to self-government on their own lands. The Gaelic League statement also called for an end to the police attacks on the American Indian Movement.

Inniu went on to explain:

"In many places in America, the Indian peoples are being driven off their lands. The Indian movement is being constantly harassed by the police, and some of its supporters have been sentenced to prison terms.

"Indian women are threatened with

sterilization by the authorities in the United States.

"In September 1977, the United Nations Committee in Geneva ruled that the Indians have a right to rule themselves on their lands in accordance with their own traditions.

"Despite President Carter's claims about his great concern for human rights, school authorities in the U.S. refuse to make education available to the Indians in their own languages.

"The U.S. government has done nothing to assure that the Indians will have access to newspapers and magazines in their own languages, and although there are 6,000 radio stations in the U.S., none caters to the needs of the Indian people.

"The Gaelic League wrote to the [Irish] minister of foreign affairs asking him to support the rights of the Indians and to draw the attention of the U.S. government to their demands." □

Vietnam Three Years After Victory Over Pentagon

By Pierre Rousset

In the first six months of 1978, the contradictory aspects of the Vietnamese revolution have intensified. On the one hand, a number of steps decided on by the government—such as the measures taken against the big capitalist merchants in the south—have made it clear that the anti-capitalist dynamic under way in Vietnam is being continued.

But at the same time, the sudden outbreak of the Vietnam-Cambodia and Vietnam-China conflicts have heightened the regime's dependency on the USSR and given added weight to its bureaucratic deformations.

It is this seemingly contradictory aspect of the Vietnamese revolution that must serve as the starting-point for a new discussion of the political lessons to be drawn from its successes and failures.

In the past, the war in Indochina was the focal point of the confrontation between revolution and counterrevolution on a world scale, between national liberation struggles and imperialism. The victory over U.S. imperialism and the neocolonial regime in South Vietnam underscored the timeliness of the struggle for socialism worldwide.

Today, the advances and setbacks of the Vietnamese revolution shed light on both the dynamic of the revolution in the colonial and semicolonial world, and the problems of the transition to socialism.

A Long Process of Permanent Revolution

The real meaning of the sharp confrontation in March between the Vietnamese government and the comprador bourgeoisie of South Vietnam can be understood only by reviewing the totality of the measures taken before, during, and immediately after the seizure of power in 1975. For those measures were only the temporary outcome of a long process of permanent revolution that began at the outset of the revolutionary struggle and that remains to be completed. This process continued (although not without faltering) throughout the second Indochinese war, often more rapidly than during the first phase of resistance to French colonialism.

The peasant upsurge that marked the beginnings—spontaneous at first—of the second wave of the Vietnamese resistance often began as a way of defending the agrarian reform carried out by the Vietminh and placed in jeopardy by the Diem dictatorship. Land ownership became the concrete issue at stake in many military

offensives and counteroffensives. When victory came, the power of the big landed proprietors had been broken in the former liberated zones, and weakened to a large extent in the other rural districts. At the same time, moves toward setting up agricultural cooperatives had begun in these areas.

The crumbling of the puppet army and administration in April 1975, followed by the steps taken by the new revolutionary government to dissolve the military, administrative, and political apparatus of the puppet regime, cemented the collapse and destruction of the bourgeois state in South Vietnam.

The anti-imperialist struggle had been carried out north and south of the 17th parallel under a single, undivided leadership—the Vietnamese Communist Party. It was this same single leadership that now found itself at the head of the North Vietnamese state and of the new administration in the south made up of the forces of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) and the National Liberation Front (NLF). The army, too, was placed under a single command.

A common economic plan immediately began to be implemented despite the different situations existing in the two zones. The government took control of the bulk of the former imperialist holdings in South Vietnam, the foreign-owned plantations as well as most of the major Vietnamese-owned private industrial enterprises, whose owners had generally fled before the final collapse.

What arose in South Vietnam was a new workers state. This fact alone makes it possible to understand how the reunification of the country—mandated by the April 1976 elections—could take place so rapidly, barely one year after the liberation forces' seizure of power.

The last major economic bastion held by the bourgeoisie in South Vietnam belonged to the big comprador merchants of the Cholon district in Saigon. The test of strength soon began. The commercial bourgeoisie took advantage of the fact that it still controlled the marketing and distribution network, trade in commodities, and substantial amounts of currency to sabotage the fragile economic equilibrium in the south.

In September 1975, the government tried to break its power, but without success. It was not until March 1978 that this objec-

tive was finally reached, at the cost of a genuine test of strength.

A resolution adopted by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International in April 1975, just before the fall of Saigon, noted that the power of the Vietnamese revolution derived from this interaction between the social revolution and the national liberation struggle: "... the revolutionary process under way ... is challenging the bases of capitalist and neocolonialist domination in Vietnam. ..."

"The military victory of the forces of the PRG over the Saigon puppets would, of course, not in itself guarantee the socialist growing-over of the revolution in South Vietnam; the revolution's consolidation in the cities will depend on a series of social, political, and economic measures. But the process of permanent revolution will enjoy conditions very favorable for its development; the overthrow of the organs of puppet power and the dissolution of the reactionary parties in the newly liberated cities are an indication of this."¹

This is what actually happened. The transitional economy has not, of course, been completely consolidated. For one thing, the country's level of industrialization, as well as the mechanization of agriculture in the north, is still much too low, and collectivization in the south is still running up against the opposition of the landowning small peasantry. Unemployment in the south is still a long way from being overcome.

But the course that the Vietnamese revolution has followed has once again confirmed the Marxist theory of permanent revolution:

The national liberation struggle has continually been fueled by social mobilizations.

The first socialist measures had to start being implemented even before the seizure of power.

The smashing of imperialist domination could not take place without destroying the power of the indigenous bourgeoisie and without the birth of a workers state.

And no sooner did the revolutionary government begin to carry out bourgeois-democratic tasks—which were still a long way from being completed—than it had to make deeper and deeper inroads into capitalist legality and unify the country.

1. For the text of this resolution, see *Intercontinental Press*, May 5, 1975, pp. 598-601.

Of all liberation struggles, the one in Vietnam was probably the most closely and lastingly tied to a process of social revolution and to the leadership of a Communist Party. However, as in the north two decades earlier, the workers state that arose in the south was marked by strong bureaucratic deformations from the outset. The revolutionary struggle did not directly lead to the emergence of genuine soviet organs of proletarian power, in contrast to what had happened in the USSR and in Western Europe between the two world wars.

It is impossible in this space to review all the factors that underlie this break in the "classical" revolutionary process, such as the consequences of the bureaucratic degeneration of the first workers state and of the Stalinization of the Communist International; the conditions under which the post-World War II anti-imperialist upsurge had to take place; and the burden of the precapitalist past, colonization, and then the U.S. grip on Vietnamese society. But it is important to note that the Vietnamese Communist Party reflects this breaking up of the process to a high degree, and that its orientation and the contradictory political role it has played cannot otherwise be explained.

The Vietnamese revolution had to confront two formidable opponents which did not hesitate to commit substantial forces to defeating it: French and U.S. imperialism. The military escalation during the second war in Indochina remains unparalleled to this day in the history of wars and revolutions. The effects of the Sino-Soviet dispute were felt from the very beginning of the second wave of resistance. It is hard to see how victory could have been possible if the Vietnamese CP had not played an active role in the fight against imperialism, while leading the liberation struggle in the field virtually without challenge, and if the Vietnamese CP had not been conscious of the irreducible class conflict underlying the nationalist uprising of the toiling population.

On several occasions, the Vietnamese CP had to make crucial decisions that went contrary to the pressures exerted on it by the Soviet and Chinese leaderships combined, as in 1959-60, when it decided—quite belatedly—to relaunch the armed struggle in South Vietnam. Very soon, moreover, the pressing need to "skip over the stage of capitalist development" was emphasized in the programmatic documents of the party (but not in those of the front), while at the same time the goal of reunification was continually restated. This was true, for example, in the major writings of Le Duan in 1963 and 1970, of Truong Chinh in 1968, and of Giap in 1973.

In 1974, moreover, Giap stated as the "political objective" and the "fundamental and immediate task" of the "Vietnamese revolution" (in its totality), and of "na-

tional wars and insurrections," not only independence and "popular democracy," but also socialism. Written after the signing of the Paris peace accords in 1973, but before the final offensive in 1975, this



Washington Post

document, to all intents and purposes, held good for the struggles then under way in South Vietnam. Above all, the Vietnamese CP refused in practice to give a share of power to any bourgeois force whatsoever in the leadership of the liberation struggle. The so-called bourgeois parties of the "Patriotic Front" or the NLF were closely controlled by cadres of the Vietnamese CP.

This is what enabled the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International to state at its December 1972 meeting that, despite the Vietnamese CP's speeches about "national reconciliation" and the "Stalinist political training" of its leaders, "the balance of the last fifteen years clearly demonstrates this party's tenacious commitment to the overthrow of the bourgeois state in South Vietnam." This had to be taken into account, the statement said, to understand how the pressure of the revolutionary masses would be exerted on a party "which in its practical orientation has broken with Stalinism's classical Menshevik line in the colonial and semicolonial countries and which is independent of the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies."²

2. For the text of this statement, see *Intercontinental Press*, January 15, 1973, pp. 27-29.

Like the Cuban leadership, the Vietnamese team has displayed qualities that are greatly superior to those of the other leaderships, nationalist or Stalinist, of the liberation movements of the 1950s and 1960s. However, the Vietnamese CP's positions regarding relations between the party, the state, and the masses remain much closer to those embraced by Stalinism than by revolutionary Marxists, including a one-party regime, the outlawing of the right to form tendencies and factions within the party, the formalized domination of the party over the organs of state, and the theoretical justification given to the lack of soviet organs of power. By defending these positions and putting them into practice, the Vietnamese CP has not only accepted as natural the original bureaucratic deformations of the Vietnamese workers state, which were largely the result of objective factors; it has also endorsed them politically and thus strengthened them.

Here lies the contradictory role that the Vietnamese CP has played in the development of the Vietnamese revolution. It was able to lead the revolution to victory, even if with great difficulty. At the same time, however, it formalized and extended the authoritarian, paternalist, and substitutionist—more than repressive, even today—relations it had established before the liberation struggle with the masses mobilized under its leadership.

The Lack of Soviets

The role of the Vietnamese CP is not, of course, solely to blame for the rise of a workers state bureaucratically deformed from birth. A process of bureaucratization has deep-seated and multiple roots, including a number of national and international factors of a historical nature that cannot be detailed here.

Furthermore, we should not forget that the Vietnamese revolution is now running up against many more difficulties than simply the lack of structures of socialist democracy, such as the consequences of underdevelopment, the devastation of war, isolation, the Sino-Soviet dispute, and a growing dependency on the USSR.

Still, to view the political regime in Vietnam, and what the CP's program has to say about it, as one of the central problems, one of the most crucial questions that has been posed since the victory, cannot be considered an "idealist" or "normative" attitude.

As a matter of fact, the gravity of the "bureaucratic danger" does not need to be proved. The CP leaders themselves recognize it in their own way. They have launched a series of campaigns against "bureaucratism" that sometimes reach into high places. The generals belonging to the Tay and Nung minorities who were stripped of their posts on the Central Committee (but not of all their posts in the state apparatus) were charged with having

had private villas built for themselves.

In the fifth district of Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon) alone, about 200 cadres were reportedly arrested and were unable to explain how they had come by the wealth they had amassed since April 1975. Within the party ranks, people are admitting more and more openly that they are dealing with a problem of institutions, and that it is necessary to rediscuss ways to get the population to actually play the role of "collective master" that is officially vested in it.

This corresponds to recognizing the importance of what in our view is a crucial problem—the relationship between the nature of the political regime existing in a workers state, and the institutional framework in which the bureaucracy, as a social layer, can develop and express its own interests. But at the same time the Vietnamese CP still maintains the dogma of a single party, governed by bureaucratic centralism, and holds to a nonsoviet conception of the state.

For the Vietnamese leadership, the struggle against "bureaucratism" is still supposed to be carried out primarily within the ruling party. But this party, while still the party that led the revolutionary struggle to victory, is also, and increasingly, the party-state under whose wing a bureaucracy is taking root.

The bureaucracy cannot reform itself. The key to the struggle against it does not lie in "raising the moral standards" of the single ruling party from within, but in overturning the relations between the masses and the state apparatus in its entirety—that is, in a change of regime and the rise of workers and peasants councils.

The conditions for such a change of regime are not solely dependent on the will of the leadership of the "vanguard party," and they do not necessarily exist today. Of course, the history of the Russian Revolution in the 1920s is there as a reminder. But the more we emphasize the many objective obstacles in the way of establishing a regime of genuine socialist democracy, the more we are forced to recognize the importance of the subjective factor—the conscious action of the party—in overcoming them.

The fact is that no "transitional society" can shirk this question for very long. The failure of Maoism and of its attempt to find an original "road" to socialism gave a negative confirmation of this. And the amazingly advanced documents, in terms of their conception of socialist democracy, that have been published in *dazibao* form in China—such as the one signed Li I-Che³—give a positive confirmation of the

relevance of the revolutionary-Marxist program on this question.

An Overall Political Problem

The decision-making monopoly enjoyed by the party—or, more specifically, by its leadership—obviously bars the population from exercising what the CP calls its "right to be the collective master." How could it be otherwise when all that is demanded of the masses is to discuss a line that has already been decided on, and while the essential facts of the situation are not made known to them, or are doled out with an eyedropper, thanks to the party leaders' monopoly over the media?

The general functioning of the transitional society is influenced by this situation. How can an economic plan that takes the political factor into consideration be drawn up if the population has no way of knowing about the various options under discussion, and thus no way to make its opinion known directly? And how can the growing tensions on Vietnam's borders be kept from giving rise to nationalist ideologies within the country, if the real issues and real reasons for these mounting conflicts are not explained publicly and politically?

On this last point especially, the positions endorsed by the CP leadership explicitly bar it from telling "the whole truth" to the Vietnamese people, or, for that matter, to foreign political activists, regarding the situation of the worldwide communist and workers movement.

For example Nguyen Kac Vien, a writer and semi-official spokesman for the regime, noted in an interview published in the second half of 1977 in the *Journal of Contemporary Asia* that in cases where disagreements arise with another state or another "sister" party, "our general attitude is to make our position known in meetings between our two parties or our two states, but not to discuss these questions publicly . . . so as to promote relations of solidarity between the different Communist parties in the world."

It was in the name of this principle that the growing political differences among the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Chinese parties were hidden up to the outbreak of bloody combat on the ground. It is in the name of this principle that the Vietnamese leadership is still silent about the heavy and historic responsibilities of the Soviet leadership, although it has begun making public attacks on Maoism and says that China is no longer socialist.

More generally, the programmatic conceptions of the CP leadership bar it from making any comprehensive, thoroughgoing, and truly internationalist critique of Stalinism. This is especially true inasmuch as defending "its" revolution's "own (and

immediate) interests" continues to outweigh everything else, although the position of the Vietnamese revolution in the international arena has changed since victory; the primary viewpoint from which the situation of the worldwide workers movement is judged is still the national one.

This is what now enables the Vietnamese CP to say that the Soviet leadership has merely committed "errors" (opportunist and chauvinist ones), whereas the Chinese leadership has "betrayed." This closely reflects the way in which relations between the Vietnamese, Chinese, and Soviet Communist parties are evolving, but it also reflects a lack of regard for the history of the worldwide workers movement and the many revolutions sacrificed by Stalin and his successors on the altar of "building socialism in one country."

Finally, these conceptions are not unrelated either to the justifications that may be given for the shifts in Vietnamese diplomacy, or to the past use of the ideology of "national reconciliation" in the program of the NLF and PRG. In both cases, tactical "necessities" won out over the educational role that should fall on a leadership whose goal is to further the emergence of soviet-type organs of proletarian power, and which sets itself the task of reviving militant internationalism.

It was precisely for this reason that the resolution adopted in December 1972 by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International condemned the references made by the leadership of the Vietnamese CP to the ideology of "national reconciliation," without, however, questioning its will and capacity to bring down imperialist and bourgeois domination in its country.

As a matter of fact, it was the duty of revolutionary Marxists to "clearly explain that there is no possibility, in Vietnam or elsewhere, of 'national concord' between the exploiting and exploited classes," for "even when the bourgeois ministers [of a possible coalition government] are hostages of an already proletarian state power, their presence . . . can only disorder the proletariat's class consciousness."

In the end, there was no coalition government in Vietnam. However, the warnings issued by our movement in 1972—and earlier—were just as relevant to the subsequent problems faced by the Vietnamese revolution.

At a campus seminar held in Paris, Nguyen Kac Vien in effect admitted why the bourgeoisie was not immediately neutralized in April 1975, before it had time to prepare itself to defy the measures of the revolutionary government. It was not because of objective difficulties alone (such as the lack of a state-owned alternative distribution network), but also because of a political error, which he described as "rightist," and which had been committed precisely in the name of national concord.

3. "Li I-che" was the pen name of a group of three former Red Guards from Canton. In December 1974 the three pasted up a pamphlet-length wall poster in Canton, calling for a

struggle for socialist democracy in China and an end to bureaucratic privilege.—*IP/I*

The price of this error seems to have been heavy, since it took almost three years of successive conflicts to break the resistance of the big merchant bourgeoisie of South Vietnam.

Obviously, it is not a matter of denying a revolutionary leadership the right to make compromises, both in the national and in the international realm. It may have been necessary, in the wake of the victory, to try to develop a kind of Vietnamese "New Economic Policy"⁴ by availing themselves of the services of the private industrialists who had remained in the country, and by seeking to attract foreign capital. But in that case, it was not necessary to give indications—moreover, without believing it—that "concord" could reign between exploiting and exploited classes.

It is likely that today, after the failure of this "new economic policy" and the break with China, it may be necessary to rely more on the Soviet bloc and to seek to sign diplomatic and trade agreements with the countries in the region. But this does not give anyone the right to imply that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations has ceased to be the very reactionary and proimperialist organization that it is, or that the Thai, Philippine, and Indonesian governments might have a few progressive virtues because Hanoi needs their help.

For in that case, the compromises that may be essential to the Vietnamese revolution bear too heavy a price tag. They are made at the expense of the level of consciousness of the Vietnamese masses themselves and of the political activists fighting their own reactionary regimes in the rest of Southeast Asia.

Nor is it a question of placing a simple equal sign between Hanoi, Peking, and Moscow, without worrying unduly about what the Vietnamese CP has been able to accomplish, and the difficulties that the Vietnamese revolution is coping with. The Vietnamese regime—like the Cuban regime, for that matter—is not playing the same role internationally as the Soviet and Chinese regimes, just as these regimes do not have the exact same relations with their respective populations. But what we should do is make a threefold observation.

With the victory over the imperialist intervention and the reunification of the country, the Vietnamese revolution has entered a different stage, one that places "new problems . . . both in the area of economic reconstruction and in the area of social and political organization" (to quote the April 1975 United Secretariat resolution) high on the agenda.

4. This refers to the New Economic Policy carried out by the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union from 1921 to 1924-25. This policy softened some of the measures introduced under "war communism," permitting a partial return to a free market, in order to encourage the investments that were essential for a minimal economic recovery.

Or, to put it another way, at the heart of the current difficulties, we find questions similar to those that shook up the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam during the crisis of the 1956 agrarian reform and the repression of the Vietnamese "hundred flowers" movement, questions that had been partly blurred by the north's involvement in the second wave of resistance.

The break between the population and a profiteering bureaucracy came suddenly to the fore, so suddenly, moreover, that the CP leadership was deeply worried. A series of natural disasters, followed by the onset of the crisis in Indochina, only sharpened these social and political tensions. The basic contradictions that the CP is facing are no longer the same as during the revolutionary anti-imperialist upsurges; appeals to unity in the face of new "outside threats" will not be able to change anything in the long run.

The situation is made especially difficult by the fact that the regime is dealing with a population in the south whose political cohesiveness and confidence in the historic leadership mission of the Vietnamese CP is much less than that of the people of North Vietnam in the 1950s and 1960s, when the government succeeded, after harsh rebuffs and severe self-criticism, in recruiting the peasantry for the setting up of cooperatives, even though it was unable to carry out the mechanization of agriculture.

However, one of the major lessons of the last three years is that although the leadership of the Vietnamese CP shows an acute awareness of the sharpness of these social and political tensions, it had also proved incapable of executing programmatic turns that are essential for getting at the roots of the bureaucratic danger. This is because such turns are by far too alien to its political history, and also because this leadership is itself the chief beneficiary and dependent of this bureaucratic milieu.

Thus, we find in Vietnam the same problems that have shaped, or are shaping, the evolution of other regimes that have emerged from successful revolutions, regimes led by parties—whether they originated in the Stalinized Comintern or elsewhere—that have played a revolutionary role independent of Moscow in practice, such as the Yugoslav, Chinese, and Cuban revolutions.

This means that the conditions that enabled these leaderships to play this independent role were not sufficient to prepare them for the tasks inherent in societies in transition to socialism and confronted with the problem of the growth of a bureaucracy.

We might even say that what enabled them to assert their independent political choices—the fact that their anti-imperialist struggles were rooted in a nationalist framework—made it more difficult for them to understand the roots of the bureaucratic phenomena, which can be fully

grasped only in light of the international experience of the workers movement. There can be no lasting solution without a twofold militant outlook combining socialist democracy and genuine internationalism.

Vietnam could probably have avoided the evolution it is now undergoing only with the help of a rapid revolutionary breakthrough in Southeast Asia, which would have saved it from regional isolation, and of a rise of the class struggle in the imperialist centers, which would have given rise to the exemplary rebirth of soviet organs of proletarian power. This did not happen; on the contrary, the repercussions of the Sino-Soviet conflict in the region had profoundly damaging consequences on the course of the Vietnamese revolution.

From now on, the struggle against bureaucracy is objectively on the agenda of the Vietnamese revolution. However, no political force exists that is in a position to put forward a program of socialist democracy in Vietnam today. It would be futile to hope that such an antibureaucratic program might be put forward tomorrow by the Vietnamese CP and its leadership.

Such a program can arise only from a new experience on the part of the Vietnamese laboring masses, the experience of the contradictions of the transitional society that they are familiar with, aided, we hope, in the not-too-distant future, by other mass revolutionary experiences in Western Europe and China.

These antibureaucratic tasks—the establishment of a genuine regime of socialist democracy—can be carried out only by a mass uprising of the Vietnamese workers—an independent upsurge, even if it may be supported by many activists and cadres of the present-day CP.

This, of course, will take time, but it is nonetheless one of the basic lessons of the progress and failures of the Vietnamese revolution since the victory in 1975. □

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To Be Twenty Years Old in China

Reviewed by Patrick Mars

[The following review appeared in the October 18 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

Each year, several thousand young Chinese flee the People's Republic of China for Hong Kong, Macao, or other border countries. Who are they? Frequently, they are the "young educated," those who "spear-headed the Cultural Revolution," and were then summarily dismissed by Mao and exiled to the countryside.

Jean-Jacques Michel, a former Maoist, had extensive discussions with them. *Avoir vingt ans en Chine*, the fruit of those discussions, has just been published by Editions du Seuil. In this book, young Chinese speak of their frustrated hopes, their unattainable desires. It's a book that says more about China than any number of academic speeches.

* * *

"A few more years, and street sweepers, cooks, everyone will be a student, and will know astronomy and geography." This sentence, tossed out by Mao in 1956, does not appear in Volume 5 of his *Selected Works* published under the direction of Hua Kuo-feng. More than twenty years have gone by, and reality is still a long way from corresponding to the hopes that were born out of the Chinese revolution. However, the regime's tremendous efforts in the educational realm—compared to its slow economic progress—are what led a large layer of youth to break with the "enlightened leadership of the great proletarian revolution."

1963 was the year of the "great leap forward." It turned out to be no more than a flea-jump but it nonetheless threw China off balance, bringing an economic slump, unemployment in the cities, and the big migration of "intellectuals" toward the countryside. The intellectuals were young high-school graduates who did not come from "good social origins" (ie., whose parents were not workers or party members), and who were not sufficiently gifted to be able to pursue their studies in spite of everything. Several million of these "young educated" went off "with revolutionary enthusiasm" to dedicate

themselves to building a "new socialist agriculture."

However, when the Cultural Revolution broke out, the immense majority of these

Avoir vingt ans en Chine [To Be Twenty Years Old in China]. By Jean-Jacques Michel. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1978.

youths took advantage of it to return to the cities. "What other place is better suited to Red Guards whose duty is to give birth to a revolution?"

When Mao no longer needed them, he sent them back to the countryside. The youth—suddenly liberated from the official straitjacket, and acquiring a taste for freedom, for democratic rights, for politics—were becoming dangerous. "The regime could not come up with a 'soft' solution to this problem," Jean-Jacques Michel explains. "So it was necessary to be cruel. And they were."

In the schools, the reins were tightened. Repression was carried out by the army, and by "worker propaganda teams." There was a forced exodus of the youth to the countryside for "reeducation" by the peasants. The "young generals of the revolution" became "stinking intellectuals."

Mass departures took place by the truckload. The authorities, as Deng tells it, had staged the whole setting. Elementary-school children waved flowers, the band played very loudly, drowning out the shouts and tears of those who were being separated. The "volunteers," several million of them, were off to swell the villages where no one wanted them.

Already overcrowded, the peasants would reject the "youth to be educated." For these youth, the countryside would soon become an ordeal. Targets of harassment and resentment on all sides, the former Red Guards were soon to be transformed, the author says, into a "new type of lumpenproletariat."

"Theoretically, we were entitled to one day off a week and twelve days of vacation a year to visit our families. But very often these leaves were cancelled," Shi explained. "The local authorities were too afraid that the youth would not return."

"Five evenings a week were taken up

with meetings of study groups to 'combat egotism and criticize revisionism,' 'examine errors,' 'criticize the errors of others to help them,' and so on. Under those conditions," Shi continued, "we had to think about the consequences of each sentence, of each action. Dropping a grain of rice in the cafeteria and not picking it up to eat it could get you criticized and attacked in *dazibaos* [wall posters]."

All of these young exiles in Hong Kong have a harsh assessment to make of Maoism. Through their accounts, we get a picture of a poor, dull, conformist China, of a people held prisoner by a usurping bureaucracy, of a peasantry mired in traditionalism.

"If China wants progress," Sima says, "real progress, it will first be necessary to raise the peasants' level of consciousness. But the thing is, there's no way they can get to that with the current type of methods, which consist of using ideology to change ideology. What's needed is first to raise the peasants' standard of living. If we don't manage to do that, their way of thinking will never go beyond the bounds of selfishness, of the backwardness they are still trapped in."

"How can you open up to the outside world when breaking a bowl is still a major disaster?"

The ideology of the Chinese Communist Party has been superimposed on the old ideology, rather than driving it out. One proof of this is the role of women in society. While their role in the economy has increased, their political role remains entirely subordinate. "When the hen crows in the morning, the country suffers," a Chinese proverb says. "In my village," Sima says, "when the women elected a representative to be a party cadre, they always chose the most unpopular one. . . . They thought that being a cadre was a man's job. On the other hand, they always eagerly volunteered to be teachers, medical assistants, and so on, but basically, they remained like women were in the past—uninterested in politics."

As a corollary to this situation, sexual freedom is unknown in China. Sexual relations before marriage are banned. Prostitution has never totally disappeared.

Discouragement was soon to overtake the "young educated." One word crops up frequently: waste—the waste of a young

generation that had faith in the revolution. "Before," Sima says, "when the veil of official ideology had not been completely ripped to shreds, we could sincerely work for the people." Today, utter despair has come over these young people.

Suicide—that "counterrevolutionary activity"—has become the solution for some. For others, escape to Hong Kong or Macao, at the risk of their lives, still holds out a hope. Their ingenuity, intelligence, and cunning are thus put to work for their plan. Jean-Jacques Michel's book describes in full detail how travel passes are forged and how rafts are put together, as well as the complicity and solidarity that has grown up among all these young people who want to flee their daily nightmare. Hong Kong? Not one of them has any illusions about the life that awaits them there. Most of them retain their faith in socialism. Besides, thousands of young Chinese have crossed the border illegally to go to Vietnam (up to 1976) or Burma, where they took part in guerrilla warfare with the Burmese CP.

"At that time," Li confides, "I thought I had exhausted all hopes for China, but that leaving to go to a capitalist country was another form of obliteration." □

Guatemala—Lucas Yields to Protests

Twelve days of strikes and protests by Guatemalan workers and students against a 100 percent hike in urban transportation fares ended with a partial victory October 12.

Gen. Romeo Lucas García's government ordered private bus companies to roll back the entire fare increase. But the regime also said it would provide subsidies to the bus owners compensating for 70 percent of the fare reduction. Guatemalans will ultimately have to bear the costs of this subsidy, either through taxes or inflation.

The announcement of the fare increase on September 30 had touched off demonstrations by thousands of students in Guatemala City and other towns. Public employees went on strike in the capital on October 2, and the work stoppage was extended to the rest of the country on October 9.

Workers in private companies shut down 100 percent of industry in the city of Amatitlán and 60 percent of plants in the capital. Similar strikes took place elsewhere in Guatemala as well.

Lucas tried to crush the protests with repression before conceding the fare roll-back. According to the October 23 issue of the news bulletin *Noticias de Guatemala*, attacks by police, army troops, and right-wing paramilitary bands left 50 dead and 600 wounded. Some 1,200 persons were arrested during the ten-day upsurge.

Why It Is Seldom Heard From

The Opposition Movement in Bulgaria

By Benny Asman

[The following article appeared in the October 13 issue of *Internationales*, the weekly newspaper of the Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet (Communist Workers League), Swedish section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

In the worst James Bond style, two Bulgarian oppositionists have been murdered in London. No one has any doubt that it was Bulgarian security agents that carried out these assassinations. The murder weapon was an umbrella with a built-in mechanism for firing tiny bullets carrying a slow-acting deadly poison. Even Sherlock Holmes would be impressed.

In Bulgaria, however, they do not need any science fiction umbrellas. They have a lot of prison camps, which are full to overflowing. Critics of the regime are ruthlessly shipped out to the country's large Gulag.

We know how extensive the persecution is of oppositionists in Poland and Czechoslovakia. But it is much harder to get information about how things stand in Bulgaria. Amnesty International, for example, has condemned several cases of political persecution in Bulgaria but at the same time it says that it cannot even hazard a guess as to how many persons are imprisoned in the country's Gulag.

Kiril Yanachkov is a Bulgarian oppositionist who lives in Paris. He plays the role of a spokesman for the democratic socialist and human rights opposition in Bulgaria. He is also a member of the International Committee against Repression.

Yanachkov believes that "in proportion to its population, Bulgaria, along with the Soviet Union, is the country with the most political prisoners." He is worried about the future. The opposition in Bulgaria finds itself in a difficult situation.

Although brutal repression reigns, there is a great silence in the Western press about this, which gives the Bulgarian regime a lot of maneuvering room and the feeling that it can get away with anything. This is shown by the murder of Markov in London.

Yanachkov points out that the opposition currents are deeply rooted in the history of the Bulgarian working class. There was a democratic socialist current in the Bulgarian workers movement as early as the end of the last century, and it participated in the great class struggles

that marked the history of the country, including the struggle against the Nazi occupation.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has never really succeeded in rooting out this tradition. Even in the Bulgarian Communist Party itself, there is tension between the phalanx of Moscow's lackeys and those who chafe at the fact that Bulgaria functions more or less as the sixteenth republic of the Soviet Union.

Yanachkov maintains that the opposition should not appeal for support to the bourgeois governments in the West but to the workers movement.

In March, fourteen Bulgarian oppositionists published a manifesto which was linked to Charter 77 and at the same time included demands that went further than those of the Czechoslovak group. There were six main points in the document:

1. The crimes against human rights must cease. Interference in the private lives of citizens must end. Freedom of expression must be guaranteed.

2. The freedom of access to information and the right of persons to move about as they choose must be respected. Freedom to emigrate, open borders, and the right of all Bulgarians to travel abroad must be established.

3. There must be an improvement in social security, higher pensions, and cost-of-living raises to compensate for price increases, along with a real raising of the living standard of the people.

4. Freedom to organize independent unions should be permitted in order to enable the workers themselves to defend their real interests.

5. Privileges should be abolished at all levels of society.

6. Declaration 78 should be published in all the Bulgarian newspapers and magazines for the information of the people.

The Bulgarian opposition needs much more extensive support than it is getting today. It is not fruitless to make protests against repression. Only a couple of months ago, six oppositionists were released from a prison camp after their arbitrary jailing was condemned in the Western press. □

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Capitalism Fouls Things Up



Thousands Protest Japan's Nuclear Ship

Japan's nuclear-powered merchant ship *Mutsu* limped into the port of Sasebo October 16, amid protests by some 4,600 trade unionists and other opponents. Local residents and fishermen looked on with apprehension as the ship was brought to the dock where its leaking nuclear reactor will be repaired.

Construction of the *Mutsu* began in 1968, as part of a government project to help the Japanese shipbuilding industry go nuclear. But in 1974, when the completed ship went to sea for the first test of its nuclear propulsion system, radiation began leaking from the reactor. The *Mutsu* was able to return to its home port of Ominato only after the government promised local authorities that a new home port would be found and the ship moved out of Ominato before any attempt was made to repair the defective reactor.

Since then the *Mutsu* has become Japan's most famous white elephant. After the radiation leak in 1974, the government spent three years trying in vain to find another port city that would accept the ship for repairs. In the meantime, a nationwide opposition movement arose, demanding that the *Mutsu* be dismantled and the project be scrapped.

In June 1978, however, the government finally succeeded in getting the city council in Sasebo, Nagasaki Prefecture, to accept the *Mutsu*.

The port of Sasebo, on the Korea Straits in western Japan, serves as an important repair facility for the Maritime Self Defense Force (the Japanese navy). The contract for repair of the *Mutsu* was awarded to Sasebo Heavy Industries, a local shipyard, as part of a government scheme to rescue the company from impending bankruptcy caused by the severe recession in the shipbuilding industry. Some 1,600 shipyard workers in Sasebo have already accepted "voluntary retirement" this year, and over 30,000 others still depend on the shipyard either directly or indirectly for their jobs.

It was only under the threat of massive unemployment caused by collapse of the town's largest industry that the people of Sasebo were forced to accept the *Mutsu*.

Even so, the central government had to make several concessions. Sasebo has not been made the home port for the *Mutsu*, so presumably the ship will have to leave

after the scheduled repair work is completed in 1981. The keys to the ship's nuclear reactor have been handed over to the governor of Nagasaki Prefecture to ensure that the reactor cannot be started up while the ship is in port. In addition, the pressure vessel surrounding the reactor core is to remain sealed throughout the repair process.

Finally, the government has put up a total of 2.5 billion yen [US\$13.6 million] in compensation and insurance for local fishermen. The Nagasaki Prefectural Fishermen's Cooperative Association feared that radiation leakage might contaminate their fishing grounds, or that even if no accidents occur during the repair process, fishermen might still suffer losses due to a drop in the market price of fish caught in Sasebo Bay.

A few weeks before the *Mutsu* was transferred to Sasebo, the trade-union federation Sohyo and the Socialist Party called a series of protest actions, including a rally of 9,700 unionists in Sasebo October 10. The Japan Revolutionary Communist League (Japanese section of the Fourth International) helped to organize the Joint Struggle Council to Stop the *Mutsu*, which chartered a 150-ton "People's Ship" and sent it sailing to cities around Japan to publicize the anti-*Mutsu* campaign.

The *Mutsu* finally left Ominato, limping along on its auxiliary diesel engine, and reached Sasebo Bay on the morning of October 16. It was met there by a flotilla of protesters. *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* correspondent Mutsugoro Kawasaki described the scene:

"The *Mutsu* arrived some three hours ahead of schedule, and was already past the narrow entrance of the bay when the first boats raced out of the harbor to meet it. The local chapter of Japan's main trade-union federation, Sohyo, had specially chartered fifty small boats, and many of them, along with boatloads of activists from the JRCL and other oppositionists, swarmed around and in front of the *Mutsu*. They did actually cause it to stop twice, but could not prevent it from eventually being towed into a waiting dock of the shipyard."

The October 23 issue of the JRCL weekly *Sekai Kakumei* reported that three small boats were capsized in the confrontation.

At the same time, some 3,000 Sohyo trade unionists demonstrated on shore. A number of separate, smaller marches were also held. The largest of these, organized by the Joint Struggle Council to Stop the *Mutsu*, numbered about 400 people, according to a report in the October 17 *Nagasaki Shimbun*.

Although all the protests were reportedly very spirited, they were too little and too late. The key political battle had already been lost in the months before, when the government managed to link the *Mutsu* project to the scheme for bailing out the bankrupt shipyard and persuaded the city council and the fishermen's association to go along with it.

By October 16, it seemed that most people in Sasebo had been convinced that they had to accept the *Mutsu* as the only way of averting an economic disaster.

The October 17 issue of *Nishinihon Shimbun* reported that few local residents joined the protest marches when the *Mutsu* arrived in Sasebo, and that more than half of the trade unionists in Sohyo's march were mobilized from outside the prefecture. Most local fishermen also abstained from the protest actions (this made it impossible for anti-*Mutsu* forces to physically block the entrance to the bay).

Following the dramatic but unsuccessful protest in the harbor, many of the activists involved have voiced dissatisfaction with the limited and belated support they got from the SP and Sohyo leaderships. Even Susumu Kojima, general secretary of the Sasebo Municipal Workers Union, was quoted in the November 3 *Asahi Janaru* as expressing doubts about "whether they were really trying to make the *Mutsu* a national issue."

Despite assurances from the government that the *Mutsu's* streak of bad luck has ended, the people of Sasebo have good reason to be worried about the repair work being done at a shipyard that has never handled nuclear equipment before. □

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A Revival of Naxalism in India

By Sharad Jhaveri

JAMNAGAR—Banpura, a backward, semiarid district in the western part of West Bengal, has been the scene of the latest renewal of Naxalite* activities.

A decade after the first shots were fired in Naxalbari, the recent spurt in activity of various Naxalite groups, both in the countryside and in the legislatures, is taking place against a background of nationwide ferment among the landless and rising unemployment among youth.

As a movement, Naxalism was almost wiped out in 1972 by Indira Gandhi. From 1972 to 1977 things were quiet all over, with the possible exception of Bhojpur in West Bengal, where Vinod Misra's group of Naxalites was trying to establish itself as the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

According to a report in the September 16 New Delhi fortnightly *India Today*, this group has shifted from Bhojpur to the Banpura district.

The insurgents, *India Today* reports, are hiding in a sixteen-square-mile stretch of forest and receive shelter and sustenance from local villagers. The group has reportedly been able to draw in a steady stream of recruits from the non-caste landless villagers.

Vinod Misra, an engineering graduate, leads the group from the underground. He still subscribes to the tactic of "annihilation of the class enemy" put forward by the late Naxalite leader Charu Mazumdar. Misra's supporters are also reported to be active in Calcutta.

Misra's group is supported in its terrorist activities by Mahadeb Mukherjee, the leader of the pro-Charu Mazumdar, pro-Lin Piao faction of the CPI(ML),

Vinod Misra is now trying to combine a

mass line with armed struggle to give mass cover to his guerrilla activities and acts of individual terrorism. Mukherjee would like to shelve the violence for the time being in order to reorganize his underground setup.

Among the other Naxalite groups, the best organized and most widely known is the one led by Satyanarayan Sinha, who was at one time a member of the Central Committee of the CPI(ML). According to a report in the September 24 New Delhi magazine *Link*, Sinha called together various Naxalites working in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar and tried to convince them that the March 1977 Congress Party defeat had brought about a "qualitative change" in the Indian situation.

Sinha is reported to have characterized the Janata Party as a patriotic party with democratic elements in its leading positions. But many at the meeting disagreed with his characterization. Some suspected that he was aligned with Charan Singh, leader of the agrarian capitalists.

The Sinha group has also advocated participation in parliamentary, state, and panchayat [village council] elections. Several Naxalites, such as Santosh Rana, are elected members of such bodies.

Another Naxalite group is led by Ashim Chatterjee. Once a devoted disciple of Charu Mazumdar and the youngest member of the CPI(ML) Central Committee, Chatterjee now thinks that Mazumdar was a petit-bourgeois careerist who could not rise above his middle-class mentality.

Chatterjee has joined with Kanu Sanyal, who is still in jail. Both now characterize the CPI(ML) as a terrorist party.

In a recent interview with the Calcutta newsweekly *Sunday*, Chatterjee described participation in elections as a tactic. He calls for joint activities with the CPI(M) because, in his view, resisting the onslaught of autocracy is a burning need in India.

Recalling the bloody feuds between the CPI(M) and the CPI(ML), Chatterjee said that Indira Gandhi was the beneficiary. Ideological issues should, he observed, be solved ideologically.

Chatterjee notes that there are major differences between the CPI(ML) and the CPI(M) on the questions of Soviet "social imperialism," armed struggle, agrarian revolution, the role of the peasantry in the Indian revolution, and the parliamentary process. He discounts any possibility of left unity in India.

The Naxalite groups and individuals, as is the case with all the left parties in the country, are divided over their attitude towards the Janata Party and its government. The majority of groups regard it as "comprador" and see the government as a collaborator with U.S. imperialism. These groups believe that, in place of what they describe as the naked capitalist-feudal dictatorship of Indira Gandhi, the new government will tolerate dissent as long as its political power is not threatened.

On the question of the USSR, some of the Naxalites have started to develop a position similar to that of the CPI(M). This section thinks that while the fight against "revisionism" has to be continued, the main task is to fight imperialism and colonialism.

Whatever the differences between the Naxalite groups, all of them share a common outlook on the relevance of the Maoist theory of revolution for India—the bloc of four classes, the Indian revolution as a revolution by stages, socialism in one country, and the character of a working-class revolutionary party. On all these points, they share the essential heritage of Stalinism.

The CPI(M), which is the major partner in the ruling Left Front government in West Bengal, views the revival of Naxalism as a major challenge to its moderate, election-oriented politics, *India Today* reports. But it must find a way to crack down on the Naxalites without "risking its image as the sole repository of the country's true leftism."

Naxalophobia has gripped the West Bengal regime. Crackdowns have begun in Midnapore, Banpura, Birbhum, and Darjeeling. Several areas in these four districts have been regularly combed by police and troops of the Eastern Frontier Rifles. A number of areas thought to be Naxalite strongholds have been placed under army control.

At a recent conference of the chief ministers of India's states, Jyoti Basu, the CPI(M) chief minister of West Bengal, stressed the renewed threat that Naxalism posed in his state and said it should be met with force as well as politically.

At this point there are more than 1,000 Naxalites in Indian jails. On July 25, a thirty-year-old Naxalite peasant activist, Krishnan Chetty, was hanged in the state of Tamil Nadu. This was the first political execution in that state since British rule. In all, there have been only three political hangings since independence. The other two, also of Naxalites, took place on December 1, 1975, in Andhra Pradesh during the state of emergency.

Today there are eight other political prisoners in West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh under sentence of death. All are under thirty-five years of age.

It is essential that the left movement in India take up the case of these prisoners and call for their release. □

* In 1964 the Communist Party of India split, with a majority of party members breaking away to form the Communist Party of India (Marxist). When the CPI(M) first participated in popular-front governments in 1967, it lost many of its more militant members. In 1969 a number of these elements joined together to form the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The CPI(ML) has itself undergone a number of splits, the largest being between pro- and anti-Lin Piao factions. (See "India's Naxalite Movement Reviews Its Strategy," in *Intercontinental Press*, June 2, 1975, p. 741.)

Members of the various CPI(ML) groups as well as numerous other small Maoist organizations are popularly referred to as Naxalites, a name taken from Naxalbari in West Bengal, where a peasant revolt was organized in 1967 by forces that later formed the CPI(ML).—IP/I

Encouraging Gains in Campaign Against Political Blacklisting

[The following statement was issued October 13 by the Political Bureau of the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group), German section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

The Hamburg state Executive Committee¹ of the SPD² has come out in favor of a proposal initiated by Klose, the mayor of the city, that applicants for civil-service jobs should no longer automatically be investigated by the Defense of the Constitution Bureau.

Adoption of this proposal would not dump the practice of political blacklisting as such. But it would undermine the whole tissue of argument that has been built up since the decision of the Hamburg state cabinet in 1971 [the first step in the establishment of the *Berufsverbot*] and the issuance of the federal "Decree on Radicals" in 1972 to justify investigating people's political views and blacklisting them from jobs on political grounds.³

As chairman of the SPD fraction in the Hamburg state cabinet in 1971, Klose was deeply implicated in the introduction of political snooping in the first West German state to adopt this practice. Today, he says that he has come, through a "painful learning process," to recognize the dangerous effects of such procedures.

The West Berlin minister of culture, Glotz, has declared that the "decree on radicals" and the practices that developed from it were "a grave error" that the Social Democrats made because they were afraid that "anxiety about the Communists would be systematically turned against them." (That is, they made this "mistake" because they wanted to offer practical proof of their identification with the capitalist economic and political system.)

Glotz even proposes changing the law so that civil servants would not have to take an oath of "political loyalty" to the state (as the May 22, 1975, decision of the Constitutional Court requires), but only have to swear to uphold the law. Rudi Arndt has ordered the preparation of a paper for the south Hesse SPD along the

same general lines as Klose's proposal.

The fact that Social Democratic politicians are taking such positions must be considered a significant victory for all those who since 1971 have been concentrating on fighting political blacklisting as the key element in the attack on democratic rights.

Since 1971, more than a million job seekers have been investigated by the Defense of the Constitution Bureau. Tens of thousands of "hearings" have been held to investigate the political convictions of applicants. In several thousand cases, applicants have not been hired or been fired because they were found to hold a critical attitude toward the prevailing social setup.

Committees and Citizens Initiative groups throughout West Germany have defended the victims of these practices and told the story of these cases in rallies and congresses. Big demonstrations have been held against political blacklisting. Internationally, concern has been growing about the restrictions of democratic rights in West Germany, not least of all in the SPD's sister European Social Democratic parties.

In March, the independent international jury of the Third Russell Tribunal (organized to investigate the status of human rights in West Germany) looked into the political blacklisting practiced here and came to the conclusion that it represented "a grave threat to civil rights."⁴ Early this spring, also, well-known civil libertarians such as Berndt Engelmann, Freimut Duve, and others raised their voices again against the *Berufsverbot*, for example in the Hannover Congress for the Defense of the Republic and in the Gustav Heine-mann Initiative Group.

The Decree on Radicals was criticized, and calls for its revocation were made not just by the Young Socialists [the party's more radical student affiliate], but by local units of the SP, as well as by trade-union bodies, as, for example, the proposal of the Youth Committee of the German Federation of Trade Unions to the federation congress.

It has been this *movement against politi-*

cal blacklisting that assured that the public debate over the Decree on Radicals would not fade and that this issue would finally become so vexing for the Social Democratic-run government that today SPD politicians consider it necessary to dump this practice.

In the past, leading Social Democrats chimed in in slandering the opponents of political blacklisting. It was emphasized again and again that the investigation and rejection of applicants was carried out on a legal basis and in accordance with the rules of justice. As late as this summer, the German Federal Republic government place ads in the papers saying, "There is no political blacklisting here."

The SPD leadership denounced the Third Russell Tribunal, whose first session was devoted entirely to the question of political blacklisting, as a "slandering assembly" and called on all party members to have nothing to do with it. The West German authorities even considered taking repressive measures against the Russell Tribunal. The leadership of the German Trade-Union Federation joined in the campaign against the tribunal, declaring its supporters to be antiunion.

So, it is a partial victory when Koschnick, Klose, and others today admit that the investigations of job applicants' political views created an atmosphere of intimidation. It is a victory when SPD politicians today declare that the Decree on Radicals and its rescinding are not a legal question but a matter of political judgment (Klose). It is a victory that in Bremen since March 1977 not *all* applicants have been investigated, and it would be a victory if Klose stops the *automatic* investigation of all applicants.

Besides the continual activity of the movement against political blacklisting, there are two special reasons for the new flareup of the controversy over the Decree on Radicals.

Not the least important of these reasons is that in the June municipal elections in Hamburg, 25 percent of the young voters cast their ballots for parties other than those represented in parliament. Conversely, how broadly political blacklisting is rejected among the SPD voters was shown by the Hesse elections.

As opposed to the position taken by the party leadership, Klose's declaration not only did not hurt the SPD in these elections but rather made it easier for disillusioned SPD voters to cast their ballots once again for the party.

Secondly: The threat that opponents of the *Berufsverbot* warned would be a conse-

1. Two of the old Hanseatic city states, Bremen and Hamburg, are incorporated into the West German federal union as states, and so in these cases there is a certain overlapping of municipal and state government. West Berlin has a similar governmental setup.—IP/I

2. Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands—

Social Democratic Party of Germany.

3. For an account of the introduction of the *Berufsverbot*, see "The Fight Against Political Blacklisting in West Germany," in *Intercontinental Press*, August 2, 1976, p.1162.

4. See "Russell Tribunal Issues Verdict on Blacklisting," in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, May 1, 1978, p. 504.

quence of these measures became clearer and clearer. More and more Social Democrats were threatened with political blacklisting, and these measures were also used against union activists. This trend forced Social Democrats in states governed by Christian Democrats to speak out.

Increasingly in recent years, SPD politicians have declared that they made a mistake in issuing the Decree on Radicals. Willy Brandt did so in 1976, Egon Bahr earlier this year. Neither these statements nor special SPD guidelines for applying this decree (the 1976 bill, the guidelines adopted by the Hamburg and West Berlin governments) prevented the investigations from continuing or kept the practice of political blacklisting from being extended to broader and broader categories.

Thus, in Bremen (Koschnick's "Bremen Model"), there are at the moment twenty cases of political blacklisting. In Hamburg, there are fifty cases, including rejection of a job application of an SPD member, who belonged to the SPD's old student organization, the SHB, which had moved close to the Communist Party.

In West Berlin, since 1977 there have been thirty-four cases. The SPD minister for federal government, Gscheidle, supports the investigation of the political views of locomotive engineers [the railroads are state-owned in West Germany], letter carriers, and switch operators, as well as the workers and officials who work for government bureaus.

So, there is no reason to rely on the statements of Klose and other SPD politicians and to expect that they mean political blacklisting is being consigned to the

past. The decisive thing for opponents of political blacklisting is that the investigations be *stopped in fact*.

In the SPD, Klose's proposals are running into opposition from those who, like Brandt, Börner, and others, defend the practice of investigating the political backgrounds of applicants on a case by case basis, as this has been done up to now. These figures want to disassociate themselves only from the "excessive growth" of political investigations. (This is also the position of the Free Democratic Party [the SPD's small bourgeois-liberal coalition partner].) The SPD leadership has referred the decision on Klose's proposal to the party's National Council, which will not meet before the end of this year.

However, in itself this conflict will not decide the future of the practice of political blacklisting. Even the Hamburg model provides for investigations in areas deemed "sensitive from the standpoint of national security." Likewise, it provides for the firing of civil-service employees who engage on the job in "anticonstitutional propaganda or attempts to exercise a one-sided ideological influence," or who "advocate violence."

This means that the police (with or without the help of the Defense of the Constitution Bureau) will still be able to "investigate" the political views of government employees. So, opponents of political blacklisting must make it clear that the goal of their struggle is not a "liberalization" of these practices but their complete abolition.

The public debate initiated by Klose's proposals improves the conditions for a

struggle against political blacklisting. Once again the practice of investigating the political views of public employees has proved to be one of the weakest points in the bourgeois state's wide-ranging campaign to roll back democratic rights. This operation involves beefing up the police and the Defense of the Constitution Bureau, censorship measures, restriction of the rights of the defense in criminal cases, isolation of political prisoners from the outside world, the law giving police increased powers to conduct raids, and so on). The GIM supports all *actions* whose purpose is to demand an immediate end to the investigation of persons' political views.

Moreover, the GIM believes that a *general mobilization of all opponents of political blacklisting* both inside and outside of the SPD is needed to fight for *total abolition* of these practices.

Immediate cessation of political "investigations" of civil-service workers and job applicants!

No political firings!

Immediate hiring or reinstatement of all those who have been subjected to political blacklisting!

Abolition of all state bodies for political snooping, especially the Defense of the Constitution Bureau!

All those on whom the Defense of the Constitution Bureau has been keeping files should be given these files! No files on any person should remain in the hands of this agency!

Abolition of all special oaths for public employees, especially the "loyalty oath" to the state!

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How Revolutionists Can Best Defend the Chinese Revolution

[The following article appeared in the September-October issue of *Red Power*, central organ of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front) of Sri Lanka.

[In 1971, the JVP led an abortive uprising against the Bandaranaike government. Supported by Washington, Moscow, and Peking, Bandaranaike crushed the revolt by massacring thousands of youths and arresting at least 18,000 persons. Many of these freedom fighters, including JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera, were not released until late 1977, when the Sri Lankan government issued a general amnesty covering all who had been jailed for participation in the insurrection.

[The article below is reflective of the JVP's subsequent assessment of this experience, in particular of the betrayal by Peking and Moscow.]

* * *

The People's Republic of China came into being on the 1st October 1949 as the culmination of a long and difficult struggle carried on by the Chinese people throughout 23 years with unswerving determination, strength and sacrifice. Along with its victory it was showered with a multitude of good wishes; the Chinese revolution also carried with it the hopes of millions of the oppressed masses, of the freedom-loving progressive masses, who had been battered by imperialist exploitation and the imperialist wars and now marched on the path towards socialism.

This was for no other reason than that hearts were full of the belief that yet another giant force, a giant comrade-in-arms had joined the ranks of the international socialist movement. Only three decades have passed since that momentous day. And on what path is the present-day ruling clique leading the People's Republic of China today? Destroying all expectations, joining hands with imperialism against the world socialist movement, moving ever closer into the embrace of imperialist forces, betraying proletarian movements and national liberation struggles all over the world.

Yes! We condemn this journey with utmost class hatred and emphasise the need to launch a worldwide movement to steer socialist China on to the correct path, driving away the treacherous Chinese leadership of today, as a most important and urgent task of our time.

All true Communists should not stop at the victory of the socialist revolution in one country, but make the world socialist revolution their ultimate aim; likewise

every workers' state and every proletarian movement should pledge itself to defend and support socialist movements in all other countries unconditionally. This is Lenin's path of proletarian internationalism.

However, after Lenin's death, opportunism reared its head from within the Communist movement itself and diverged from this path; instead, in the face of the imperialist threat, internationalism was pushed to a secondary position and defence of one's own country came to the fore. It was the need to support this need that led to the formulation of new theoretical positions such as that it was possible to build socialism in one country, that one should unite with one's weaker enemies in the face of a strong enemy force, and that those members of the proletariat in countries subjected to oppression by the "weaker" enemies who joined forces with Russia should not launch a struggle against their class enemies.

As a result of this mode of action, many thousands of the world's proletariat laid down their lives before the capitalist system, and faced a stunning defeat. However, on the other hand, together with such sacrifice, we saw the birth of workers' states in several countries, including China. Unfortunately, the bond of solidarity which would have welded these workers' states together, namely, the spirit of internationalism, had by then been destroyed. As a result, disputes over territorial boundaries and various other matters sprang up between workers' states as well.

The Soviet-China border dispute sought military solutions. "Power Bloc" politics surfaced within the Communist movement. The newest manifestation on the international political arena was the threat posed by the capitalist world on the one hand and the appearance of dissension instead of brotherhood within the socialist world on the other. China, which broke away from the Soviet Union, was forced to turn her eyes towards the capitalist world in search of new friends.

The theory of the "three worlds" came into being as a result. We know that, in fact, there are only two worlds. The capitalist world and its enemy, the socialist world. Because of her disagreements with Russia, China wanted to break the socialist bloc into two and label the Soviet Union, which is one of the most powerful of socialist states, an enemy of socialism. She therefore brought forward the concept of social imperialism; accordingly, the Soviet Union was put into the same cate-

gory as the USA; other developed, capitalist countries were assigned into the second group; China, the imperialist neo-colonies and those of the socialist countries which were labelled as being "subjects" of Soviet social-imperialism and its exploitative machinery were all formed into a third group, known as the "third world."

Instead of giving life to the struggle of the socialist world against the capitalist world as the correct mode of action for the world revolution, the Chinese leadership preached a theory of alignment with military dictators and other ultra-reactionaries, who were hailed as "progressive" bourgeois leaders of the "third world," against the Soviet Union and American imperialism.

Thus, today China is gradually moving closer and closer to the USA, which she had once classed together with the Soviet Union as a "super power." Considering the Soviet Union to be her "enemy number one," China is uniting with the USA and other capitalist countries against the USSR; she is engaged in acts of sabotage against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and Albania and is directly taking the side of counter-revolution, acting against the interests of the world revolution and the progressive world. Our recent past will give us many incidents as proof of this development.

Let us look first at what took place in Ceylon in 1971. At a time when the proletariat of Sri Lanka rose up against the repression of the capitalist state, we know that the Chinese lent ideological support to the bourgeoisie by labelling the revolutionary movement of the proletariat as "reactionary" both at the local and international level; at the same time, they extended material assistance by way of an interest-free loan of 15 million. We also know that at a discussion held between Sri Lanka's ambassador to China, Karannagoda, and the Chinese Premier, Chou-En-Lai, the Chinese expressed their regret at not being able to supply Sri Lanka with arms on this occasion, since the warships had already left Sri Lankan harbours by then. Thus did the treacherous Chinese leadership defend the counter-revolution!

We have not forgotten the moral and material aid rendered to Ayub Khan by China when the Communist Party of Pakistan, which had been banned by his military government, gave life to the liberation struggle of the Bengali people through the National Awami League.

When General Pinochet was murdering thousands of Communists in Chile, not only did the Chinese Embassy close its

doors to those who came seeking sanctuary there, but the Chinese government was also the first government in the entire world to afford diplomatic recognition to the state of Chile under the murderous junta regime. Not only that—in order to “rescue” Chile from the clutches of “social-imperialism,” they granted Pinochet an interest-free loan of a million dollars!

In the Portuguese struggle, China was on the side of the counter-revolution, and in Spain she supported Franco, an arch counter-revolutionary. Expressing their sympathies at the death of Franco, who had murdered guerrilla troops and earned himself the condemnation of the entire progressive world, the Chinese leaders invited Prince Juan Carlos to China and feted him with great honour.

China also joined with international reaction to grant moral, material, and military aid to Roberto Holden, the agent of the CIA in Angola, in order to protect Angola from “Cuban mercenaries.”

When Sadat, who has betrayed the Middle-East struggle, broke ties with the Soviet Union and embraced the USA instead, the Chinese leadership sent him their best wishes, congratulating him on the heroic step away from “Soviet social-imperialism” and stating their readiness to grant Egypt any material or military aid that she would require.

When Idi Amin, one of the most cruel and inhuman rulers of all time, attacked the Soviet Union, the Chinese praised him and invited him to tour China because he too became another “true” friend. It is also no secret that the intimacy between the Filipino murderer, Marcos, Japanese capitalists, and the Chinese leaders is of a very special brand.

While the President of Somalia was on a tour of China, the Chinese leaders promised him “limitless” aid—all this to rescue Ethiopia from “social imperialism.” Extending moral support to the bloodthirsty and reactionary imperialist stooge Mobutu, in Zaire, the Chinese leadership seeks to protect him from international condemnation because it has become their “internationalist” duty to do so.

The Chinese Vice-Premier, Keng-Piao, who visited Sri Lanka recently, said that: the people of Sri Lanka are moving towards a solution of their problems and economic prosperity under the leadership of JR [Jayewardene], because not only Sirima, but even JR is a friend of China.

Joining imperialists and their allies in slandering Cuba by labelling the heroic Cuban soldiers who are fulfilling their internationalist duties on behalf of the proletariat as “mercenaries,” and saying that Cuba should therefore be expelled from the Non-Aligned Nations group, China is only obeying the wishes of these “friends” of hers. Thus, on every occasion, China has taken the side of the counter-revolution.

As China says, the common enemy of

the Western world and China herself is the Soviet Union. In the United Nations, Huang Hua has said that the Soviet Union is the main obstacle to peace in the world. In this vein, then, the aggression of the USA and imperialism in general is not a threat to world peace; the threat is in the support that the Soviet Union extends to liberation struggles. Therefore, China has embarked upon an alliance, a military alliance, with imperialism against this “common enemy.” They warn imperialism to beware of the Soviet Union. It is in this same context that Maoists in Sri Lanka are warning the President to beware of the “KGB”!

China is collaborating with NATO with regard to military equipment. The number of NATO military advisors who have visited China and the number of Chinese military advisors who have made trips to the NATO region by now has passed the stage where one could keep track of them. The head of NATO, Admiral Alexander Haig, calls China the “11th” member of NATO. Simultaneously, China calls for the strengthening of NATO against the Soviet threat.

When the entire world was condemning the neutron bomb, China said that since the Soviet Union possessed armaments which were far more dangerous, she considered it in order to go ahead with developing this infamous weapon. When Carter was compelled to call a temporary halt to work on the neutron bomb, China’s retort was that the USA did not have the moral

courage to stand up to the growing Soviet threat.

On his trip to China, Britain’s Marshall Cameron said that cooperation between them was essential to combat the military threat posed by the Soviet Union. Isn’t this just what China seeks? Carter’s advisor, Brzezinski, who is one of the best of CIA agents, is the most recent US leader to have visited China. This is an era of Sino-American accord; this is an era in which China is taking the fore to destroy the socialist world.

We are perfectly clear about the Chinese leadership and its position today. We know who she is for and who she is against. The Chinese leadership has betrayed the millions of people who gave their lives towards the birth of the Chinese workers’ state and are now in the throes of a massive collapse. We are not like China when she attacks the Soviet Union; we don’t call her an imperialist country or a capitalist country. China is a workers’ state. It is a state which is in the process of building socialism.

Because of the incorrect policies followed by a clique of decadent bureaucrats who are in control of political power, China has become an enemy of the world socialist revolution. This is why the task of the day for proletarians all over the world is to drive out this ruling clique and bring China back on to the correct path. This required a political revolution. To exert giant pressure for this cause is the task of the international proletariat in defence of the Chinese Revolution today. □

Joint Statement by Czech and Polish Dissidents

[In August, representatives of the Polish Social Self-Defense Committee met members of Charter 77 on the Polish-Czechoslovak border. They exchanged information about their activities, discussed further cooperation, and agreed on a common statement to mark the tenth anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the 1968 student protests in Poland. A translation of this statement has been made available by *The Appeal for the Polish Workers*. We have taken the text from the September-October issue of *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*.]

Ten years have passed since the troops of five Warsaw Pact countries occupied Czechoslovakia to suppress the aspirations of its people to freedom. A brake was put on the democratization process and on the hopes of all democratic Europe. In the name of humanistic values, the people of Czechoslovakia had developed an alternative to the totalitarian system. In the same year, the aspirations for freedom of the Polish intelligentsia were suppressed by force.

The ten years that have passed have

clearly proved the viability of the ideas of the Prague Spring and the democratic movement in Polish society—despite all that the spokespersons for the antidemocratic order and national non-sovereignty can say. Many people from both countries have, because of their support for these ideas, paid and still pay a very high price. They have been removed from public life, deprived of work and freedom and even sometimes of life. Continuing repression is part and parcel of the life of our friends in the USSR and other countries who fight and suffer for the same aims.

In the days around this tenth anniversary we are standing together in defending truth and freedom, in defending true human rights, democracy, social justice, and national independence. We declare our common intention to maintain faith in these ideals and to act in the same spirit. Human dignity as an inviolate value which gives meaning to the lives of individuals and nations is the source of all our aspirations and actions. And it is from this source that our profound feelings of solidarity with our many friends in the world who cherish the same ideas springs. □

Selections From the Left

An Phoblacht

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

"Broad unity essential on H-blocks' issue to bring full power of people to bear" is the headline on the editorial in the October 28 issue.

This editorial lays out an orientation for building a mass movement in support of the republican prisoners who are being denied political status and held in special isolation cells without clothing and often without even beds.

"We know from the many surveys that an overwhelming majority of the people in this country, in Britain, in these islands, wants an end forever to British occupation of, and interference, in Ireland. Tell the facts, therefore, at every door in Ireland, and organise the people into a united mass movement for self-determination and amnesty that nothing can resist.

"Join with every friendly group or organisation at home and abroad to get that mass movement in motion, without dictation or domination but with flags flying proudly—all the flags and all the banners.

"Let our aim be to have them all home by Christmas, with the foreigner committed solemnly to a speedy and orderly withdrawal. Civil rights are impossible without national rights. National rights are impossible as long as a foreigner dictates and occupies: These are the facts in the struggle for peace. It is no cliché but the bare truth that Ireland unfree can never be at peace. . . .

"The sooner we unite all honourable men and women on the broad prisoners' issue the sooner we will speed that decision of the Crown to act responsibly and sensibly toward the Irish people. Work, therefore, harder than you have ever worked in your life to bring about the broad agreement which will open the gates of the concentration camps and return our heroes and heroines to their loved ones. Anois, le chéile [now, march together]. . . ."

Such an attitude on the part of the Irish republicans will certainly help speed the revival and growth of the mass movement against imperialist domination of Ireland and against the repression that maintains the imperialist system.



"Izvestia" (News), organ of the Soviets of Workers Deputies of the USSR. Published daily in Moscow.

The October 19 issue has an article by the paper's London correspondent, O. Va-

sil'ev, on psychiatric abuse in British prisons.

"A mutiny broke out in the English prison of Gartry. To the uninitiated, it seemed to come out of the blue. But it had been brewing for a long time, since it was related to the torture of prisoners by medical means. When the events in the prison came to the public eye, the following details became known:

"One of the prisoners, Michael Blake, was held in the prison hospital. He was injected with some sort of medicine. When other prisoners decided to visit Blake, they did not recognize him. They saw a person completely without a will of his own. He seemed bound by invisible chains and answered questions mechanically.

"The cause of the mutiny, thus, lay in the systematic torture of prisoners in British jails, especially those accused of links with the Irish Republican Army. This torture is usually carried out under the pretext of psychiatric treatment. . . .

"Illegal medical experiments on political prisoners and torturing them with the help of drugs violates the elementary norms of democracy. And in the British Isles, they are so fond of talking about democracy!"

This article was a not very subtle attempt to counter charges raised against the Kremlin regime that it tortures political prisoners under the pretext of psychiatric treatment. It offered the traditional retort: "You do too."

The author did score a point. The British authorities that shake their fingers at Moscow are guilty of similar crimes. It was also helpful to the cause of the political prisoners in British jails, especially Irish republicans, that the Soviet journalist gave some publicity to the crimes being committed against them. But this will not divert attention from the misuse of psychiatry by the Stalinist bureaucrats themselves.



socialist republic

INCORPORATING UNFREE CITIZEN

Paper of the Movement for a Socialist Republic, Irish section of the Fourth International, and of People's Democracy. Published monthly in Belfast.

Issue no. 5 of the joint paper of the MSR and PD reports on the trial and sentencing of a PD member in Belfast on an arms charge:

"Denis Murphy. . . was jailed for 6 years recently for possession of arms and ammunition. Denis's case was very significant because it exposed some of the fundamental contradictions in the Northern State. During the 15 month period of Denis's remand [pretrial imprisonment] PD/MSR

carried on a defence campaign to support him. In this campaign we argued for the right of the anti-imperialist minority in the North to hold arms to defend themselves. A petition in support of Denis was supported by over 300 of his neighbours, and won widespread support both in Ireland and internationally. At the trial Denis advanced the same arguments in his defence.

"Denis admitted to having the weapons and ammunition but declared that they were intended for the defence of the area he lived in against attacks by armed Loyalists. He pointed out, through his lawyer, that the Ballymurphy-Springhill area had come under repeated attack by Loyalist gunmen over the years. He referred to the massive campaign of sectarian murders of Catholics over the years in Belfast and made clear that the weapons were stored in the 1975/early 76 period when, after the success of the first UWC stoppage a Loyalist takeover and all-out civil war in the North seemed imminent.

"This argument struck at the foundations of the myths by which the Northern legal system is maintained, and asserted some of the realities of the situation in the North today. The legal charade in the North is upheld by elaborate pretence that the state is a normal democracy, that it was not established against the wishes of the majority of the Irish people, that there is no oppressed minority in the 6 counties, and that the state's security forces are neutral, impartial, and have no political role. Denis Murphy was saying in fact that there is an oppressed minority, that the state forces condone and collaborate in attacks on the minority, and that members of the minority have the right to defend themselves and indeed have no option but to do so.

"Denis's defence, if accepted, makes nonsense of the government's claim that the Republican and Socialist prisoners are just criminals and psychopaths. In fact it undermines the whole court system since if the 'security forces' are not neutral the courts which depend on them for arrest and evidence against defendants are willy nilly political tools of the government as well. Amazingly the Judge did accept this basic argument.

"The Judge was Garret McGrath, an SDLP-type [bourgeois, moderate nationalist] Catholic appointed in the days of British sponsored reforms in the North. Presumably having preserved a modicum of integrity despite his position, he couldn't but acknowledge in his summing up the attacks on Catholic areas and the widespread fear of a wholesale Loyalist onslaught and outright civil war which existed at the time. Nor could he deny the necessity for, and the right of, self-defence. But then he revealed the total bankruptcy of the strategy of trying to reform the Northern state.

"Having accepted arguments which led



Klassekampen

Copenhagen, October 3: Tens of thousands protest Social Democrats' pact with Liberals. See item below.

inevitably to the conclusion that Denis Murphy had committed no crime, Judge McGrath said *his hands were tied* in such a case and went on to sentence him to 6 years in jail. In other words, he (McGrath) didn't think Denis was guilty but he had to jail him because that was the price of being a Judge in the North."

★ KLASSEKAMPEN

"Class Struggle," published fortnightly in Copenhagen by the Revolutionary Socialist League, Danish section of the Fourth International.

In the October 8 issue, Frede Jakobsen reports on the demonstrations opposing the Social Democratic Party's decision to form a coalition government with the bourgeois Liberal Party:

"Through all the streets leading into the square, people streamed to the demonstration. By noon, there were already people on the Christiansborg Palace Square. They kept on coming until 1:00 p.m. There were seamen from Herluf Trollesgade, printing workers from Pilestraede, apprentices from Blågårds Plads, and many others. This was the second phase in the fight against the SP's coalition with the Liberals. There were 20 to 30 thousand people in the palace square, and tens of thousands of workers went out on strike, mainly in the Copenhagen area. But this was still far from enough.

"Copenhagen was the last city where it was decided to make October 3 a day of action against the SP coalition with the Liberals, but it was the only city where some attention was paid to building the protest.

"Workers in plant after plant decided in the days leading up to October 3 to stay away from their jobs on the day of action. Others decided on the very day of the demonstration to down tools at noon and go to the rally in the palace square that was being organized by a number of big factory organizations and unions.

"Large numbers of educational institutions supported the action. Among the more important of these was the EFG vocational school. The EFG apprentices formed the biggest feeder march.

"Spirits in the square rose notably when it was announced that the seamen had halted the ferry runs as well as the shipment of both passengers and bacon to England.

"But there was not a lot more that happened around the country. There was a strike at one factory in Roskilde, another in Abenrå, and a few others. That was all.

"The Faellesorganisation [Common Front Organization] had scheduled demonstrations in Roskilde and Alborg for 5:00 p.m., that is, for after work.

"In Roskilde, this was the first time the Faellesorganisation had done anything like that. Five hundred persons participated. In other words, it was a success. Following this, a shop stewards' committee was formed there to improve the local work against the SP-Liberal coalition and for the common demands.

"In Alborg, participation was less than in Roskilde. But the Faellesorganisation had not done anything to get the workers to attend the rally. More precisely, very little had been done to mobilize people.

"In the yards, there was a short announcement over the loudspeakers on Friday; that was all," a shipyard worker told *Klassekampen*.

"Moreover, one of the speakers at the

demonstration said that there was no point in downing tools.

"The demonstration in Copenhagen was really big—far larger than the demonstration when the SP-Liberal coalition was formed. At that time, it was called by the Faellesorganisation. . . .

"This time there were a lot more demonstrators, which by itself shows that it is not necessary to make any deals with the Faellesorganisation to get more people to come.

"But the fight against the SP-Liberal coalition is not over. There will be a third and a fourth act, and many more.

"As the head of the demonstration, Bjarne Jensen, a shop steward at B & W, said, "There are twenty thousand of us here in the square today. That is only a beginning. We will go back to our workplaces now and build the united struggle there against the SP-Liberal coalition."

"One of the speakers, Louis Andersen, head of the Copenhagen printers union, said:

"Up till now we have collected signatures to protest the attack against the workers' interests. But now what is needed is a general mobilization of union members in the workplaces.

"He said that the factory organizations should begin now to prepare for the coming contract negotiations and that means that strike funds should be set up at the workplaces with weekly contributions."

klassen strijd

"Class Struggle," revolutionary socialist paper, published fortnightly in Amsterdam by the International Communist League.

The September 16 issue includes an

interview with the head of the Dutch Labor Party youth organization.

"In the recent period, we have seen the rapid growth of the Jonge Socialisten (JS—Young Socialists), the youth organization of the Partij van den Arbeid (PvdA—Labor Party). For many years, this organization was in deep decline. . . . The year 1976 marked rock bottom. At most four branches were functioning. . . .

"But in 1976, the organization began to grow again, with the financial support of the PvdA. . . . In 1978, it was estimated that there were 2,000 dues-paying members. The number of branches has also increased rapidly, along with the number of activists (cadres). The flourishing of the JS means a strengthening of the left wing in the PvdA. For *Klassenstrijd*, these were reasons enough for talking to Felix Rottenberg, the chairman of the the JS."

Klassenstrijd began by asking Rottenberg what he thought explained the growth of the JS. He said:

"That's not so easy to determine. We are not an ordinary youth organization within a political party, one that does some educational work. No, we have a very clear political line. This makes us unattractive to a lot of youth—the typical Social Democratic youth, who are comfortable with the line of the party, who feel no need for taking positions further to the left. So, it's not at all easy to recruit people. You have to present your political positions very well. . . .

"What certainly contributed to the resurgence of the organization is that in 1976 we took up the question of political blacklisting in West Germany [the actual laws and rules permitting this were brought in by a Social Democratic government]. Up till that time, relatively little had been written about it in the Netherlands. We had some contacts with the West German Young Socialists [the youth organization of the SP]. . . . That shows what kind of a role a youth organization can play. This was at a time when Ed van Tijn was laying out the red carpet for Willy Brandt [West German SP chancellor] and saying that everything was going well. . . . We had to fight very hard, to argue hard in the party. . . .

"Since 1976, there has been a big change in the membership. Then it was mostly students, about 24 or 25 years old. Now there are more high-school members, vocational-school students, and young workers. The average age is about 21, and what is very important, there are more and more between the ages of 16 and 20. . . .

"We carefully set the maximum age at 26 (formerly it was 30) in order to keep the organization from becoming the sort of springboard for careerists that it was before."

Klassenstrijd asked Rottenberg a series of questions about the role he expected his organization to play in Dutch politics and

about its political goals. It concluded by asking him what he thought about the possibilities for collaboration between the JS and the Trotskyists. He said, among other things:

"I think that SPers [Pacifist Socialists, a left centrist group] and Trotskyists played an important role in the UCN demonstrations as individuals and also as organizations. I do not want to exclude anyone or witch-hunt them. For example, I have a lot of admiration for a paper like *Klassenstrijd*. I don't know how you get the worthwhile together to put it out. I find a lot of articles in it interesting. But I think, and that's why I joined the PvdA, that you have to try to move in broader circles. . . .

"I myself have a soft spot for the anarchistic type . . . whether or not this is effective is another matter. But as regards contacts between the Trotskyists and the SP, that certainly is not a priority for us."

was fun

"What Is To Be Done," weekly paper of the International Marxist Group. Published in Frankfurt, West Germany.

In the October 19 issue, Werner Hülsberg reports on a demonstration against unemployment and lockouts that was held October 14 in Dortmund. Thirty thousand trade unionists turned out in response to the call put forward by the Nordrhein-Westfalen state district leadership of the German Trade-Union Federation.

The large turnout was an indication of the untapped militancy and willingness on the part of rank-and-file activists to fight back against mounting layoffs and plant closings, Hülsberg points out. It came as a surprise to the leadership, which had done almost nothing to build the demonstration.

At the same time, disgust with the leadership's do-nothing policy has also taken its toll. Participation could have been even more massive, Hülsberg writes, if a sense of direction and clear perspectives for action were forthcoming from the leadership:

"Prospects for the October 14 mobilization did not look too bright. It was almost exactly three years since the last central rally had been called. At that time, the rally that had been planned as a protest against impending layoffs was quickly turned into a demonstration for joint union-management boards. The trade-unionists present were sent home without any perspectives for the future, and then had to hear that they had mobilized too heavily and thus gotten the leadership into bad organizational trouble.

"Then came the years of capitulation without a fight in the face of several plant closings and layoffs for rationalization purposes in nearly all the big cities of the Nordrhein-Westfalen district. The

members of IG-Metall, the leading trade union in the district, with more than a million members, got a few additional kicks in the teeth early this year. Despite widespread warning strikes and demands for a strike vote and walkout, a rotten compromise for the steel industry was reached under government-sponsored arbitration.

"In the metals industry—especially in the auto plants—the membership was solidly in favor of a strike when the contract talks began, but instead of encouragement, they got appeals to be on their guard against 'provocations.' Conversations and discussions with the members were broken off, and they simply became soured. So none of this added up to favorable conditions for the mobilization, especially since no slogans, no direction, and therefore no change in the attitude of the leadership could be detected by the ranks.

"Nearly everywhere, active trade-unionists got wind of this when they tried to mobilize for the demonstration. Typical of many, no doubt, were the comments of an IG-Metall shop steward, who drew the following balance sheet: 'Readiness for action is definitely there, but the goals must be clearly identifiable. For routine things and token demonstrations, you won't get anybody here to come out.'

"A construction firm shop committee representative put it this way: 'The workers are experimenting, looking for new roads. But the road and the goal must be visible. The organization of warning strikes during this year's contract talks went off like a charm. There you had readiness because the goal was clear. That's what's lacking in actions such as the one today.'"

Young trade unionists made up the main part of the demonstration, which included many delegations from metals plants and other steel plants in the Dortmund area, as well as groups of foreign trade unionists. "Many homemade banners carried concrete demands for the upcoming collective contract talks in the steel and printing industries. Voices were raised when the chants were concrete, too, such as, 'Thirty-five hours is our goal—even one layoff is too many!'"

Peruvian CP: Marx Wrong on Religion

Religion should no longer be considered the "opium of the people," Marx notwithstanding, Peruvian Stalinist leader Jorge del Prado told an interviewer in Lima October 1.

Religion has evolved in recent years, he said, accommodating itself to modern social circumstances.

"Marx said that religion is the opium of the people, not that it will be," del Prado explained. "Things change."