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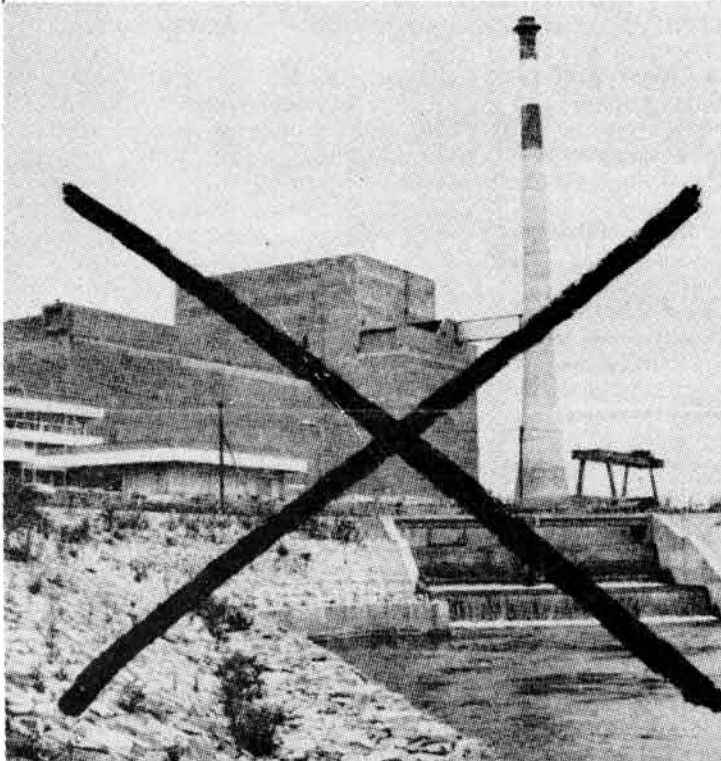
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NEWS ANALYSIS

In Memory of Elsa and Ignace Reiss

By George Novack

The death of Elsa Reiss (Elisabeth K. Poretsky) from a second heart attack in Paris this mid-October* calls to mind one of the most tragic episodes of Stalin's campaign of extermination of the revolutionaries who created, defended and served the Soviet state and then rose up against his tyranny.

The unrestrained terror of the years 1936-1938 reached into every area of Soviet society, high and low, sparing neither the general staff and officer corps of the army nor the secret services. When Yagoda, the sinister NKVD chief who supervised the first two Moscow frame-up trials, was himself arrested in preparation for the third, along with Bukharin, Rykov, and Rakovsky, agents inside and outside the country broke out in cold sweat, fearing they too might fall victim to the purges.

Of all the people in the Soviet apparatus none responded to this situation in a more honorable and courageous manner than Elsa Reiss and her husband Ignace (Reiss was a pseudonym of the Polish-born Ludwig Poretsky). Both belonged to the idealistic Communists of the heroic 1917 generation. Ludwig joined the Polish Communist Party in 1919 and selflessly served the Communist International and the Soviet state in a series of dangerous missions until 1937, despite growing misgivings. When Moscow's terror was at its height, he held a responsible post in military intelligence in Western Europe.

Horrified by the crimes and the counter-revolutionary course of the Kremlin, Reiss resigned his post, repudiated Stalinism, and announced his adhesion to the Fourth International. In the message of indictment he sent to the CP Central Committee on July 17, 1937, he declared: "Up to this moment I marched alongside you. Now I will not take another step. Our paths diverge! He who now keeps quiet becomes Stalin's accomplice, betrays the working class, betrays socialism. . . ."

"The day when international socialism will judge the crimes committed in the past ten years is not far off. Nothing will be forgotten and nothing will be forgiven. . . . 'The leader of genius,' 'the Father of the People,' 'the Sun of Socialism' will have to account for what he has done. . . ."

"I intend to devote my feeble forces to

the cause of Lenin. I want to continue the fight, for only our victory—that of the proletarian revolution—will free humanity of capitalism and the U.S.S.R. of Stalinism.

"Forward to new struggles! For the Fourth International!"

A postscript added: "In 1928 I was awarded the Order of the Red Banner for services to the proletarian revolution. I am enclosing the decoration. It would be beneath my dignity to wear an order also worn by the executioners of the best men of the working class in Russia."

At great risk he tried to persuade other colleagues to follow his example. Six weeks later, after withdrawing to Switzerland with his family, he was lured into a trap by a perfidious friend, Gertrude Schildbach, and shot to death by NKVD agents near Lausanne. Another part of the plot miscarried. It consisted of an effort by Schildbach to poison Elsa and her son Roman with a box of candy filled with strychnine.

The NKVD had mobilized its murder crew at top speed and struck Reiss down to prevent his disclosures and deter other dissidents in their apparatus from imitating his action. Two other leading functionaries, Alexander Barmin, Soviet Minister in Greece, and Walter Krivitsky, chief of the research institute of war industry and a friend of Ludwig's from early youth, did break with Moscow soon afterwards. (I later met Krivitsky and in a professional capacity publicized his speaking engagements in the United States.)

It was afterwards revealed that Mark Zborowski (Etienne), who enjoyed the confidence of Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son, and edited the Russian Bulletin of the Opposition with him, had notified the NKVD of Reiss's whereabouts. This was but one of the many such loathsome chores he performed for the Soviet secret police as an informer and provocateur in the Paris center of the Fourth International.

Elsa lived in Paris until the Second World War. After Hitler conquered France in June 1940, all the revolutionary exiles were endangered. Those associated with the Trotskyist movement were threatened not only by the Nazis and Pétain's police but by Moscow's mercenaries. It was imperative to come to their rescue.

In response to urgent appeals from Europe, we American supporters of the Fourth International set about to find asylum for the refugees who had fled to Southern France and below the Pyrenees.

As an extension of my previous experiences in this field, the SWP leadership entrusted me with the task of organizing this work. In the months before Pearl Harbor our group of comrades broke through a thicket of obstacles to raise money, secure affidavits of support, and solicit visas for our cothinkers across the Atlantic.

Elsa had made her way to Portugal. Lola Dallin, an intimate friend of Leon Sedov and Elsa, who had preceded her to the United States, persuaded the Menshevik leader Raphael Abramovich to intervene with the authorities on Elsa's behalf. Washington did not welcome revolutionaries to its shores even in life-and-death emergencies and Elsa also had to disguise her identity to throw the NKVD off her track. Henceforth she was known as Elsa Bernaut. Lola likewise arranged for Etienne's entry in that same period. I never met him.

I do remember going to the ship pier to greet Elsa and her son on the bright day of February 11, 1941, and welcome them to the New World. I accompanied the pair to the Manhattan apartment that had been arranged for them. Roman's eyes opened wide in wonder at his first sight of New York.

I prized the occasion to meet and know this remarkable woman who had undergone such ordeals for her revolutionary ideas and commitments. More than that, I felt that with their arrival in New York we had complied with Trotsky's concern for assuring the security of those brave individuals who had dared cut their ties with the Kremlin in full awareness of the consequences of the act. He particularly enjoined us, after the NKVD had killed Reiss, to see that his wife and child did not meet a similar fate.

Trotsky paid this tribute to the martyr of the Fourth International on March 17, 1938: "Ignace Reiss immediately took up his stand under the banner of the Bolshevik-Leninists. This clearly indicated his political and moral weight. Only a real revolutionary could have decided on such a step under the present conditions. But at the first steps on his new path Reiss fell, one of the heroes of the Fourth International. He left a wife and child who were indissolubly connected with him in life and remain faithful to his memory after his death." (*Writings of Leon Trotsky (1937-38)*, p. 275.)

We had succeeded in snatching them from great dangers.

The full story of Ignace Reiss's life and death and the grim destinies of their circle of friends in the Communist movement was related by Elsa thirty years later in her loving memoir *Our Own People*. (The University of Michigan Press, 1970.)

* * *

The passing away of Elsa Reiss coincided with the reported death of Ramón Mercader, the assassin of Trotsky. The

*See "Elsa Reiss Dies in Paris" by Pierre Frank, in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, November 13, 1978, p. 1245.

juxtaposition of these two deaths, one of the perpetrator of murder and the other of the escaped target of the NKVD, can serve as a condemning commentary on the atrocious and absurd slander campaign of the Healyites against Joseph Hansen, myself and the leaders of the SWP. While Healy himself stood aside from the Fourth International, no group in the world did more at that time than the American Trotskyists to expose the crimes of Stalinism and save intended victims from its murder machine.

The poison-penmen of Clapham High Street should explain why alleged "agents and accomplices" of the NKVD should have strained every nerve and utilized every resource to shield and rescue our comrades from the Stalinist assassins, failing in some cases, succeeding in others. However, the most obvious facts carry little weight for frame-up artists who must pile one malicious fiction upon another to smear their political opponents.

The false accusations in the Healyite vendetta against us appear in a more abhorrent light at a time when even several Communist parties are, after forty years, hesitatingly beginning to acknowledge the Kremlin's guilt in killing Trotsky. The Healyites' reiterated character assassination serves only to deflect part of the responsibility for their crimes from the Stalinist murderers toward the genuine Trotskyists who under difficult conditions did all in their power, *when it counted*, to frustrate their deadly activities.

November 10, 1978

U.S. Admits Frame-up in Wilmington 10 Case

In 1972, ten civil-rights activists—nine Black men and one white woman—were railroaded to prison on charges of arson and conspiracy, following a rebellion in the Black community of Wilmington, North Carolina. Now, after widespread protests in the U.S. and internationally, the frame-up of the Wilmington Ten is starting to unravel.

On November 14, the Justice Department filed an eighty-nine-page friend-of-the-court brief showing that the judge in the original trial withheld from the defense a revised statement by the chief prosecution witness that might have undermined the witness's credibility.

The document states, "There is a reasonable likelihood that the jury's verdict might have been different" if the contents of the revised statement had been made available.

At a postconviction hearing, all three key prosecution witnesses swore that they had lied in their original testimony against the ten activists. However, the hearing judge refused to order a new trial. The Justice Department brief supports the defendants' claim that they had been denied a fair trial.

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Austrian Voters Deliver Stunning Blow to Nuclear Power

[On November 5 Austrian voters gave a rude jolt to the Social Democratic government's nuclear-energy policy by voting "no" on a referendum that asked whether the nearly completed nuclear power plant in Zwentendorf should go into operation. The following day, the Trotskyists of the Gruppe Revolutionäre Marxisten (GRM—Revolutionary Marxist Group), who had campaigned energetically for a "no" vote, put out a special issue of their monthly paper, *Rotfront*, hailing the victory. Following is the major article from the issue. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

The pronuclear lobby had miscalculated. Despite the millions it spent on favorable publicity for Zwentendorf, it was handed a defeat. The answer was, "No! Zwentendorf will not open!"

In June came the decision of the SPOe (Socialist Party of Austria) to hold a referendum on Zwentendorf. At that point, hardly anyone thought it was possible to get a majority "no" vote. Now it has been done. More than half (50.5%) of the Austrian population spoke out against putting Zwentendorf into operation. The mass movement has won a victory.

What Are the Most Important Results?

The first thing that stands out is the 64% voter turnout. It came as something of a surprise, and pointed to what the movement has been able to achieve in its campaign around November 5—that is, mobilize broad layers of the population. A 64% turnout—that's only 6% short of the turnout for the Vienna municipal elections. After this, no nuclear-power advocates will be able to talk any more about the "handful of young punks and terrorists" who supposedly swell the ranks of the antinuclear movement.

A regional breakdown shows that there tended to be a majority "no" vote especially in the western states. Specifically, this was true in Vorarlberg, Tirol, Salzburg, and Upper Austria. In the end, however, it was the Vienna vote that tipped the scales. In the municipal elections, the SP had gotten around 57% of the vote. An equal number of "yes" votes would have resulted in passage of the referendum. In fact, the advocates of nuclear power got only a little more than 55%. This result is a reflection of what happened in several other big cities, and indicates that, despite the demagoguery of the big parties, it was possible to win over sections of the SP ranks.

The results from the Styrian industrial region and from parts of Carinthia appear to run counter to this. In those areas, the percentage of "yes" votes was often more than the Social Democracy's share of the vote in the last national elections. This has to do especially with the relatively high unemployment and the severe threats to existing jobs. The OeGB (Austrian Union Federation) leadership was able to latch on to a real problem in these areas. Thus, its propaganda fell on fertile soil.

Throughout almost all the regions that would be affected by the plant, there was a clear "no" vote, with the exception of Zwentendorf itself. And no wonder. Intimidated by the city council, antinuclear activists scarcely dared to raise their heads publicly. Besides, many Zwentendorf residents were still working for the plant in one capacity or another and feared the immediate loss of their jobs.

In Tullnerfeld as a whole, in any case, a majority voted "no." In Tulln, the biggest city in the region, nearly two-thirds voted "no." And in Allentsteig, a place that has had to put up with nuclear-waste dumping for a long time, 77.2% spoke out against a start-up of the Zwentendorf plant.

The results in Vorarlberg, where 84% voted "no," are particularly noteworthy. This is ascribable to the antinuclear consciousness of the Vorarlberg population, which has been growing for some time. The construction of a nuclear power plant was stopped at the border of neighboring Switzerland. All the parties had taken a critical attitude toward the projected nuclear plant in Rütli. Therefore, even the Vorarlberg SP had to do some backing and filling on the question of Zwentendorf.

In any case, the result generally reflected the positions taken by the parliamentary parties. The OeVP (Austrian People's Party) and FPÖe (Austrian Liberal Party) had come out for a "no" vote earlier, so the provinces voted "no." In the big cities and industrial centers a majority voted "yes," under the influence of SP and OeGB propaganda. However, we cannot say that this represents a right-wing trend. Taus [leader of the OeVP] thought that he could create a good springboard for the coming elections with a "yes" on Zwentendorf, which seemed all but guaranteed. Now he will have no answer to the questions of the industrialists' association.

Among the SP ranks, the opponents of nuclear energy were able to make gains everywhere. This is shown, for example, by the results in Vienna. Moreover, an impressive breakthrough among blue- and white-collar SP voters could certainly have

been demonstrated if at the last minute Kreisky had not made the referendum into a political vote for or against the SP. This shrewd move made it possible to pick up a few "yes" votes on the basis of party loyalty, contrary to these voters' better judgment, and despite the existing dissatisfaction with the SP government's unsuccessful energy policy.

The "no" vote on November 5 is first and foremost a victory for the mass movement against nuclear power plants. Now it is necessary to concentrate all our forces on the tasks that lie ahead:

- To really remove the dangers posed by Zwentendorf.

- To make a conscious turn to the working class, countering the demagoguery of the bourgeois parties, and to put forward a class-struggle orientation for the antinuclear movement.

The Months Leading Up to the Referendum

As recently as six months ago, opinion polls predicted a small "no" vote of 16%. The antinuclear movement itself, after a fairly rapid upswing in the wake of the big demonstration in Zwentendorf in June 1977, had entered a phase of decline. At that time, the GRM put forward the slogan of a referendum. We argued that this would make it possible to get out of the existing blind alley and broaden out the movement, which could lead to a new upsurge.

Today we can see that in the last few months, opposition to nuclear power has become a broad mass movement. Several "vote no" campaigns were launched in the most wide-ranging areas—in neighborhoods, plants, schools, offices, and on university campuses. Many prominent persons in cultural and scientific milieus spoke out against the Zwentendorf plant.

Of special importance was the formation of a group called "Socialist Party Members Against Nuclear Power Plants." Such a broad internal opposition has not been formed in the SP for quite some time. The "Socialists Against Nuclear Power Plants" were actively supported in their work by many members of the Socialist Youth. Repression by the party leadership did indeed limit the scope of the group's activity, but it continued its campaign insofar as possible, up to November 5.

Against the Maneuver By the Big Parties

Three weeks before the referendum (with polls showing the antinuclear movement on an inexorable rise) Kreisky threw his entire personal weight into the balance. A

veiled threat to resign in case the "no" votes got a majority on November 5 was supposed to convince dissatisfied SP voters to vote "yes." This maneuver by the SP leadership got nowhere. But the problems that it raised remain.

The SP concentrated on arguing against the OeVP and FPOe. It recognized that the bourgeois parties were mainly interested in the tactical advantages to be gained for vote-catching, and that their supposed stand in favor of a "no" vote was demagoguery. The statements of the bourgeois politicians were duly played up in the mass media, so that antinuclear activists could easily be thrown in the same bag with the capitalist parties. The antinuclear movement must now draw the lessons from this. It must clearly take its distance from bourgeois demagoguery and try to strengthen its influence within the working class.

In this context, we even see the division of the antinuclear movement into two groups, the ARGE—"No to Zwentendorf" on the one hand, and the IOeAG on the other, as a necessary political differentiation. Prominent bourgeois liberals and groups concerned solely and narrowly with environmental protection came together mainly in ARGE. The activists in the antinuclear movement, who have a general class-struggle approach, have stayed for the most part in the IOeAG.

For November 5, it was correct to call for unity of all opponents of nuclear energy on the broadest possible basis: Vote "No!" It was also correct and necessary for the antinuclear movement, in the final phase of the campaign, to publish a leaflet in which it denounced the slanders against it by all the big parties and stressed its own independence.

It has proved possible to get a majority "no" vote. The result should be taken for what it is. The overwhelming majority of Austrian blue- and white-collar workers, following the lead of the SP, voted "yes" on Sunday. They did not want to help out the OeVP and FPOe. This is something we must now recognize. So, we have to take up the fight for a class-struggle orientation in the antinuclear movement.

For an Orientation to the Working Class

Prior to November 5, we wrote that the referendum fight was no easy task for the political forces to the left of the SP and CP. There are stronger reasons now why opponents of nuclear power must take up all the social problems that were raised by the question of starting up the Zwentendorf plant, such as job security, defending living standards, and so on.

The antinuclear movement has become a mass movement in Austria. In order not to lose its effectiveness, it must also help to advance the processes of class polarization in society. A class-struggle orientation for the antinuclear movement can thus also

help to build a socialist alternative to the SP.

The GRM considers it its task to promote discussion of this central question among antinuclear activists.

"Should the Austrian antinuclear movement succeed in stopping the Zwentendorf plant from going into operation, this would have consequences for other countries as well." This is what we said earlier in our pamphlet on the referendum, in which we raised the slogan, "International solidarity against the nuclear lobby—down with Zwentendorf!"

The referendum victory is sure to have international consequences. The fall of the Social Democratic government in Sweden was already a shock to the international nuclear lobby, not least of all because Kreisky could not get Zwentendorf going even with an SP majority in parliament [as opposed to the stalemate existing in the Swedish parliament]. The strongest Social

Clashes Reported in Eastern Cambodia

By Dan Dickeson

With the end of the rainy season in Indochina, stepped-up fighting has been reported in eastern Cambodia.

Radio Pnompenh broadcasts have accused Vietnamese forces of striking into Cambodian territory. Radio Hanoi has denied this, and claimed that in fact Cambodian troops are rebelling against the Pnompenh regime. Dispatches from Bangkok in the bourgeois press, most often quoting "intelligence sources" (i.e., Thai military and American CIA officials), have given a number of conflicting reports on the situation near the Vietnamese-Cambodian border. Indications are that a series of clashes took place in the region of Cambodia between the Mekong River and the Vietnamese border in late October and early November.

A November 7 broadcast by Radio Pnompenh claimed that Vietnamese forces launched attacks accompanied by air strikes in Ratanakiri Province (northeast of Pnompenh) October 28-29 and November 1-2. The broadcast stated that several Vietnamese planes had been shot down, and accused Hanoi of using poison gas in the attacks.

Radio Hanoi flatly denied these charges in a broadcast the next day.

Radio Pnompenh also said November 7 that the Cambodian capital and parts of the surrounding area had been placed under emergency alert because of continuing Vietnamese attacks.

The November 8 issue of the Peking *People's Daily* also published a prominent article charging Vietnam with aggression against Cambodia and use of poison gas.

On November 11, Radio Pnompenh reported renewed fighting in Ratanakiri and two other provinces.

Democratic party in Europe, which governs alone with an absolute majority, has stumbled over the question of nuclear power plants. This will certainly, at the very least, make the West German Social Democracy a little "cautious," and also be a warning to the bourgeois governments.

The victory in the referendum strengthens the antinuclear movement internationally. It will give a boost to the movement in Switzerland, which is demanding a change in the constitution to state that before a nuclear power plant can be built, a referendum must be carried out in the region in question. The Swiss antinuclear movement wants to get such a law passed through a referendum in the coming year.

In Belgium too, where four nuclear plants are already in operation, the antinuclear movement is discussing raising the demand for a nationwide referendum. In Belgium, the chances are not bad either—in a regional referendum, 84% voted "no."

A Radio Hanoi broadcast the same day claimed that anti-government Cambodian rebels had launched a number of attacks in early November, including one in Ratanakiri November 7 in which more than 100 government troops were killed.

Although Hanoi has often reported mutinies within Cambodia in the past, this was the first Vietnamese report to give details about the dates and locations of battles, along with casualty figures and descriptions of weapons captured from Cambodian troops. Radio Hanoi claimed that the report came directly from a "liberated zone" in eastern Cambodia.

The Soviet CP daily *Pravda* also published part of this report in a November 13 dispatch from Hanoi.

A November 14 Radio Hanoi broadcast claimed that rebel troops had risen up against "the oppressive apparatus of the Pol Pot clique" over a wide area of eastern Cambodia, and indicated that antigovernment forces are establishing a new administrative system in regions they control in five Cambodian provinces.

A report in the November 15 issue of the Tokyo daily *Yomiuri Shimbun* quoted "reliable sources" in Bangkok as saying that a "rebel government" has been set up in northeastern Cambodia.

In the absence of independently verifiable information, the accuracy of reports coming out of Hanoi, Pnompenh, and Bangkok cannot be ascertained. Nevertheless, the fact that recent claims by the Cambodian and Vietnamese regimes coincide on certain points may indicate that clashes have indeed occurred in the past few weeks on the east bank of the Mekong.

100,000 Soldiers Occupy Streets of Tehran

By David Frankel

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

* * *

Has the shah of Iran successfully weathered the massive upsurge of the last few weeks? Is he once again in control and secure on his throne?

This is the question raised by news reports that striking oil workers have begun returning to their jobs, and by the success of the military government in temporarily halting the huge protest actions that had repeatedly rocked Tehran.

The answer is no. The decisive confrontation between the shah's dictatorship and the Iranian people is yet to take place.

Over the past year we have seen the development of a largely spontaneous and unorganized mass movement in Iran. Beginning with protests by students and intellectuals in Tehran last November, the movement against the dictatorship was joined by Muslim religious leaders in January.

Outrage against the bloody repression carried out by the regime led to larger and larger mass demonstrations. Small shopkeepers, the unemployed, and other layers of the urban population were drawn into action. Finally, in early October, the working class entered the fight as an organized force.

Although the Iranian working class represents less than 10 percent of the country's population, its decisive power and social weight enabled it to take the lead in the struggle against the shah. The six-week-long general strike by Iranian workers brought the dictatorship to the brink of collapse.

Washington Post correspondent Jonathan Randall pointed out the revolutionary temper of the workers in an October 10 article. Randall, who interviewed two young leaders of the coordinating committee running the strike of oil workers at the Abadan refinery, complained that their comments to him "suggested a devotion to utopian ideals rather than the give-and-take of labor-management struggle."

If one dismisses determination and class solidarity in the struggle to end a hated dictatorship as "utopian ideals," then Randall was correct.

"We were suppressed for so many years. We suffered for so long that now we have burst," one striker told Randall.

Answering the claim that the shah is "liberalizing" Iranian society, the young strike leader declared, "It was not the shah who liberalized, but we who grasped liberalization from him. We took it."

The second member of the coordinating committee told Randall: "I say why did my father not act, and I do not want my son to ask me the same question."

Referring to two of the shah's murderous attacks on the Iranian people, he added: "We know that we might be killed, but we say we are no better than the people who were killed in the Rex Cinema here in Abadan or in Saleh Square in Tehran."

It is working-class fighters such as these who have borne the brunt of the shah's desperate attempts to break the strike of the oil workers.

During the height of the strike by oil workers, the section of the proletariat most vital to Iran's economy, production was slashed to about one-sixth of normal levels. The strikers purposely kept up production for the domestic market in order to avoid hardship among the people during the coming winter.

As of November 13, officials of the National Iranian Oil Company were claiming that about 60 percent of the workers had returned to their jobs and that production had reached about 45 percent of normal.

This announcement followed the arrest of strike organizers, including the twelve-member coordinating committee at the Abadan refinery, and the firing of scores of workers. Workers who returned to their jobs were offered a 22.5 percent pay raise and cash bonuses, while those who refused were threatened with dismissal and eviction of their families from company housing.

Troops are occupying key installations, and at least 400 military technicians have been sent in to help open oil lines.

But such measures can only serve as a temporary expedient for the shah. "Discontent among workers is said to be widespread and many are reported to be returning to their jobs but doing a minimum of work," *New York Times* correspondent Nicholas Gage reported in a November 14 dispatch.

One oilfield engineer said, "So many workers have been radicalized by the strike, it won't take much for them to do it again soon."

One indication of the depth of the mass opposition is the fact, reported in the

November 20 issue of *Time* magazine, that it has taken an occupation force of 100,000 soldiers and 200 tanks to quell the demonstrations in Tehran alone.

Meanwhile, protests continue in other cities. "The official death toll from three days of rioting in the southern oil-field cities of Khorramshahr, Ahvas, and Abadan stands at 11, and opposition sources say it is much higher," Tony Allaway reported in the November 14 *Christian Science Monitor*. "Deaths and extensive damage have also been reported from many other towns around the country."

Other protests have occurred in Isfahan, Kerman, Shiraz, Kermanshah, Sungur, Lahijan, and Mashad.

Strikes are also continuing all over Iran. Newspaper workers in Tehran have gone on strike to protest the reimposition of censorship by the military regime. Employees at the health, finance, and commerce ministries remain on strike, as do the country's 400,000 teachers.

Work on a \$1.4 billion copper mining complex at Sarcheshmeh, in southeast Iran, has been brought to a standstill, and protests are occurring at hundreds of other workplaces across the country.

Although the Iranian masses have as yet been unable to unseat the shah, the monarch at the same time has been in too weak a position to try to crush the mass movement outright. The result has been a temporary stalemate.

So far, no section of the mass movement, including the oil workers, has been decisively set back. While relying on selective repression, the shah has also been forced to concede big concessions, including the release of some political prisoners.

Just how desperate the tyrant was became apparent when he ordered the arrest of Amir Abbas Hoveyda November 8. Hoveyda, who served as prime minister for thirteen years (1965-77), was considered by many to be the shah's closest associate. Also thrown to the wolves was Gen. Nematollah Nassiri, who headed SAVAK—the Iranian secret police—from 1965 until this June.

Of course, the arrest of a few of the shah's henchmen meant no change in the basic character of the regime. As Gage noted in a November 9 article:

"The Shah is said to feel that his wholesale dismissal of senior officials has not been an excessive drain on the nation's experienced leaders since their replacements have been familiar figures on the political scene for years."

A few sacrificial lambs, no matter how highly placed, have failed to placate the anger of the masses. Meanwhile, although promises of "liberalization" continue, some 2,000 of the shah's opponents have been arrested since the appointment of the new military government November 6.

On November 11, the shah ordered the arrest of two of the main bourgeois opposition leaders. Karim Sanjabi and Dariush Forohar, both leaders of the National Front, were arrested as they tried to hold a news conference to denounce the shah.

(Asked about these arrests November 13, a State Department official said that political arrests are generally "regrettable," but that the "emergency situation" in Iran is "fully apparent.")

It would be remarkable indeed if a spontaneous mass movement such as the one opposing the shah did not go through periods of pause, vacillation, and hesitation. But the situation in Iran today is one in which the mass movement, including the oil strike, can break out again at any moment with redoubled force.

The Iranian masses, and especially the Iranian workers, have gone through an intensive political experience. They have found that they can fight and force the government to back down. They have gotten the idea that they should be allowed to think and speak for themselves, and put forward their own demands.

For the shah, this is an intolerable situation. Each day that passes without the rebellion of the Iranian people being suppressed once and for all further weakens the dictatorship, and further erodes the confidence and cohesiveness of the regime.

On the other hand, the choices open to the shah are limited indeed. In fact, only one factor—the lack of organization of the Iranian working class—has enabled the shah to hang on in an upsurge that would otherwise have swept him away.

At the beginning of the upheaval now shaking Iran, the working class was not even organized into its own trade unions, due to the severely repressive character of the regime. The workers had to organize themselves in the heat of the struggle, and without a revolutionary party to help point the way.

Right now, the shah is biding his time, seeking to divide the mass movement, to pick off the boldest leaders, and to maneuver for the best possible position. But no maneuvers by the shah can make the deep-seated hatred for his dictatorship and the powerful social discontent that has been manifested over the past weeks disappear.

Clearly, there is no question about the sentiments of the Iranian masses. What is needed is an organized revolutionary socialist party that can lead the masses in a struggle for power against the dictatorship. The organization of such a party is a matter of life and death for the Iranian people.

Eyewitness Report From Tehran

On November 12 the *Militant* was able to contact Dr. Ali-Asghar Hadj Seyyed-Javadi in Tehran. Seyyed-Javadi, a distinguished journalist, social critic, and short story writer, is one of the founding members of the Writers Association of Iran.

Following the "Black Friday" massacre of September 8, when the shah's forces murdered some 4,000 unarmed demonstrators in Tehran alone, Seyyed-Javadi was forced into hiding. Today he remains under a travel ban, with the regime refusing him permission to leave the country.

Seyyed-Javadi charged that since November 4, "there have been more killings than on Black Friday. There have been killings in Zanjan, Amol, Mashad, Hamedan, and in the south of Tehran."

Asked whether people have been intimidated by the installation of the military regime and if the movement against the shah was beginning to ebb, Seyyed-Javadi declared:

"In no way has the movement started to ebb.

"Maybe the immediate effect of military rule was to cause confusion, but I say without hesitation that things will return to their previous condition.

"Firstly, the hatred of the people has increased. The people in no way believe the shah is fighting against corruption, nor do they believe that he will give more power to them.

"Right now, in Jamshid-abad [a plush district in Tehran], those arrested by the government for corruption are participating in private parties, as they do every night.

"Parviz Sabeti [a notorious SAVAK torturer] has escaped. They took him out of the country even though he was under a travel ban.

"It's funny. An Iranian student who was returning to the country was immediately arrested at the airport [by SAVAK]. Mr. Sabeti, the known tor-

turer, who is under a travel ban, escapes under the protection of SAVAK.

"The people know that all the promises of the government are lies.

"In Chaloos [a city near the Caspian Sea] people sat in the streets to protest military rule. In Mashad they protested in the same manner. In Zanjan, strikes are going on."

The *Militant* asked Javadi if the shah had abandoned attempts to form a new government that would include some opposition figures. He replied:

"To try to assemble a coalition government when parties do not exist has no meaning. A coalition government must consist of parties, in which case you must approach the opposition groups.

"The shah has in no way been in touch with the opposition groups, groups that fundamentally oppose his autocratic rule. He has been in touch with some old timers, but even they refused to participate in a coalition government. Everyone has come to the conclusion that after thirty-seven years of autocratic rule, the shah cannot rule in any other way.

"No rights have been granted. Some political prisoners have been released. But they were released because the people gave thousands of dead to obtain their freedom."

In regard to the killing of demonstrators, Seyyed-Javadi pointed out that "the killings were carried out by the Javedan guards, soldiers that have undergone special anti-riot training. They were all trained by the United States."

Despite the repression, the Writers Association is continuing its work. Nicholas Gage reported in the November 14 *New York Times* that "the Association of Iranian Jurists, the Writers Association and other respected groups" issued a statement November 13 "condemning the military Government and commending all resistance."

As Allaway noted in his November 14 article, "Sources say there is a growing body of opinion in the military hierarchy that the Army must shoot it out with the opposition at the earliest opportunity. They see the history of 1963, when the Army quelled anti-Shah violence after five bloody days, being repeated."

However, Allaway quoted "a knowledgeable Iranian informant" who warned that history might not be repeated. "The Army is more stretched now than then and the opposition much greater. Even at that

time, they had to turn the soldiers around regularly in order to prevent them from knowing exactly how many they were gunning down. Had that rioting gone on for perhaps another 24 hours I think the Army would have cracked."

Short of abandoning his blood-stained throne, the shah has little choice but to prepare to "shoot it out" with the Iranian people. Nothing less than that will finally cut off the mass protests that have shaken his regime to its roots. □

Can the Shah Survive?

By Will Reissner

Major newspapers and magazines in Europe and the United States view the shah's formation of a military government in Iran as a last desperate move to keep his regime in power. But they are not convinced he will be able to weather the crisis.

The November 20 issue of *Newsweek* magazine described the military government as the "last option available to [the Shah] short of abdication." In a similar vein the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* of November 12 headlined its editorial "The Shah plays his last card."

The November 11 British *Economist* said it was a case of "the army or the void." But *Time* magazine's November 20 issue wondered "is it all too late?"

Despite the pessimistic assessments of the situation, major capitalist papers say the only course open is to back the shah. Yet they note the dangers of this situation. An editorial in the November 13 *Times* of London puts it bluntly: "Is the Shah himself any longer a credible solution? Even his best friends in the West—where he perhaps has more than he does at home—now have that question thrust at them."

Washington strategists have been grappling with the same problem. On November 2 a strategy session was held at the White House to examine all the possible alternatives open to the shah. The meeting examined everything from a coalition government with the shah's opponents to the shah's abdication. But, according to the November 15 *New York Times*, the meeting decided that the only course open to Washington was unconditional support to the shah and to any moves he might make to reestablish stability and order.

Frustration is rampant in Washington, the *Times* notes, over the lack of viable alternative policies and over the CIA's complete misreading of the situation in Iran. When the struggle against the shah broke out, the *Times* reports, the CIA "was putting the final touches on an intelligence estimate that said the Shah faced no significant internal threats."

Iran had been seen by the Pentagon as a pillar of stability in the Middle East. Huge U.S. arms sales were designed to allow the shah to play a major military role throughout the region. Now the administration is worrying about the possibility of more than \$10 billion worth of arms falling into potentially unfriendly hands if the shah is toppled.

As a result, according to the *Times*, "National Security Council aides have begun to question the strategy of relying heavily on local powers to protect American interests and, according to one, the Administration is accelerating programs for training and equipping special American combat units for combat in the Persian Gulf."

The Paris daily *Le Monde* noted on November 8 that for the first time since coming into office, Carter has supported the formation of a military government in an ally. But, *Le Monde* notes, this support constantly refers to the shah's commitment to future elections and progress toward democracy in order to fit Carter's "human rights" policy.

Le Monde agrees that the Carter administration has no alternative but to support the shah to the bitter end. It sees no possibility for the U.S. to carry out a repeat of the CIA-engineered coup that reestablished the shah twenty-five years ago.

But the major capitalist news media agree that this course of action is fraught with dangers. The *Economist* notes Britain's strong support for the shah's moves: "The Shah's new government rightly, even if only by default, has western support. It is not just a question, as Dr David Owen [Britain's foreign secretary] said, of sticking by one's erstwhile friends; there is, as yet, nothing and nobody else to support."

The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* observes that this support for the shah may backfire if he falls. "But the results of the Shah's latest desperate expedient," the *Guardian* says, "have first to be seen, for 'repression' under military rule may succeed where 'cautious liberalism' failed."

If the shah can weather the storm, according to these journals, he will have to make some reforms to prevent a recurrence of the present turmoil. Describing maintenance of the royal dynasty as crucial to U.S. interests, *Newsweek* points to some possible future courses of action. Among them are establishment of a constitutional monarchy and abdication of the present shah in favor of his eighteen-year-old son.

Time's assessment of the situation was that "at week's end it looked as though the Shah had a fighting chance to survive. But as one Western diplomat observed: 'If the Shah with the help of the military still fails to implement reforms, he's finished. It's not an exaggeration to say that he's now right on the edge of the precipice, with

one false step sending him hurtling to the bottom.'"

Despite agreement in the capitalist press on the need for the shah to make reforms if he is to survive, pessimism reigns over whether he'll even get the chance. *Newsweek's* conclusions reflect the gloomy situation as all these forces see it. "It is still not clear," the magazine writes, "whether the weakened Shah and his still-loyal army could control the fierce political and religious forces sweeping Iran long enough for such compromises to give his country the stability that it—and the West—so desperately need."

The *Christian Science Monitor* remains the most adamant in putting forward the position that the whole situation in Iran is simply a traditionalist revolt against the shah's attempts to bring Iran into the twentieth century. While fervently wishing the shah well, a commentary column by Joseph Harsch in the November 14 *Monitor* notes Washington's dilemma. "The saddest part about a generally sad condition is that anything Washington might try to do at this stage to help him would only make matters worse."

The Shah, says the *Monitor* commentator, "remains a good friend of the United States. And some day his countrymen will probably change their present minds and thank him for most of what he has done. But as of today, any help the United States offered would be taken in Iran as one more mark against him. And it would associate the United States more than it already is with the Shah's own unpopularity." All Washington can do, the *Monitor* concludes, "is sit this one out" and hope that the shah can put the lid back on.

All these major capitalist journals share a common trait in their coverage. They neglect the real causes of the opposition to the shah: the brutal arrest and torture of thousands of opponents of his regime, the free reign of the hated SAVAK secret police, the censorship of the press and cultural life, the total violation of all basic civil and human rights, the squandering of billions of dollars on arms purchases, the misdevelopment of the economy, and continued impoverishment of the huge majority of the Iranian people.

These journals continue to characterize events as people revolting because the shah is modernizing too fast, since this presents imperialist support for the Pahlavi dynasty in the best possible light. □

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'Payam Daneshjoo' To Begin Appearing Weekly

By Bahman Moradi

The November 13 issue of *Payam Daneshjoo* (Students Correspondence)* a Persian-language oppositionist magazine published in the United States, gives extensive coverage of recent events in Iran in its sixty-four pages.

Payam Daneshjoo describes the demands, aims, and methods of struggle of the sectors of Iranian society now in motion: the striking oil workers, the national strike of over 400,000 teachers, the demonstrating youth, the families of thousands of political prisoners.

The issue covers events such as the National Solidarity Week organized by students and teachers in universities across the country. It also discusses the meaning of these events for Iranian society as a whole, and their implications for the rest of the world.

In light of the present situation and the prospect for a further unfolding of the class struggle in Iran, *Payam* analyzes the tasks and responsibilities facing Iranian revolutionary socialists in the immediate future.

Payam, which has been appearing as a monthly, will now begin to publish as a weekly journal. This change, according to the editors, reflects the fact that "a new stage has begun in the history of Iran." The weekly journal, in turn, is viewed as a step toward a unified newspaper that will seek the collaboration of all Iranian revolutionary socialists.

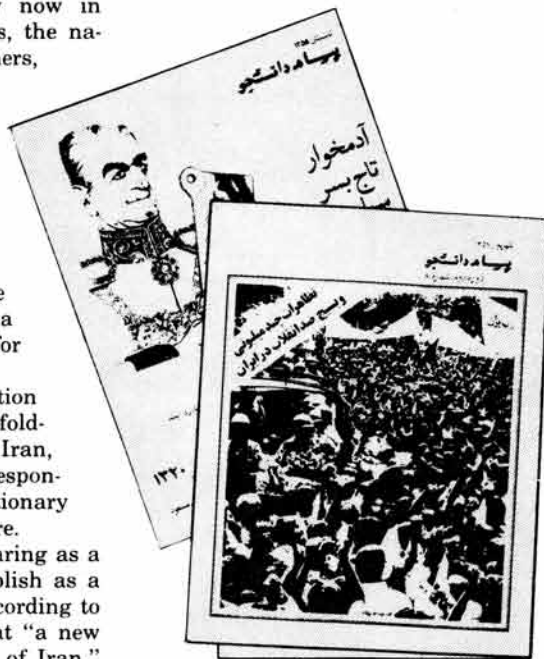
"From afar, in exile," write the editors, "we must try to keep up with the events in Iran, analyze them and draw conclusions from them; drawing the lessons of today so they may be used in the changed situation of tomorrow. The history of this struggle is measured in days.

"Therefore it is the duty of *Payam Daneshjoo* to use all its resources and opportunities to keep in touch with the wave of recent demonstrations and strikes, and present the truth about the situation in Iran."

In the five years since its first issue, *Payam* has become widely read and highly respected within the ranks of militant

youth outside Iran, both in the United States and Europe. Even though repression and censorship have forced *Payam* to be published abroad, it also circulates among revolutionary youths inside Iran.

The analysis in the journal is based on revolutionary socialism, in "the tradition



Two recent issues of "Payam Daneshjoo."

of our predecessors, our revolutionary teachers . . . the experience of over 100 years of struggle."

The editors see developing a rounded program of propaganda, agitation, and organization as the main task of Iranian revolutionists at this time. *Payam Daneshjoo* tries to help revolutionists establish contact with each other and exchange views and experiences regarding events in Iran and around the world. Its attitude toward other opposition papers is one of revolutionary collaboration.

The current issue contains an article entitled "Revolutionary Strikes and the Socialist Perspective." This presents a fourteen-point basic program for Iran. "The goal of the program that socialists put forward," *Payam Daneshjoo* states, "is to uproot the present social order. It is a program of action against autocracy and for socialist revolution."

The points of this program are:

1. Down with the Pahlavi monarchy. For a constituent assembly.
2. Break the yoke of imperialism.
3. Extend civil liberties and political rights.
4. Liberate the oppressed nationalities.
5. Alliance of the workers and peasants.
6. Abolish business secrets.
7. Workers and peasants control over banks, industry, and commerce.
8. Right to a decent standard of living for all working people.
9. Nationalize banks, key industries, insurance companies, and transportation.
10. State monopoly of foreign trade.
11. Full and adequate social services for all.
12. Disband the police; political rights for soldiers.
13. Toward a workers and peasants republic.
14. Arm the people.

The arming of the population is essential to winning the rest of the demands, according to *Payam Daneshjoo*.

"The exploited must defend themselves against the violence of the monarchy and ruling class. The way events have developed in the past year clearly shows that imperialism, the ruling class, and the monarchy will not hesitate to use all its force to maintain its order. Only if the workers are armed will the soldiers, who are sons of the exploited and whose class origin must always be pointed out, come over to the side of the workers and peasants."

The editors of *Payam Daneshjoo* are working toward building a revolutionary party based on a revolutionary program. Without such a party the Iranian revolution cannot win. "The revolutionary party," they write, "is built around a scientific view, a working-class tradition, a revolutionary program." Such a party "is not built solely on the basis of national experiences, but also on the experience of over a century of class struggle by the working class internationally." Because they see the Iranian socialist revolution as part of the world socialist revolution, the editors of *Payam* are organized around the banner of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution.

Their aim, through the magazine, is to build an Iranian revolutionary workers party that can lead the struggles to defend the interests of the working class and peasants and can prepare for the decisive battles of the future. □

*Single issues are \$1, 30% discount for bundles of two or more. One-year subscriptions (48 issues) cost \$24 in the United States, \$30 in Europe (via airmail). Send orders to Payam Daneshjoo, GPO Box 1266, Brooklyn, New York 11201.

Iran—The Week of the 'Red Universities'

[The following interview with Ali Ahmadi, a campus leader in Tehran, was obtained in mid-November.]

* * *

Question. To begin with, could you tell us about the recent week of solidarity with striking workers that was organized on the campuses? We have heard reports that it was one of the best-organized actions yet in Iran, and that it actually became a week of national solidarity involving people from all sectors of society?

Answer. The week of solidarity, which began October 28, was planned by a national organization of university professors. This association does not include all professors, but the most radical ones, from different ideological groups.

Q. Is this a new organization?

A. It's so new that they don't even have a charter yet. But as soon as they got together, they decided to have a solidarity week.

At first we weren't sure it was going to be that successful. Some people wanted to back out. But we went ahead.

On our campus, we decided to have speeches and a march—on campus, not outside, because the soldiers were outside with their guns pointing toward the campus.

The afternoons were left free for the students to do whatever they wanted to do—if they wanted to have speeches themselves, or if they wanted to have classes, or whatever.

For two days we had a sit-in and a teach-in during which the students, all the workers on campus, the professors, even the administration, participated in smaller groups in which all could discuss their point of view.

And then we decided to ask some other organizations to send representatives to our campus to give speeches, like the Committee for Defense of the Prisoners and the Bar Association of Iran.

On the first day all the groups, religious and leftist, came to listen to the opening speech. The leftist students had put up red banners and their slogans around the football stadium, where the speech was to be given. All the religious students and professors walked out, saying they were not going to sit under red flags.

We wanted a solidarity week, but right at the beginning we faced a possible split, the exact opposite of our aim. So the leftist students were urged to take down the red banners.

It was also suggested that the religious

students could put their banners up too, that there would be nothing wrong with having both. But the religious students wouldn't buy that.

Finally, the leftist students agreed to take their banners down, all the students joined together on the same field, and the speeches began. High-school students came to participate during the course of the day, including from a women's high school. We might have had 2,000 to 3,000 students altogether.

In the afternoon after lunch, we had two groups again, separated. Other leftist students joined the leftist students from our school in a march around the football stadium with red banners and placards. One of their slogans was really good. It was, "Greetings to militant Khomeyni," to show the sympathy and support of the leftist students for Khomeyni [the exiled religious leader, who has refused to compromise with the shah's regime]. But the religious students did not like even that.

They are influenced by what Khomeyni has been telling them—that the left has betrayed us and that Russia and China are as imperialist as the United States. Because of the record of betrayals of the Tudeh Party [Iranian Communist Party], the support to the shah by the Soviet and Chinese governments, and experiences with terrorist groups like People's Devotees (a guerrilla organization that claims to be Marxist), there is a lot of suspicion toward the leftists.

Q. Is that breaking down? Are there discussions going on?

A. During solidarity week, we organized discussions. Our intention was to give the leftists and the religious students a chance to express their points of view. We succeeded in this.

Q. What do the religious students call for?

A. They call for a "God's party," something utopian. They have a slogan, "A party, only God's party." You see, they don't know what a party is. They know they should have a party, so they want a "God's party." They do not want to allow any other party. And they say the only leader should be Khomeyni.

When they go on to say they want an "Islamic government" and you ask them what they mean, they can't really tell you. The most they can come up with is "a socialist government" that does not involve "class struggle." They don't believe there are such things as classes.

Q. What is the relationship of forces between the leftist students and professors and the religious ones?

A. Well, on my campus, I think there are four times as many religious students as leftists. But among the forty people who signed the initiating charter of the association of professors, there are, maybe, eight or nine who are religious.

Q. Did people other than high-school students come to your campus during the week of solidarity to listen to the speeches, or was it mainly students and workers from the campus itself?

A. I think real education has started on our campuses. Beginning with this week we opened up our universities to all the people. No one had to pass an entrance examination. People didn't have to have an ID card to come onto the campuses. They didn't have to come at a certain time. They didn't have to go at a certain time. It was open, an open university, real education—what people wanted to learn. That's why they came to the campuses. That's why they participated.

You could even see children from the primary schools who came to the campus and copied down different slogans, to take back to their schools to help spread the movement. Older women in veils came with their children to listen to the speeches. There were all kinds of people from all different strata of society. And that's what scared the government.

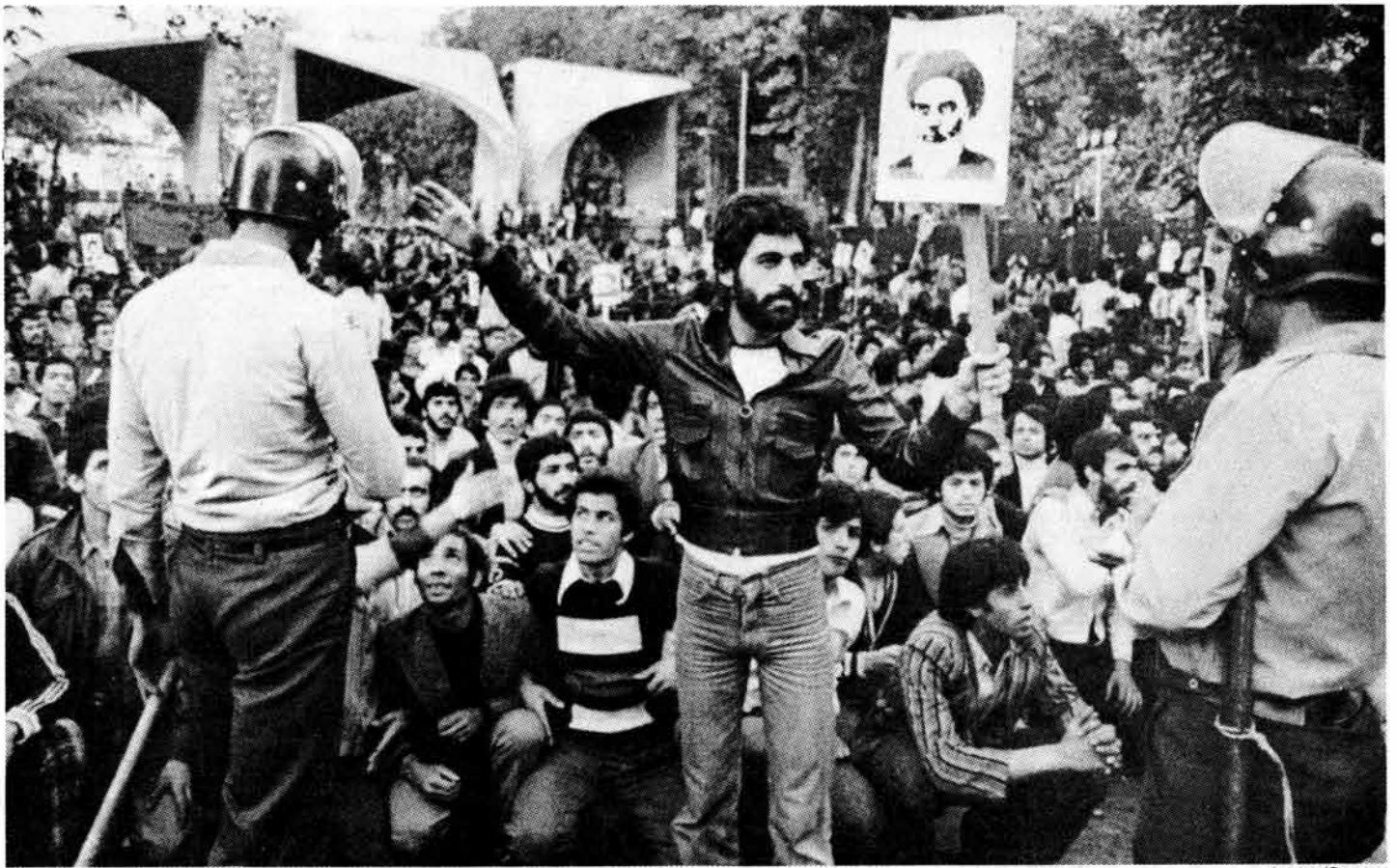
During the week some of the newspapers compared what was happening on our campuses, especially in Tehran, to something that you might see on the corner at Hyde Park. Anybody could give a speech. The walls were covered with leaflets from all different groups—both left and right.

There were even students assigned to direct people to the different activities going on. They would say, for example, if you wanted to pray you could go to the mosque, but here is a session for the leftists. These students wore armbands saying "guide."

Q. In this week of solidarity, what was the proportion of women who participated and what role did they play?

A. I believe it was around 10 percent to 20 percent. It didn't make any difference whether they were religious or leftist, they joined. All the secretaries of the school came and participated.

Mothers of political prisoners made speeches. They came on the last day of solidarity week when someone from the



Student demonstrations in Tehran during recent upsurge.

Ledru/Sygma

Committee for the Defense of the Prisoners was giving a speech. They came to the microphone and told us how their sons and daughters had been arrested, what had happened to them, and how many years of imprisonment and how much torture they had suffered.

There may have been as many as 5,000 to 6,000 persons listening and they were all crying. Sometimes you can't stop yourself from crying when these people talk.

Q. Do you know anything about what happened at larger campuses, such as the University of Tehran and Aryamehr University?

A. What happened on our campus was similar to what was happening on other campuses. At Tehran University the number participating was larger, perhaps 20,000 to 25,000 persons.

Q. How are the leftist students organized? Is there one organization or are there a number of organizations that cooperate with one another?

A. The leftists usually sign their leaflets "Militant Students." But there are all sorts of different ideologies. There are Maoist groups. There are the liberal leftists. There are the old guerrilla groups. There are some independent groups. Communist Party youth don't usually participate with

the other leftist students. They stand apart from this. They do their own work.

Q. What influence does the National Front have inside the universities?

A. Well, we have some liberals, people we call Social Democrats or "sosoul" democrats—that is, democrats of a nice, "stylish" type. They don't participate in any of the meetings of either the religious or leftist students. They keep themselves separated from the rest and they want regular classes to resume so people can get their degrees.

They are the closest ones to the National Front. But generally this current has no following on campus. The students see the National Front as a "bunch of traitors."

Q. Would you describe how the strikes developed after Black Friday [September 8]? For instance, it was reported in the Tehran press that workers of different factories read messages of solidarity on the campuses.

A. That is true.

Q. And what was the impact of the strikes on the rest of the population?

A. I saw strikes before Black Friday. I remember four months before that, some of

the workers, that is, white-collar workers in one of the ministries, went on strike. The Iran Insurance Company also went on strike. But I don't think these strikes had a general impact.

After the big marches in September, however, the struggle in Iran took a different direction. The first strikes were in the bazaars, the commercial centers; all the shopping districts closed down. Then the factories, they started with economic demands. They just wanted higher wages. One by one all the factories, all the government ministries, went out.

One day I started writing them down. I couldn't keep up with them. There were so many that I would have a couple of hundred offices and factories to write down each day. And some were ending their strike and others were starting, so that I couldn't get anywhere. There were too many. We must have had a million people on strike at any given time.

At the beginning, not much attention was paid to these strikes because they raised economic demands only. But one of the strikes that was quite different involved the workers of Iran National Radio and Television (INRT). The first thing they wanted was freedom to separate themselves from the government organizations, to be able to make programs, to give speeches of their own without censorship.

The government had given a written

statement to the newspapers pledging an end to censorship. The INRT workers wanted the same thing. They said, "This is mass communication as well, so why should the government give this to the newspapers but not give it to radio and television? We want the same right." So, they went on strike and won their demand.

The workers got more political. They raised another demand: "Release all the political prisoners!" And they demanded that all the exiles be allowed to return.

In March or April, the oil workers had gone on strike, raising economic demands. Now they went on strike a second time, with political demands: Lift the martial law, release all political prisoners, let the exiles return, and expel the foreign workers. Then, in addition to these demands, the Iran Air workers demanded that the exchange rate between the dollar and the rial no longer be fixed.

Q. Was that because of inflation, or because this was seen as a tie that symbolized the imperialist domination of Iran by the U.S.?

A. It had two aspects. One had to do with imperialism. The second was that other countries change their rates of exchange in accordance with the market, but Iran has not changed the rate for a long time, and so the depreciation of the dollar has hurt the buying power of the people.

Q. When the strikers demand that foreign workers leave, who exactly do they have in mind?

A. Well, Iranian workers are losing their jobs. They receive lower wages than the Americans or even the Japanese. They see foreign workers earning as much as ten times the wages paid to a Persian worker. Over the last few years the government has claimed that Iran is short of labor. They have imported highly skilled foreigners. There is even a prejudice against Persian workers in some factories. That's why the Persians reacted like that.

Q. But aren't there really two kinds of foreign workers in Iran? First the Americans and Europeans who run the telecommunications network, the oil fields, and most of the other important industries, and who get ten times what an Iranian worker would get for the same work. And second, the less-skilled workers from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and India, who usually get lower wages than Iranian workers—at times a half or even a third of the normal pay.

A. That is true. The Afghanis especially are paid less. I don't think Persian workers have anything against the Afghanis or Pakistanis.

Q. Could you tell us about the current situation with the army, and how people

view the soldiers?

A. I was at one of the September 4 marches, and on the march that took place on September 7, too. On those days, people were really hoping that the army would join in the struggle. I've never seen so many flowers on the streets. Nobody could avoid crying at that moment, when you saw maybe 500 women dressed in veils throwing flowers over the army trucks.

People were hugging the soldiers, and even the policemen. It really leaves you with a great impression. I think I will never forget this moment in my life.

But after these two days of giant marches, on Black Friday, when the government imposed martial law, the soldiers started shooting. It was unbelievable. The day before, we had poured flowers over the army men; and the next day they were shooting at us.

The people lost their confidence for awhile. They didn't know what to do. They thought they had lost. I had friends who came to me, shedding tears, thinking the whole thing was over.

But as time went on, the people regained their confidence. Two weeks ago or so, there was a demonstration. A huge march of 250,000 people went to Ayatollah Thlaghani's house to welcome him after he was released from prison. And we still had martial law. According to the law no more than two persons could gather. So for a long time, martial law didn't work.

I can give you another instance of what people were thinking. Young people who get drafted have to serve for two years. They hate these two years, but they can't do anything about it. They have to go to the army.

But since Black Friday, the whole attitude has changed. Now young people want to go into the army, to take it apart from inside. They want to learn how to shoot.

I think the government had their spies among the people and know the mood of the people. So they excused 330,000 of the young people scheduled for conscription, and even many of the draftees who had already gone into the army were released.

Last week, on Sunday [November 5], just before the military government was installed, I heard a rumor that the J Garrison [near Mehrabad Airport in Tehran] had joined the people with their rifles. And later on we heard that the Farahabad Garrison [east of Tehran] had gone on strike.

The whole campus where I was active was shaking. Everybody was shouting, "The army has joined the people."

I went to ask some of the soldiers I know what was happening in the different garrisons. They said that J Garrison in Tehran had had a riot, had mutinied. Later, I heard that eight of the leaders had been executed. A different story I heard was that twenty-three had been killed.

Besides these incidents, we heard from

some news agencies that on Black Friday some soldiers killed themselves. In the Mashad Garrison, one of the draftees was said to have shot the commanding officer. In Kerman, the same thing was reported to have happened.

I was told that in Lashkarak [north of Tehran] the head of the G2 (the secret army intelligence service) of the garrison gave a speech in which he said, "Don't participate in the riots or demonstrations." And the soldiers booed him. Twelve thousand soldiers booed him.

My friend told me that in the barracks they have discussions every night, political discussions on what's going on outside.

You hear that all over. I know some of the sailors in the navy. One of them told me that they were reproducing some leaflets with a navy xerox machine. One of the leaflets got stuck in the machine and they had to take off. Later on naval intelligence found out that leaflets were being reproduced. And they interrogated seventy-five people working in the office. But they couldn't find out anything.

Q. What would you say is the proportion of the soldiers that support the movement deep in their hearts?

A. Most of the people I know are draftees. The government cannot count on the draftees at all.

Q. What proportion of the army is made up of draftees?

A. I don't know. But it must be quite high.

Q. Do students get deferred from duty?

A. You can get a student deferment, but after you finish school you have to serve in the army.

Q. So, the present draftees include many ex-students?

A. Yes, and they are pretty radical. That's why the government is so worried and has excused some of them.

Lately I have heard that they have released the draftees from all guard duties, so as to avoid giving them guns.

The ones who usually shoot at the people are well trained. The ones who fired on students at Tehran University were Royal Guards. They are trained for these things.

Q. And they are very well paid, these Royal Guards?

A. Their regular pay may not be so high, but they have big allowances for housing, food, and everything else. The government has built the best apartments for these people.

Let me tell you something about the

campus guards and the guards on the streets. If they have to use a club, they get extra money. If they have to put on their helmet and shield to fight the people, they get extra money. If they use gas masks, they get extra money. Even if they are ordered to put them on but don't actually use them, they get paid extra. So, some of them, the poor ones, are glad to use this equipment.

On the other hand, I saw one of these same guards buy a newspaper on the birthday of Queen Farah. The first thing he did was to take the picture of the queen, tear it to pieces, and throw it away. Then he began reading the paper.

I asked him why he did that. He said, "All the troubles we are having in the country are because of these people."

I said, "Why do you beat up the students on the campuses?" He said, "Not me." They are under a lot of pressure.

Q. You were once in the army yourself?

A. Yes, for two years—such an institution—you cannot believe it. They had no real training program for draftees.

In those days, we were given some notes, all kinds of information about the guns, machines, tanks—how to use them and so on. Nobody read them.

Now the attitude has changed—the students and others are reproducing all those old notes they never read before; now they are making them available for everyone to learn about guns, because later on they feel they are going to need to use them.

The Iranian army is very disorganized. The night that they announced the military government, they brought in all their tanks, brand new tanks—they come all the way from England. Brand new, but smoke was coming out of them—they had never been serviced! They hadn't adjusted the engines for the weather.

Q. What is the American presence in the army? Is it like it was in Vietnam, with advisers at every level, or only at the top?

A. They run the whole army. Even the training is conducted by Americans. The high officers are trained in the United States, and the U.S. has about 10,000 army advisers in Iran. They run the whole show. But they can't come onto the streets.

Q. They don't accompany the troops who patrol the streets?

A. They can't do that. If they were to come onto the streets, not only would the people be against them but the Iranian army itself.

Q. What is happening to the economy now? Have the strikes cut into the availability of common staples? Are prices skyrocketing?

A. I think Iranians now expect civil

war. They are buying groceries in large quantities and storing them. The food shops are completely empty.

As far as the economy as a whole is concerned, there is a slowdown all over, all the factories. The workers have been on strike, but even when they return to work, they just sit and talk politics.

As a result, the economy is in very bad shape. You go out on the street in Tehran, and it is like a war zone, like Beirut. The streets are empty. Many of the stores are smashed. All the movie theaters are burned. People are tense. It's nothing like two months ago.

Q. Are organizations of any kind beginning to develop—committees and so on—that are beginning to challenge and even displace governmental authority?

A. Definitely. One of the first examples was the Writers Association of Iran. One of its demands was to have authority for all the publications put into its hands. If you wanted to publish a book, or open a new printshop, you would arrange it through the Writers Association and not have to get permission from the government. They wanted to end censorship.

A second example was the Bar Association of Iran, which wanted to draft the laws themselves, saying the government has done a bad job. And they started fighting the government.

The National Association of University Professors wants all of higher education in Iran in the hands of the students and teachers. They want democracy on campuses, and big steps have already been taken toward achieving this.

Now we're even getting all the secret files, the correspondence between SAVAK and the administration regarding what they were doing to us.

For instance, we have a report that the local head of SAVAK wrote about me to kick me off the campus. They have kicked a lot of people off the campuses through this kind of correspondence. Now I have the report, with its "secret" stamp on it.

Everybody, all the associations in Iran, the workers, want to participate in the decisions of their office or factory.

For instance, on our campus when the workers went on strike, their demand was that the head of the accounting office should be one of us.

There have also been groups organized to fight the shah's hooligans.

Q. What about communications? You mentioned posters being made, leaflets, and so forth.

A. Now they have closed the streets around Tehran University. There is a narrow street below which people have to walk. Before, you would see smugglers selling foreign cigarettes, chewing gum, and so on. Now you see these same people selling the *Communist Manifesto* or *Capi-*

tal. Or you see people giving out leaflets.

All the leftist groups have their own printshops, or maybe duplicating machines, which are illegal.

Q. Could you say a little about the influence and strength of the Tudeh Party?

A. The Democratic Union of the People of Iran, which was recently announced, is the Tudeh Party under a different name.

They have changed their position on the shah in the last six months. They were for the continuation of the monarchy before, but now they are calling for a republic. Now they are supporting the religious leaders and are saying that they might be a revolutionary force. They call for Shi'ism to be the national religion of Iran.

They support the "integrity" of Iran's borders, which means they oppose self-determination for the oppressed nationalities.

Q. So what is the extent of their influence?

A. I think they are working very hard—very, very hard. They are putting out a lot of books and they have quite a number of bookshops in Iran. They have sold 300,000 copies of the *Communist Manifesto* in the last two months (not from the bookshops because this is an illegal publication).

They have sold quite a few copies of the Stalinist *History of the CPSU*. You can buy *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* by Lenin. Now in Tehran they even have a book called *On Peaceful Coexistence* by Lenin, which has chopped-up, out-of-context quotations.

They are working this way to hide their defects and how they betrayed the Iranian revolution. They are trying hard to cover up.

Out of 1,400 students on my campus they have perhaps 10. At other campuses that I know about they maybe have 30 or 40. But not much more. They are isolated on the campuses but they work very hard. I believe they have quite a bit of money in their hands judging from all the literature they produce.

They have influence in the Writers Association, in the Bar Association, and in the National Association of University Professors.

Q. What do you think will happen next?

A. I think that Iran's revolution will start a new wave of revolutions in the world. I think that this is the beginning of another classical revolution.

And if the Iranian revolution wins, it won't take much for the whole Middle East to get ignited. Pakistan, Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, all the sheikdoms, later on perhaps Lebanon, or Jordan—all these will ignite.

It's going to be another example for the socialist revolutions of the world. □

Selections From the Left

KURTULUS

"Liberation," reflects the views of the left-centrist tendency that emerged in the Turkish student movement in the late 1960s. Published weekly in Ankara.

Over the past two years, many hundreds of Turkish left activists and intellectuals have been murdered by fascist gangs, the so-called "Idealists Clubs," which are connected with the National Action Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi—MHP) of Colonel Alp Arslan Türkeş.

This terror campaign is similar to operations carried out in Guatemala after the CIA-organized coup against Arbenz in the 1950s and in Argentina before the March 1976 military coup. Such a tactic has also been tried in a number of other countries.

Nonetheless, the murder campaign in Turkey has been presented in the international press as a "gang war" between "extremists of the right and left." The past guerrillaist errors of the Turkish New Left have helped give a pretext for this.

The question of how to deal with the fascist terror campaign is, thus, one of the most acute political questions being debated in the Turkish left today.

Kurtulus, which represents a current that came out of the New Left, published an editorial in its October 10 issue that indicates how it has been grappling with the problem of dealing with the fascist attacks.

"The deaths of a provincial leader of the MHP, his son, and another MHP member were the occasion for a fascist march that was intended as a demonstration of force and culminated in a wide-ranging terrorist rampage. About 6,000 fascists participated in Türkeş's march. The next day the right-wing papers claimed that 50,000 persons took part in the funeral march, and the day after that they claimed it was 100,000.

"During the fascist demonstration, one of the slogans most chanted was 'An Eye for an Eye.' Accordingly, the fascists took the occasion to come out for a 'Communist hunt' and fired on revolutionists from buses. . . . One of those killed . . . was our comrade Suat Koçer.

"The concept of an eye for an eye is a fascist notion. The only thing they are interested in is spreading terror. They want to create such a widespread atmosphere of terror that the masses will retreat into pacifism, become intimidated. The position of revolutionists is quite different.

"First of all, revolutionists have no desire to shed blood. Revenge does not promote an active struggle to get the fascists out of our path; it helps those who

obstruct this struggle. To win mass support for the antifascist struggle and to show the masses what fascism is, it is necessary first of all to mobilize the masses of workers. . . . This is a systematic struggle. It cannot be carried on on the basis of day-to-day reactions. The struggle against fascism has to be seen in its overall political context and approached with a full range of methods. . . .

"There is also a wrong logic that comes from failing to see the class basis of fascism. According to this logic, eliminating every fascist leader is a blow to the fascist movement. . . . But the loss of a leader will not destroy the fascist movement. A new one will step into the place left vacant. If this idea were correct, if Türkeş did not exist, there would be no fascist movement in our country. If Ecevit did not exist, there would be no reform; if it had not been for Lenin, there would have been no socialist revolution in Russia. Posing the question this way is totally foreign to the class point of view.

"The fascist movement cannot be broken up by eliminating its leaders. It will be broken up only by the organized power of the people. The organized power of the people's political struggle, their active struggle, is what will eliminate fascism from the earth."

ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗ ΠΑΛΗ

"*Ergatike Pale*" (*Workers Struggle*), organ to defend the interests of the working class. Published fortnightly in Athens. Reflects the views of the Greek section of the Fourth International.

Following a conference of the Greek Trotskyists in September, the name of their paper was changed from *Odhophragma* (Barricade) back to *Ergatike Pale*—the one used for most of the history of the Greek section of the Fourth International.

The November 1 issue comments on the results of the recent municipal elections in Greece. The most important of these, the mayoralty races in Athens and Piraeus, were decided by a runoff vote on October 22. In both cases candidates backed by the Panhellenic Socialist Movement and the Communist Party ["Exterior"] decisively defeated the government's standard-bearers. In Athens the antigovernment vote was 57.28%, and in Piraeus it was 53.43%.

Ergatike Pale writes:

"The municipal elections ended with a severe defeat for the right and for the Caramanlis government that was established in our country after the fall of the junta.

"In little more than a year, the govern-

ment of the bourgeoisie and world imperialism, the Caramanlis government, has suffered two defeats. The government has tried—by stepping up its intimidation, its repression, and its antilabor and antipopular policies; as well as with its so-called 'orientation' to all sides—to reverse the decline in its vote that appeared in the 1977 elections.

"It has failed. It was a minority government, and it is becoming a government backed by an even smaller minority. About 65% or 70% of the municipalities in the country are now in the hands of the opposition.

"In the Athens, Piraeus, and Salonika areas, where about half the people in the country live, the right controls only two municipalities.

"The influence of the old Liberal Party [the historic opposition party, which was ousted from government by the monarchy in the crisis that led to the establishment of the dictatorship] is certainly going to fade away to insignificance. It is clear that the masses are moving further left as a result of their experience and their actions. . . .

"This time there was even more of a polarization around the more radical programs of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement and the Communist Party. The biggest gainer everywhere in the municipal elections was the CP. To a large extent, it won back the traditional left strongholds, pushing out the Panhellenic Socialist Union, which had made significant inroads in the parliamentary elections. . . .

"So, in the future no one should underestimate for an instant the dangers involved in Caramanlis's remaining in power. Besides, why should we stand for this? Isn't this government supported only by a minority? Can't we throw them out of power the way we threw them out of the city halls?

"The bourgeoisie, the imperialists, and the 'New Democracy' government are preparing for a more violent common assault on the workers. The answer of the workers must also be united and involve the formation of a working-class united front to put an end to this reactionary minority government of Caramanlis."

rood

"Red," Flemish weekly paper of the Revolutionary Workers League, Belgian section of the Fourth International.

In the October 20 issue, Eric Corijn comments on the fall of the Tindemans coalition government. The coalition included both the Social Christian and the Social Democratic parties, with the bourgeois Catholic party playing the dominant role:

"These gentlemen want to play for high stakes. Tindemans wants early elections.

He thinks the time has come for him to take advantage of the image his press agents have built up and to play the role of the spokesman for the 'silent majority.'

"The gentlemen want a confrontation. More is involved here than their resistance to regional devolution [i.e., autonomy for the Flemish and Walloon areas]. They have been building up the most violent campaign in years against the 'pressure groups,' that is, the unions; and against the 'rule of parties,' that is, the consultation that keeps the wheels of parliamentary democracy running smoothly. They are getting the backing of the highest circles in the country for an attempt to impose a strong government headed by a strongman . . . on the workers.

"They have still not forgotten our Friday strike in February 1977. Tindemans looked on with sad eyes as he saw himself being forced to accept a class-collaborationist government and consultation [i.e., as a capitalist politician he would have preferred to run an openly antilabor government]. Even though the working-class party ministers loyally went along with the government's antilabor policy, some of those in the establishment are still allergic to sitting at the same table with reformists.

"The working people in this country gained nothing from this coalition. Although they knew better, they voted for the 'lesser evil.' They thought that the ministers for their parties would stand up for their rights against Tindemans, Eyskens, and Geens. . . .

"They found to their cost that Claes, Spitaels, Simonet, Chabert, and Califice [Social Democrats] did not hesitate to openly oppose the demands of the unions. . . .

"Tindemans is counting on a certain demoralization in the working class and on getting the support of the desperate petty bourgeoisie. We have to offer a clear alternative to him. The antilabor economic stabilization law has to be rejected and replaced with a clear program for full employment and for raising the living standard. In place of the Egmont Pact, we need a real struggle for a federal system, one that grants genuine self-government to the Flemish and Walloon people."

ARRITTI

Weekly paper supporting autonomy for Corsica. Published in Bastia.

In early November, the general secretary of the teachers union in Corsica, a Frenchman, asked to be transferred off the island. He claimed that he could no longer bear the climate of Corsican "racism." He was apparently referring to the resentment directed by Corsicans against those French who tend increasingly to dominate the economy, the government, and education on Corsica.

The case created a certain flap in the papers on the island. In its November 9 issue, *Arritti* commented:

"A furor has been unleashed over this case. . . . We will deal with it since it . . . is being used to mount another attack on Corsican patriots. . . .

"Who are the racists? Those who say that Corsicans should be able to live in Corsica, or those who over a century have deliberately reduced the number of Corsicans living in their own country from 300,000 (the total population of the island) to 120,000.

"Who are the racists? Those who demand that Corsican, the language that the Corsicans learn in their mothers' arms, be respected and taught, or those who after having submerged it under the language of the conqueror and insulted it, trying to pretend that it is no more than a jargon spoken by 'vestiges of the old population,' are today fighting tooth and nail against the attempt of the Corsican people to revive their own language?"

"Who are the racists? Those who demand that on Corsican soil, Corsicans with the same qualifications, either living on the island or exiles who want to return, should be given preference for the available jobs? Or those who have systematically and implacably driven the Corsicans from the labor market on this island, letting them have only dishwashers' and chamber maids' jobs? . . ."

lippu

"Banner," monthly organ of the Finnish Social Democratic Youth League. Published in Helsinki.

The October issue (no. 7) features an article by Marianne Laxen, entitled "Equality and Democratic Socialism." It obviously represents an effort to respond to the pressure that a rising interest in women's liberation is putting on the Finnish Social Democratic youth.

"In 1980, the Social Democratic women's movement will celebrate its eightieth anniversary. So, women's liberation work has a great tradition in the Social Democratic movement. The road has been long and often difficult. Among other things, the breakup of the Social Democratic women's movement at the end of the 1950s weakened women's liberation activity in our party.

"This period of division, however, has now come to an end. Last year, Social Democratic women joined together to carry out common work. This unity gives us a good outlook for moving ahead to 1980. It is also a challenge to step up and improve our work to achieve Social Democratic ideals."

The article was nothing if not respectful of what the Social Democracy had done for women. However, even within this context,

it appeared to raise a certain challenge to the party leadership.

"Social Democratic women have never been satisfied with propaganda work that did not bring results. As long as equality between the sexes has not been achieved in our own party, women have to concentrate their activity on that point. When the male comrades have made this objective their own, there will be no reason for separate women's work in our party and we will all be able to work together to achieve socialism in the economy."

rotfront

"Red Front," the monthly newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, Austrian section of the Fourth International.

The October issue carries a front-page editorial calling for a "no" vote in a November 5 referendum on the building of a nuclear power plant in Zwentendorf:

"Nuclear power plants are neither safe nor cheap. In their 'normal' operation they generate radioactive substances that lead to a higher rate of cancer and leukemia, as well as genetic damage. In case of a serious accident, countless deaths would occur, and the environment would be highly contaminated for decades. If the cooling system in Zwentendorf breaks down, for example, Vienna would become a virtual ghost town within a very short time.

"Nuclear power plants do not mean progress. They do not guarantee any jobs. To the contrary, less labor power is needed to install a nuclear plant than to install solar energy collectors. Besides, in our economic system, 'energy' has never guaranteed jobs. In fact, what happens is usually the opposite—jobs are automated away with the help of 'energy-gobbling' machines.

"During the last recession, there was no energy shortage. Nevertheless, the worldwide crisis of capitalist mismanagement threw millions of people out of work. So, job security does not depend upon a particular form of energy production, but on the particular economic and political system.

"The alternative facing us today is not as the nuclear lobby and the Socialist Party government would have us believe—nuclear power or wood-burning stoves, nuclear plants or unemployment, progress or reaction. Nuclear power plants can give us only a radioactively 'glowing' future. The only 'progress' they represent is 'progress' for the profits of those firms that invest in the nuclear industry.

"Without giving the slightest credit to the demagogic attempts on the part of the OeVP (Austrian People's Party) and FPOe (Austrian Liberal Party) to cozy up to the antinuclear movement, we hereby call upon the working people especially, in their own interest, to vote 'no' on November 5!"

A Recent Issue of the 'Chronicle of Current Events'

By Marilyn Vogt

On October 4, 1977, representatives of all the governments—including the Soviet Union—that had signed the Helsinki accords began meeting in Belgrade to discuss progress in implementing the accords' provisions. These included certain human-rights guarantees.

At the same time, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was meeting to discuss the provisions of the new draft Soviet constitution, which guarantees—on paper—certain basic democratic rights.

Both these events occasioned a rise in activity in the Soviet Union by sectors of the democratic-rights movement, as well as by the Kremlin's political police. Many rights activists sought to take advantage of the government-level meetings in Belgrade and Moscow to draw attention to the lack of democracy under the rule of the bureaucracy. The Kremlin, in turn, stepped up police measures to keep such protests from spreading.

A recent issue of the *Chronicle of Current Events*,* an underground journal from the Soviet Union, describes several previously unreported incidents.

Persecution of Pentacostalists

On September 10, 1977, Pentacostalist leaders from Vladivostok and Nakhodka, two cities on the far eastern coast of the Soviet Union, appealed to the governments that would be meeting in Belgrade and to world public opinion to help Pentacostalists win their right to emigrate. They declared that if they had not won this right by the time the Belgrade meetings opened on October 4, they would begin a hunger strike.

Pentacostalists have been severely persecuted. Because the Kremlin refuses to register them as an officially recognized religion, observance of Pentacostalism is illegal. Many hundreds of Pentacostalists have sought relief from persecution through emigration. It is a measure of the regime's weakness that it goes to such extremes to make life intolerable for the Pentacostalists.

The Vladivostok/Nakhodka events are a case in point. Three Pentacostalist leaders—Perchatkin, Patrushev, and

Pimenov—describe what happened there from September 1976 to September 1977.

After the Pentacostalists appealed for international support in September 1976, the rulers began a massive campaign against them. In lectures at club meetings, houses of culture, and institutes, Pentacostalists were branded as "the enemy, traitors, CIA agents, and spies." Articles in a similar vein appeared in local newspapers. All of this was intended to whip up the population against Pentacostalists and pave the way for the attacks by police-backed hooligans that were to follow.

These attacks began in early January 1977 and continued in subsequent months. Many Pentacostalists were injured, among them Ivan Durov, who was crippled for life. The authorities refused to take action against the hooligans.

Women feared going into the streets alone; they were threatened and beaten. One pregnant woman was beaten and dragged into a swamp as her attackers shouted: "You want to go to America? We'll show you America!" Goons smashed windows and attacked the homes of Pentacostalists.

Visa Officials, Police, Army Take Over

In July 1977, thirty Pentacostalists who had invitations from relatives to emigrate were called in by the local militia. They were informed that they could emigrate in August, so they had better get ready to leave. The thirty thus undertook the necessary preparations—selling their homes, belongings, winter clothes, everything they had—so as to be able to pay customs duties. Then the authorities began delaying tactics—emigration applications were returned to applicants on numerous pretexts, new fees were announced, and new regulations were imposed. After weeks of such delays came the refusals.

The *Chronicle* reports that Pentacostalist leaders from Nakhodka held a news conference on September 23 in Moscow to inform foreign correspondents about the plight of their people. On September 30, the Pentacostalists were warned by Nakhodka authorities that they would be arrested for slander and subversion if they did not stop their protests.

On October 4, the day the Belgrade meetings opened, forty-six Pentacostalists in Vladivostok and Nakhodka began a hunger strike demanding the right to emigrate.

Then the Kremlin's real show of force began.

Auxiliary militia units were brought to Nakhodka from Vladivostok. Students at the naval academy were put on alert. Two fire engines were posted outside the building housing the City Executive Committee, and the square in front was filled with militia forces. Cars and motorcycles of Pentacostalists were confiscated and all Pentacostalists were put under twenty-four-hour surveillance.

A radio car took up a position outside the home of one prominent leader, Stepanov, where prayer meetings were held.

All the hunger strikers were called in for questioning. Militia went from house to house checking the papers of Pentacostalists. Leaders Stepanov and Perchatkin were called in by the KGB on October 6 and warned they would be arrested if they tried to leave the city or meet with foreign correspondents.

After the hunger strike had gone on for ten days, some forty-seven families were allowed to hand in emigration applications.

Goon attacks continued throughout October 1977. During the November holidays commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the October revolution, a military division from Vladivostok was sent to Nakhodka to maintain order.

At the end of November, 500 Pentacostalists from the Far East were notified that their applications to emigrate had been rejected. After the rejection notices were issued, the KGB posted police cars outside the homes of all Pentacostalists in Nakhodka. All were placed under twenty-four-hour surveillance.

Having sold their belongings and homes, many Pentacostalists were forced to take shelter in overcrowded quarters with relatives and friends. They now find themselves without jobs or income, living in extreme poverty.

The authorities gave all railroad and airline offices in Nakhodka a list of Pentacostalists' names, and told them to refuse to sell tickets to the dissidents.

10,000 Demonstrate in Lithuania

After a football game in Vilnius, the capital of the Lithuanian republic, on October 7, 1977, a crowd of spectators numbering several hundred—mostly youths—moved from the stadium and out along the streets shouting: "Down with the constitution!" "Freedom to Lithuania!" and "Russians go home!"

**Khronika Tukushchikh Sobytiy* (A Chronicle of Current Events), No. 47, dated November 30, 1977. Russian-language samizdat journal from the Soviet Union. Available in printed form from Khronika Press, 505 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018. US\$5.00, 178 pp.

Skirmishes between demonstrators and police erupted as the police tried unsuccessfully to disperse the crowd. The protesters moved, chanting, to Lenin Square, where the KGB and its prisons are located.

On October 10, the events took on a massive character. Seeking to forestall a repetition of the protests, the authorities had stationed troops—the majority of them Asiatic—around the stadium.

The 25,000 seats were full. A Lithuanian team was playing a Russian team. During the game, anti-Russian calls could be heard from the crowd. These were even heard over the television broadcast, which was quickly terminated “for technical reasons.”

When the game ended, 10,000 to 15,000 spectators passed out through a cordon of soldiers and moved toward the center of town. About 500 people joined the march as it moved through the streets. The demonstrators shouted: “We are going to the KGB!” “Free the political prisoners!” and “Free Pyatkus!”

The demonstrators broke through the first detachment of militia and soldiers who had linked arms to close off the street. Although a second detachment stopped the march, the demonstration did not disperse until after nightfall.

During the actions of both October 7 and October 10, demonstrators tore down official placards about the constitution and the sixtieth anniversary of the revolution, and broke windows where such placards were pasted up.

The *Chronicle* reporters did not know how many demonstrators had been arrested and injured. It was known that several members of the militia ended up in the hospital and that the prosecutor in one section of Vilnius tried seventeen cases of people arrested October 7. By October 12, a number of youths had been expelled from universities, punished at their jobs, or expelled from the Young Communist League.

The newspapers condemned the “hooligan escapade” at the stadium. All October football games in Vilnius were cancelled. Tickets for the November 8 game were available only through Communist Party committees.

An enormous number of troops were mobilized outside the stadium on November 8. Some of the troops had been brought in from the Byelorussian republic.

Suppression of Non-Russian Nationalities

It is worth noting that among the demands of the demonstrators was “Free Pyatkus.” Viktoras Pyatkus is one of the members of the Lithuanian Helsinki Monitoring Group who has been sentenced to a long prison term. He was arrested in August 1977—a little over a month before the Vilnius demonstrations—and sentenced in July 1978 to a fifteen-year term.

The Lithuanian Helsinki group, like the Ukrainian, Armenian, and Georgian

groups, has documented the violations of the national rights of non-Russians. As is evident from the anti-Russian slogans raised by the Vilnius demonstrators, opposition to Russification is a prevalent sentiment among the Lithuanian population.

Issue No. 47 of the *Chronicle* describes a document, issued by the Lithuanian Helsinki group, that demonstrates what Russification means to Lithuanians and other non-Russians today.

Over the past thirty years, the document states, the number of Russians in the Lithuanian SSR has increased five times. A particularly large number of Russians have been settled in Vilnius and Klaipeda, two major cities.

As for the situation of Lithuanians in neighboring republics, there were eighteen Lithuanian schools in Latvia before World War II; now there are none. The same is true in the Byelorussian republic, where Lithuanian schools and churches were closed long ago.

Regarding other non-Russians, the Lithuanian Helsinki group's document continues, according to a recent census there are approximately as many Poles as Russians living in the Lithuanian republic. Yet no official statements are issued in Polish, and there are no Polish theaters or institutions of higher learning.

The situation is no better for Jews. Before the war, there were 122 Yiddish elementary schools and 14 Yiddish middle schools in Lithuania. Now there are none.

There are 24,000 Byelorussians in Vilnius, but there are no Byelorussian schools and no newspapers in Byelorussian. The same is true with respect to the Tatar and Karaim peoples.

It is impossible to obtain and illegal to keep books printed before 1940, the year Stalin took control of Lithuania and made it part of the Soviet Union.

Even the writings of some prominent Lithuanian communist leaders are kept in the closed sections of libraries. In the years after World War II, many Lithuanian libraries and archives were destroyed by Stalin.

Prison Rebellion in Omsk

Other news items in issue No. 47 of the *Chronicle* include:

- A report of a prison rebellion in Omsk province in August 1976. In early 1977, seventeen prisoners were sentenced to terms ranging from six to ten years in labor camp for their alleged role in this rebellion. The protests erupted over beatings and brutality by prison guards against prisoners who refused to become informers.

- A firsthand account from political prisoner Yulia Voznesenskaya. En route to prison camp, Voznesenskaya witnessed the beating and torture of twenty-one female prisoners. They were eighteen-year-olds being transported to an adult prison to finish serving their terms. The incident took place in Novosibirsk prison, August 22-23, 1977. The young women were being punished for refusing to stop singing in their cell.

A *Chronicle of Current Events* is completing its tenth year of publication. Despite the repression, it has extended its coverage. This is evident from the fact that this 178-page issue is twice the length of the *Chronicle* in its early years. □

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Why Bangkok Decided to End Show Trial of Student Leaders

[The following has been excerpted from an interview with an exiled Thai activist published in the October 16 issue of the Japanese Trotskyist weekly *Sekai Kaku-me*. The introduction is by *Sekai Kaku-me*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

Two years after the coup, the Kriangsak regime in Thailand is now putting on a "liberal" mask. It has released nineteen persons imprisoned after the Thammasat University massacre,* and is pursuing a foreign policy of coexistence with Vietnam and China.

But in southern Thailand the regime continues to build strategic hamlets and launch napalm bombing attacks against the liberation forces, while in the cities it responds with merciless repression against the struggles of Thai workers in companies owned by Japanese capital.

We interviewed P. Chanda about the situation in Thailand.

Question. Nineteen persons who had been brought before a military court on charges stemming from the Thammasat incident were recently freed under an amnesty decree. What led the Kriangsak regime to take such a step?

Answer. There were a number of factors. One that cannot be overlooked was the intervention of the United States government. . . .

The United States regards the Kriangsak regime as a useful partner for establishing a new system of relationships in the [Southeast Asian] region. But the way the military trials were conducted was a serious weakness from the Americans' standpoint. When the amnesty was decreed, the U.S. State Department took the unusual step of immediately calling a press conference to announce the fact. This shows how much importance Washington attaches to its relations with Thailand.

Of course the force that should be credited for winning the freedom of the defendants is the broad international campaign in defense of Thai political prisoners. Never before in the history of Thailand has such an extensive worldwide

*Over one hundred students were killed when the Thai army and right-wing paramilitary groups attacked a student rally at Thammasat University in Bangkok on October 6, 1976. The military seized power in a coup d'etat that ended three years of civilian rule in Thailand. See *Intercontinental Press*, October 18, 1976, p. 1476, and November 22, 1976, p. 1654.

campaign been carried out. After the defendants were released, one Thai government official remarked, "Well, hopefully now I can at least travel abroad in peace."

There were also important factors in domestic politics behind the amnesty decree.

General Kriangsak has been raising the call for "national reconciliation" since he replaced [former Premier] Thanin last year, and he has needed to strike a balance between the military and the liberal elements represented by the New Force Party.

The trial of the nineteen before a military court began in January of this year, and by September a total of eight or nine prosecution witnesses had been summoned. But under cross-examination by defense attorneys, all of those witnesses testified about the atrocities carried out by ultrarightists during the October 6 coup. The last few witnesses in particular testified that members of the Border Patrol Police had a hand in the atrocities.

Since the BPP was set up under the direction of the CIA, and has direct links with the royal family, this testimony was a sensational revelation. It began to appear that if the trial were allowed to go on, it would come out that the king himself was behind the coup, and the role of the present military leadership would also be exposed.

So Kriangsak freed the defendants not only as a concession to the liberals, but also out of necessity to avoid having responsibility for the atrocities fall officially on the military. This is why the amnesty decree doesn't just cover the indicted students and workers, but takes the form of a pledge "not to press charges from now on against anyone" involved in the coup.

Q. Kriangsak is now calling on the students who fled to the jungles after the coup to return, saying that they will be covered by the amnesty decree. What has been the response in the liberated zones?

A. The clandestine radio "Voice of the Thai People" broadcast an interview with students who had gone off to join the armed struggle. Those students pointed to the fact that the ultrarightist perpetrators of the Thammasat massacre were also being "amnestied." They declared that Kriangsak's promise absolutely could not be trusted, and vowed that they would go on struggling to the end.

Q. It has been reported that during the past year the fighting capabilities of the People's Liberation Army of Thailand have nearly doubled. What changes have

occurred in the liberated zones?

A. Up until this year, the liberation forces did not carry out any attacks against government outposts, but recently a series of police stations and military barracks have been struck. The rebels' increased fighting capability is due to the fact that their ranks have been swollen by large numbers of students and intellectuals who have gone off to join the armed struggle.

Q. Another point about the changes within the liberated zones. It would seem that the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict, as well as China's current foreign policy line, must be creating serious difficulties for the Thai revolution. How have the forces within the liberation movement reacted to these problems? We know, for example, that during the first half of this year the Thai Communist Party continued to put out communiqués hailing Mao-Tsetung thought, while other forces, such as the National Student Center of Thailand and the Thai Socialist Party, did not say anything about these problems.

A. Unlike the Thai CP, the NSCT and the SP are mass organizations, as are some of the other peasant and worker groups that have joined the armed struggle. Up to now, none of these larger groups have specifically identified themselves with the ideology of figures such as Marx or Engels, or Mao. But since they are political groups, naturally they're affected by the debates going on over socialist theory and program.

The NSCT's newspaper *Atipat*, which has recently been published in the liberated zones, came out with this kind of a comment: "In any political activity, the road is never straight. There are always upsurges and downturns, shifts and changes. Our course is simply to keep on fighting, from one battle to the next. Which position is correct will be decided by the results of the struggle, by which position the people choose to take."

Q. Can we take that to mean that the NSCT, rather than adopting any particular program, is keeping its options open and trying to learn from every source it can?

A. Exactly. As they see it they have to maintain an open mind, learn whatever they can and adapt whatever they can from the experience of each socialist country, in the interests of the Thai revolution.

Q. Finally, as one of the organizers of

the international Thai solidarity campaign, what is your estimate of the campaign at this stage?

A. First of all, it is clear that during the two years since the coup d'etat, the consciousness about Thailand within the international solidarity movement has deep-

ened quite a bit. In particular, the success of the campaigns to send medical supplies and filmmaking equipment to the liberated zones, together with the broad range of messages we received on the first anniversary of the founding of the Coordinating Committee of Patriotic and Democratic Forces, show conclusively that the interna-

tional solidarity movement has entered a new stage.

On the other hand, it may be that during these first two years we spread our forces a little too thin. We're now in a period of trying to establish, stabilize and improve the functioning of the movement in various countries. □

DOCUMENTS

Hong Kong—'The Seventies' Criticizes Mao Tsetung

[The July 1 publication in China of Mao Tsetung's long-suppressed self-criticism for the failures of the Great Leap Forward (see "Peking Begins to Lift the Lid on Mao's 'Errors,'" in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, November 20, 1978, p. 1266) has been taken by at least some Maoists outside of China as a signal that a certain amount of public criticism of the late chairman would be considered acceptable by Peking.

[One example is a lengthy article in the August issue of the Hong Kong Chinese-language monthly *Ch'i-shih nientai* (The Seventies) under the provocative title, "Break with the Myth that Mao Tsetung Could Not Make Mistakes." *Ch'i-shih nientai* (not to be confused with *The Seventies Biweekly*, a New Left Hong Kong journal quite critical of Peking) is a strongly pro-Peking magazine, but maintains a limited independence and is not run outright by the Chinese government. Following are excerpts from the article, signed by Ch'i Hsin. The translation is by Leslie Evans.]

* * *

Did Mao have faults? This question absolutely cannot be raised for discussion within mainland China. Even now, after the Chinese Communist Party has published Mao's speech in which he himself admitted that he had faults, it remains as before, very difficult to imagine the possibility of a discussion in CCP publications of Mao's concrete errors. Since the CCP came to power, and especially since the Cultural Revolution, the image constructed of the great leader has been of someone who never makes mistakes. Not only error-free, but, moreover, one whose every prophecy comes true and for whom all future events take place in accordance with his great military strategy.

In the past, this kind of mythology was worshipfully promoted within the CCP from its top leaders to its lower-ranking cadres. Of course, many people did not believe in it. But given the political atmosphere, no one dared to touch the myth. At the time of the Cultural Revolution, one of this writer's relatives raised this kind of question:

"Chairman Mao says that for all things,

one divides into two; hence wouldn't it be true that for Mao Tsetung Thought also, one should divide into two?"

This was only a question, not an opinion, much less an answer. But simply for raising such a question, my relative at that time was considered to be an "anti-Mao Tsetung Thought" counterrevolutionary element. Nevertheless, anyone at all would know from their own life experience that there is no such thing on earth as someone who never makes mistakes. Moreover, developing after the Cultural Revolution, and especially following 1974, very many people in mainland China had already developed doubts about this mythology from the conditions of real life.

After the fall of the gang of four, from the disclosure of the extent of their crimes, and from the correction of the confusion they had sown on the boundary between right and wrong, and particularly the reevaluation now given to [campaigns such as] the "Anti-Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts," "Criticize Teng," and the "Seventeen-year dark dictatorship" [1949-66], led more and more people to question "whether Mao could make mistakes." Overseas, there was even some talk of a "gang of five." Although there never was sufficient factual basis for such talk, inasmuch as Mao served in the highest position of leadership he could not completely avoid responsibility for the kinds of things done by the gang of four.

[There follows a long discussion of Mao's recently published 1962 speech in which he accepts responsibility for errors and excesses of the party leadership in the course of the Great Leap Forward. The article continues:]

On the evidence of the spirit of this quotation, we can infer that Mao ought to directly or indirectly shoulder the responsibility for the CCP Central Committee's mistakes in the period since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, in particular in Mao's old age. (The biggest of these include the attacks and heavy criticism leveled at the old cadres in the Cultural Revolution; the appointment of Lin Piao as Mao's heir, and, moreover, writing this decision into the party constitution; the

special promotion of Wang Hung-wen; the use of historical personages in the "Criticize Lin Piao—Criticize Confucius" campaign to make attacks on living people; the "Anti-Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts" campaign; the "Criticize Teng" campaign; the Tien An Men incident, and in particular the adoption of the [Politburo] resolution in this affair; etc., etc.)

Even if people take into account Mao's great contributions in presiding over the Chinese revolution, the condition of his health in his last few years, and the effects of the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution in fueling the wild ambitions of the gang of four in illegitimately occupying high posts, this still does not excuse Mao's errors in his old age. Inasmuch as he, as before, took charge of the chairmanship of the Central Committee, according to his own interpretation he should accept the responsibility.

[The article concludes:]

Trying to think it through, if Mao's speech to the conference of 7,000 had been published in 1962, and if the same had been done with Mao's 1961 self-criticism, then Lin Piao and the gang of four would have been unable to manipulate these absurd methods: Lin Piao engaged in cult worship and the gang of four treated Mao's words as imperial decree. Then, in Mao's old age, as Yeh Chien-ying has said, the situation in which "democratic life inside and outside the party was very abnormal" would not have happened so easily.

Is the Chinese Communist Party capable of putting real democracy into practice? This question takes first place in the deep concerns of very many people, both inside and outside of China. The publication of Mao's speech on July 1 of this year is an important starting point for creating a concept of democracy and ought to have a very good effect. It is to be hoped that in establishing the concrete regulations that will guide the body politic, as in changing the propaganda that the top leader is infallible, mainland China is really rectifying true democracy. □

Fastest Growing Items in India's Budget

By Sharad Jhaveri

India has one of the highest ratios of police to general population in the world. There are more police than members of the armed forces: about 900,000 police to 800,000 in the army, navy and air force.

The network of police stations in the countryside is so fine that only primary schools and post offices are closer to the average Indian village than the local police station.¹

In fact, in rural India, police are the state officials with whom the people come in contact most frequently. Sociologist David H. Bayley noted that because the police are so ubiquitous and other officials are so scarce, Indian police play a much greater socializing role in political development than is the case in more developed countries.²

There are several branches of the police that are directly responsible for repressing mass struggles in India. These are the Border Security Force, the Central Industrial Security Force, and the Railway Protection Force.

The modern Indian police were the creation of British imperialism and were designed to maintain the exploitation of the Indian people by the colonial rulers.

Political independence won in 1947 did not lead to a change in the organization of the police. Like the army, the bureaucracy, and the judiciary, the British police force was kept intact.

During British rule, the Indian cops had broad experience in dealing with mass struggles. The officers who began their service under imperialism have, therefore, a tradition of hostility towards all forms of mass struggle and are ruthless in their suppression of strikes and demonstrations.

Three groups are the special target of police surveillance: students, industrial workers, and leftist political parties.³

During Gandhi's state of emergency the police had a field day, engaging in patently illegal repression of political activists and prisoners. Since the lifting of the emergency and the March 1977 general elections, the police have been considerably discredited by the disclosures of these activities and are keeping a low profile for the present.

This should have been the time for the



DESAI: Orders troops out to break strikes even more frequently than Gandhi.

left parties in India to point out that mere democratization of the regime and police was not the solution, that the solution was to destroy the present police system at its roots.

But because of their class-collaborationist outlook, the leftist parties in India have instead attempted to attribute the sudden spurt in repressive activities to the authoritarian tendencies of Indira Gandhi, conveniently overlooking the fact that the Janata Party regime has used bayonets against the workers even more frequently than Gandhi.

To associate repression with any particular bourgeois political formation is to miseducate the masses regarding the real nature and function of official violence in a bourgeois society.

Capitalist regimes use police agencies for a specific end—to preserve the rule of their class. Hence the Janata Party, in this period of growing struggles in India, is increasingly forced to reveal itself as a party of "law and order," of repression. This explains its sudden clamor for more police powers.

The failure of the Janata Party to cope with the social and economic tensions in society have given the police an opportunity to demand an end to scrutiny of their activities and methods.

A recent conference of chief ministers of India's states took a big step in this

direction. This conference was dominated by the question of the status and powers of the police, to the extent that it did not even get to discuss unemployment and family planning, although they had been on the agenda.

The Morarji Desai regime prepared papers for this conference stating that criticism of repressive actions during the emergency had adversely affected police morale. The assembled chief ministers therefore sought ways of placating the police and restoring the allegedly sapped morale.

One suggestion was to increase police expenditures to provide for expansion and modernization. This proposal ignored the fact that police expenditures are already one of the fastest growing components of the central and state budgets. The 1976-77 central budget, for example, allocated 2.1 billion rupees (1 rupee=approximately 11 cents U.S.) for the police, as compared to 1 billion in 1970-71. The 1977-78 budget increases police funding to 2.2 billion rupees.

In addition, the state governments allotted 4.3 billion rupees to police expenditures last year, bringing the total open expenditures of the central and state governments to 6.9 billion rupees, more than double the expenditure in 1970-71.

These colossal sums have prompted even the Public Accounts Committee of parliament to call for an "urgent review," warning that "the expenditure on the police, both at the centre and in the states has reached a stage where clearly they are eroding the resources available for development activities."

This highlights the irrationality of the capitalist system in India, where massive resources of a poverty-stricken, backward country must be diverted to forcibly maintain that system through repression of its victims.

The September 24 issue of the New Delhi newsmagazine *Link* noted that there has been an increasing erosion of normal checks and balances on the Indian police. Several examples can be cited. The Desai regime has already authorized states to take legislative action to enhance the powers of the magistracy. The Criminal Procedure Code is to be made more stringent. The chief minister of Bihar has been given clearance to enact special legislation to deal with so-called extremists along that state's border with Nepal. Other states have been told that similar powers for their police can be had for the asking.

Although the Preventive Detention measure had been repealed because of mass resentment over its misuse during the

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1. Reinhard Bendix, *Nation-Building and Citizenship*, New York: 1964. p. 256.

2. David H. Bayley, *The Police and Political Development in India*, Princeton: 1969. p. 80.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

emergency, Desai said it would have to be brought back because "those who want to destroy democracy should not be allowed to exploit democratic safeguards to destroy democracy itself." This was the same language Indira Gandhi used in her broadcast to the nation on June 26, 1975, imposing the emergency.

According to an article in the October 5 *Times of India*, at their conference the chief ministers did not devote much attention to misuse of repressive measures. Even the chief minister of West Bengal, Jyoti Basu of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), joined the chorus for a measure to allow arrest and detention without trial.

Basu is said to have spoken at length on the renewed threat posed by Naxalite extremists.⁴ Naxalites, he maintained, would have to be fought on two fronts—force would have to be used to deal with force, and the Naxalite ideology would have to be countered politically. According to the report, Basu stated that in West Bengal every political party was nurturing potential criminals because each was organizing an army of toughs camouflaged as a youth wing.

So far the government of Madhya Pradesh has gone the furthest in giving itself extraordinary powers to deal with strikes. These include use of preventive detention powers.

During the state of emergency, Gandhi used both ideological and coercive means to maintain hegemony. Repression was severe, but complete censorship concealed its extent from the people.

But disclosures about the repression and the assumption of power by some of the immediate victims made it difficult to resort to repression immediately after the March 1977 general election. Therefore, more reliance had to be placed on ideological sway, on glorification of bourgeois democracy. Various left parties contributed greatly to this effort.

The new regime had to provide an outlet for the pent-up anger of the masses. Therefore, class and mass struggles became increasingly intense, violent, and frequent, to the point that the myth of democracy can no longer hold them in check.

That is why the government has decided to rely more on the big stick. It is essential that a revolutionary Marxist strategy take this shift into account and evolve a correct Marxist policy to counter it. □

4. In 1969 a number of elements that had broken with the Communist Party of India (Marxist) joined together to form the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). This group itself has since undergone a number of splits.

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

'Social Agreement' Breaks Down

Wave of Strikes Over Low Wages in Yugoslavia

By Will Reissner

In 1976 the Yugoslav government signed a series of agreements with the country's unions and enterprises to limit wage increases and slow down inflation. In 1975, prior to these "social agreements," inflation had reached nearly 30%. But in 1976-77 the rate dropped to between 7% and 8%.

This year, however, the pattern of "social agreements" began to break down under the pressure of widespread strikes. Most of these strikes have taken place in the industrialized republic of Croatia, but other republics have also seen work stoppages. In fact, so many strikes occurred in May that Yugoslav newspapers were calling it "the month of strikes."

The issue in all these strikes was low wages. As a result, many workers received wage increases under the guise of productivity improvements.

Under 1974 legislation governing the "self-management" of enterprises, workers were given increased say in dividing up their enterprise's profits. But due to heavy government taxes, workers often had to choose between wage increases and investment in new equipment, since there was not enough money left for both.

As a result, wages began to rise faster than productivity. According to Veselin Djuranovic, federal prime minister of Yugoslavia, personal income rose 6% in the first seven months of this year, while productivity rose only 3%. A similar pattern prevailed in 1977.

The official response to this situation has been drastic. Under provisions of the law allowing the government to intervene to fix wages in any enterprise that has lost money for a year and a half, the Tito regime decreed drastic wage cuts, effective November 1, for 600,000 workers. The law allows the government to lower wages all the way to the monthly minimum wage, about \$75. This is roughly half the average monthly wage.

The wage cuts are part of a whole "austerity" package. Among the other measures is the institution of "economic" rents in place of the subsidized low rents now paid by Yugoslav apartment-dwellers. These measures will result in a sharp deterioration in the living conditions of many workers.

It is still too early to tell how the workers will react to these attacks on their standard of living. Yugoslavia is the only workers state in Eastern Europe that suffers from unemployment, which is further exacerbated by the return of Yugoslav workers sent home from Western

Europe as a result of the economic slump there. This unemployment may dampen the ability of the workers to fight back.

But the wage cuts also threaten to increase tensions among the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Macedonians, and Albanians who make up Yugoslavia's population.

Slovenia, northern Croatia, and northern Serbia have a level of industrialization and standard of living analogous to those of Austria and northern Italy, while conditions in the south more closely resemble those in the rest of the Balkans.

During the 1950s the Yugoslav federal government emphasized development in the poorer southern republics in order to narrow the gap. But the decentralization of the economy, which has increased drastically since economic reforms in 1965, gave Yugoslav enterprises increased independence from administrative control and strengthened the role of market forces in the economy. Each enterprise could now invest its after-tax surplus as it saw fit. As a result, investment funds tended to concentrate in the more developed republics.

To offset this the federal government imposed high taxes on the profits of enterprises, with much of this tax money going to development projects in the south.

The current round of wage cuts, which will be felt more heavily in the more industrialized north, might spur resentment in the developed republics, where workers may feel that their enterprises are losing money only because of the high federal taxes that go to develop the poor republics.

In 1971 and 1972 there was a widespread campaign in Croatia to reinvest all Croatian funds within the republic. This campaign included a student strike at the University of Zagreb against the "pillaging" of the republic. This campaign against the poorer republics even made itself felt in the apparatus of the League of Communists (Communist Party) in Croatia. This indicates the tensions that exist between the republics that make up Yugoslavia.

A major contradiction in Yugoslav society is the gap between the limited measures of workers control that exist on the enterprise level and the total lack of workers control over national economic planning. As long as this contradiction exists there will be a tendency for workers in the more advanced republics to put the interests of their enterprise first, and to see any investment in the south as being "milked" from them without their say in the matter. □

'The Countdown for the Fall of Apartheid Has Started'

[Following is the text of a speech given by Drake Koka at Columbia University in New York City on October 13. Koka is general secretary of the Black Allied Workers Union of South Africa. He spoke at a meeting in solidarity with eleven Black South African student leaders now on trial on charges of sedition and treason for their part in the 1976 Soweto uprising.]

* * *

My dear brothers and sisters, South Africa is governed by a racist government. Why do we call this government a racist government? Simply because it bases its rule and power on the color of one's skin, on a racial basis. It thinks of South Africa in terms of race and not in terms of human beings. They see race, and so easily divide the place into these racial groups; some are darker while others are lighter—white and Black.

Now, we say South Africa is engaged in the politics of fragmentation, first of all, to fragment the very population of South Africa.

There are 26 million inhabitants of South Africa. Of these 26 million, 4 million are white, 22 million are Black. And therefore the whites have grouped themselves aside, and put the Blacks aside. And this they have done deliberately, not just as people who perhaps are prejudiced against others.

If, for instance, I don't like Mike's nose, I simply don't like it. And if he doesn't like my black shirt, he simply doesn't like it. This is a natural reaction of human beings to each other. But not so in South Africa. They had to pass a law to say: "Whites, you are a nation. Blacks, aside. We shall come and deal with you."

Let us examine the whites. We find whites composed of various tribal groups: the English tribal group, the German tribe, the Spanish tribe, the French tribe, members of the Dutch tribal group.

These various tribal groups among the whites, they grouped them into one solidarity. They cannot see the cultural differences among them. They said, "You are all white. White solidarity."

They came to the Blacks. They said, "You are Indians, you are Coloureds, you are Africans." Therefore they started to fragment us.

They passed the Group Areas Act that separated us residentially. They passed the Separate Development Act that said you can "develop" independently of each other. And all this was deliberately done by the government, in order to fragment the population.

They were not satisfied. They came to Africans. "Look, you are Xhosa, you are Zulu, you are Sotho, you are Shangaan." And they fragmented us into seven tribal groups. This has been backed by a law of parliament. It is not just an accident.

Thus, South Africa is on a process of fragmentation, in order to introduce a process of divide and rule.

Then they had to emasculate the Black races by law, depriving them of their national rights and political rights. They passed the Union Act of 1910 that said: "Blacks, you are not citizens of South Africa. You are foreigners in the country of your birth."

Then they also said: "Look, Blacks, you cannot occupy the land of South Africa. You must have your own land allocated to you." And this is only 13 percent, which must be multiplied by 22 million people. And they take 87 percent to be multiplied by 4 million people. They passed an act, the Land Act of 1913, amended in 1936.

So, as we saw, they are very clear. We are dealing with a clear government. The white people of South Africa are not confused. They know exactly what they are doing. Because every action that they are taking is a deliberate action.

They did not stop there. They had to perpetuate their domination. How can you dominate someone, if not through economic means, economic power? So they amassed the power for themselves.

South Africa had been basically an agricultural country. But it has got very rich reserves, mineral reserves. With the discovery of gold mines, diamond mines, asbestos, platinum, and many other minerals, South Africa had to take all these rich portions.

The arid land, which is not productive, they gave to the Blacks.

But they had to develop their own area, the rich area, by getting labor to flow into the highly industrialized, so-called white areas.

They have got Black labor in the mines, Black labor in forestry, Black labor in agriculture, Black labor in other industries—textile industry, iron industry. They have got Black labor even in the distributive industries—always Black labor. They have to save money in order to get profits. They call our labor cheap and unskilled.

Now, they had to draw from the Blacks. That's why we hear a man like ex-Prime Minister Vorster say, "The Blacks are here to work for us."

By "working for us," he does not mean that they should get all the rights that are

due to them, meaning political rights.

Then we find another of these guys saying, "We have run this country on cheap labor. We have underpaid our staff and kept the labor force without power to handle their own affairs and negotiate for higher wages."

They realize that they must cheat the Blacks and rob them economically, exploit their labor, in order to make the whites rich. But these guys are just as crafty and as clever as the devil himself. They see that Black labor eventually will take over. Because if the Black laborers can organize themselves into trade unions, they'll one day reach a point of battle, where they can say, "We shall negotiate and get our workers' rights."

So they deliberately passed a law, the Industrial Conciliation Act, which says Blacks are nonemployees in this country. Therefore the Black trade unions can never be legally recognized by the government. They shall forever remain illegal organizations in that country.

Now, this is deliberate. In regard to the South African government, you are not dealing with people who are committing mistakes unknowingly. You are dealing with people who are calculating their steps: the Union Act of 1910—no citizenship; the Land Act of 1936—no land; the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956—no labor recognition. Also, job preservation—no Black can have the same, equal job as a white. This again put it that the whites must always remain above us economically.

If I would go on, telling you all these things, I would never end.

They realized that if you want to introduce anything in any country, go to the youth, introduce it through the schools. If you want to bring a change, then you must shape a system of education that will liberate the youth, and the youth will eventually come to the top and rule the country.

But these cold-blooded murderers, what did they do? They again sat in their parliament, without us, and they passed an act, the Bantu Education Act, which makes Black education separate from white education, and, of course, inferior, only meant to make us better workers for whites.

Now all these are the ills that you will find in South Africa. But I'm not here to narrate all these ills. Because you have read them in the newspapers. You have seen them in films. You saw them on the TV. And you have listened to the radio.

My point in coming here to you is to



Peter Magubane/Rand Daily Mail

Funeral in Soweto in 1976 for Hector Peterson, first student killed by South African police in crushing uprising.

show, to prove, or perhaps to demonstrate to you that the Blacks of South Africa are just not taking it any more.

The resistance against this vicious apartheid regime started in 1912, when the African National Congress was founded—even earlier than that.

The government passed their laws, the Blacks reacted. They fought against the source. The government took the land, the Blacks tried to negotiate, but it was useless. Then came the Pan Africanist Congress, the ICU,¹ and many other organizations in South Africa.

Let me just say, the noble sons of Africa did the best they could to fight for their rights, to fight for their birthright. But nothing ever came correct.

That is to say, the South African government intensified their oppression, repression, and suppression of the Black masses.

1. Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, a mass and politically militant workers organization that flourished in the 1920s.—IP/I

It passed law after law that would make it impossible for the Blacks to act against them: the Riotous Assemblies Act, refusing us the right to gather; the Suppression of Communism Act, giving us restrictions and banning us for “communism”; the Terrorism Act, detaining us and keeping us incommunicado; the Internal Security Act, under which they can hold you for five years without ever taking you to court.

But, in short, this resistance never brought us anywhere. They smashed it, they destroyed it, and they eliminated any opposition, forcing our political parties to go underground, or the leadership to leave the country and start organizing from outside.

In the meantime, between 1960 and 1970, the South African government had the Gatsha Buthelezi coming over to you and saying, we are calling for investments in South Africa. They had the Mangopes, they had the Phatudis—the so-called leaders of the “homelands” [Bantustans]—like Matanzima and the rest.²

They are in reality stooges, sellouts,

betrayers, traitors to their own Black races. They sold their birthright to whites for their own personal ends. They have sold us down the political drain. For this they will one day have to answer. They will have to appear before the Black court of judgment. [Applause]

I’m here to say to you, brothers, there is a war. There is a war. The counting down of the fall of apartheid has started. South Africa shall never be the same until every one of us is free.

It was in the early 1970s that the Black People’s Convention was founded. The Black Consciousness movement came up. We did not have a leadership that was simply reacting. We did not have a leadership that was repeating its master’s voice. We had a leadership that said, “Let the whites keep their laws. Let the whites be

2. Gatsha Buthelezi, Lucas Mangope, Cedric Phatudi, and Kaiser Matanzima are all government-appointed and paid officials of the Bantustans.—IP/I

as they are. We shall be what we are."

We had to have a *creative* leadership, a leadership that dares to say, "Let us examine ourselves and see who we are, what we are, what is our purpose in life, what is it that we would like to gain, and how are we going to gain that."

We had to look at the whites, for five hundred years the settlers of South Africa. We have tried to live with them and to bring sense to them, but they never listened.

And we said, the mistakes that our fathers had committed before, we shall never commit them. We are not the carbon copies of our forefathers, nor are we their duplicates. We are ourselves, fighting by ourselves.

We are caught up in a heritage which was not of our making, and we find ourselves caught up in a system that was dehumanizing us, a system that regarded me as less human than I am.

The fault is not with your oppressors, the fault is with you. The fault is with your mental condition. You have for a long time accepted in your mind that the white man is a god, that the white man can determine your life, that the white man can determine your political destiny, that the white man can determine your social behavior, that the white man can grant you even the little that you live on. He has extended his hand; like a dog you have been licking his fingers to live.

Economically, you have been rendered poor all the time. You have been made to be miserable, subjugated, a subservient creature, who has been crushed under a boot.

Black man, the fault is there with you. Black man! "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings."

We put aside everything. Pass laws were no more a problem to us. The Terrorism Act was no more a problem to us. We have our own agenda, to liberate ourselves.

The liberation of the Black man is in the hands of the Black man. It is he and he alone who can draw up the agenda. And the rest, who are to join him, must do it on the terms dictated by us. But not by what you want us to be.

Therefore, countries like the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France—for them to come as though they were the great magicians with the so-called settlement solutions for the problem in Zimbabwe, the problem in South Africa, the problem in Namibia—they are all irrelevant. Only the Blacks have a solution. [Applause]

We are no more a problem, but we are a solution to the problem. Whites are now a problem. [Laughter and applause]

We are asked everywhere, where do you put whites? If you take over, what will be the position of whites? We are now haunted, everywhere we go: "What type of a system are you going to have? What

about the rights of the minority?" [Laughter]

As though we were the underwriters of an insurance company, that we must give them a life policy, an insurance policy, to say, after so many years you will get a dividend if you pay the premiums well. [Laughter and applause]

This is ridiculous.

You know, when we were collecting [contributions from the audience] here, I thought of something. When I was banned, I was not allowed to go to church. My little boy, who was six years old, said, "Why are you not going to church?" I said, "I am banned and I am restricted." He said, "Who has restricted you?" I said, "Whites have restricted me." So my little boy said, "Are you not going to work?" I said, "I cannot work any more because I am stopped from working."

My little boy went to church with his mother. During the collection, my wife took out twenty-five cents to put in the collection can. My little boy grabbed my wife's hand and said, "Don't collect, we have no money, the white man has stopped my father from working." And the priest was a white man. [Applause]

That shows now the consciousness, the consciousness of a people. We realize today, we have the potential power to break the chains that are binding us.

Eighty percent of labor is Black. We control the economy of South Africa. We have the manpower. We have the youth. We have history, we have the world on our side.

It was at this stage that we said, for three years, we shall talk about the philosophy of Black Consciousness, and then there will be confrontation. And believe me, by June the sixteenth, it was exactly three-and-a-half years from that. The confrontation came from the youth, who have been well fed with the philosophy of Black Consciousness.

What was our sense? The sense of this movement was a very clear sense. You see that we were a determined people. We realized that for as long as the whites are oppressing us, we cannot look to whites in order to get our salvation. We realized the principle which says, nowhere in the world has the oppressor ever sat down with the oppressed to draw up the agenda for the oppressed's liberation. [Applause]

We said we shall articulate the interests of all Black people in this country. And under the banner of Black Consciousness, we shall negate and oppose vigorously the politics of the unrepresentative white regime designed to perpetuate slavery and savagery. We said we shall consolidate the

different sections of Black solidarity into one solidarity, into the forming of a power bloc.

I want to illustrate this as I have illustrated it in the past. Brothers and sisters, look at my hand. I have raised it up. If I bend this finger, I can break it. And I can still break this next finger, and the smallest is even the weakest. These fingers, single as they are, can be broken by anybody, even by a child.

But if I close these fingers, just imagine that most dangerous weapon of Muhammad Ali, which has KO'd so many. It will knock you down in one blow of solidarity. When we raise our fists in South Africa and say, "Power!", we actually mean solidarity of all the Black races in order to break the spine of apartheid. [Sustained applause]

I want to end up by quoting one of the student leaders who came to this country, Khotso Seatlholo. He said:

"We shall rise up and destroy a political ideology that is designed to keep us in a perpetual state of oppression and subservience. We shall oppose an economic system that is keeping us in a never-ending state of poverty.

"We shall not stand a social system that has become an insult to our human dignity. We shall reject the whole system of Bantu Education, whose aim is to reduce us mentally and physically into hewers of wood and drawers of water for the white racist masters.

"Our whole being rebels against the whole system of South Africa, the South African way of existence—the system of apartheid that is killing us physically and mentally."

That was said by Khotso on the twenty-ninth of October, 1976. We find behind these noble words a determination to fight. This determination comes from inside the country. I'm echoing to you words from inside the country, not from somebody who feels that he is far away from the system and then starts to speak bravely. These words are the words of the youth inside the country.

How do the workers respond? "Power commands respect. Labor recognition, better wages and working conditions, are not our priority. Our task is to liberate Black workers from an exploitative system of labor. We must organize and negotiate from a position of strength and power, in order to bring about a change in the labor system of this country." That was said by the secretary general of the Black Allied Workers Union inside the country, in 1974, when they were confronted with a period of decision.

And this was not only embraced by the workers and by the students. It was also praised and embraced by other people in other walks of life.

This time I am going to reflect the position of the church in South Africa, who

3. June 16, 1976, was the first day of the massive Black uprisings that swept South Africa throughout the rest of that year.—IP/1

issued a statement at the bishop's conference that said:

"We shall strive to show that the church be seen in solidarity with all those who work for the promotion of human dignity and the legitimate aspirations of the oppressed people; on the side therefore of Black Consciousness, in regard both to those who promote it and those who suffer for it." This was issued in February 1977, inside the country.

Ending up, I should say, brothers and sisters, we in South Africa are determined to liberate ourselves. [Applause]

Liberation will come from us. The liberation of our country is in the hands of Blacks. The Black Consciousness movement has dispelled fear. There is no more fear. That's why we see the youth rising up again against the well-armed government. That's why we see the eleven who are on trial today.

And this is why we are determined to suffer even unto death.

We are calling on foreign investors . . . we do not mince our words, we are not even going to rationalize or intellectualize about our position. We are clear. And we are prepared to stand before a gun and die. We say, "Foreign investors out!" [Sustained applause]

Brothers and sisters, we are coming here to you. The battle we are fighting in South Africa is your battle, and the battle that you are fighting here is my battle. I come here to you, because you and me are but one. You and me are fused in one struggle, in the struggle for our liberation, the struggle for freedom, the struggle to create an egalitarian society where all men shall be equal.

We shall introduce into our communities an equitable system of economy where everyone will have a chance to enjoy the fruits of his labor and the wealth of his country.

I say, finally

When you bleed, my handkerchief is full of thy blood,

When you flinch in pain, I feel the sting in my loins,

For you and me, dear Black brother, are but one.

Thank you. [Sustained applause]

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'Rouge' to Become a Weekly February 1

Rouge, the daily newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, French section of the Fourth International, announced in its November 7 issue that it will become a weekly effective February 1. Since it began daily publication in March 1976, the Trotskyist newspaper has faced a constant financial battle to sustain itself.

In face of the newspaper's deteriorating financial situation, the Central Committee of the LCR set up a special team in August to study *Rouge's* operation and make recommendations for its future. The decision to revert to a weekly was made at an LCR Central Committee meeting in the first week of November, following the team's report.

Rouge described the decision as a serious setback for the LCR and for those activists in mass movements and organizations for whom *Rouge* is a channel of information and an open forum.

The final decision on *Rouge's* status will be made at the Third Congress of the LCR, to be held in late January. But the congress is expected to concur with this plan, barring a dramatic turnaround in the situation.

In order to continue as a daily through January, the newspaper announced a series of cost-cutting measures to be implemented in coming weeks. These include a cutback in bundles sent to newsstands, a shift to lower weight paper, and tighter cost controls.

Three major factors lie behind the decision to suspend daily publication. In Sep-

tember *Rouge* launched a fund drive to collect \$350,000 by the end of December in order to continue as a daily. While nearly \$132,000 had been collected by November 1, it is expected that the final goal will not be met.

The second factor is that this year sales have not recovered as much as was expected from the normal summer slump. Sales figures for September and October were running 15 percent below the previous year.

Finally, Rotographie printing plant, which prints *Rouge*, suffered a setback when the far-left weekly *Politique-Hebdo*, which was printed at the plant, ended publication. This left Rotographie's presses running at only 50 percent of capacity, and new customers were not found to take up the slack.

The decision to revert to a weekly on February 1 was made now in order to prevent further financial deterioration that could lead to the bankruptcy of the LCR's entire publishing operation. *Rouge* noted that any attempt to continue as a daily until the bitter end would have resulted in the loss of the press, which in turn would jeopardize the printing of books, the publishing of a weekly, and would make it impossible to revert to a daily when conditions permit.

Contributions to the fund drive, which are urgently requested, may be sent to *Rouge*, 2, rue Richard-Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil, France. □

**When you move,
it's nice to have your mail
move with you.**

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International Abortion Protest Set for March 31

[The following appeal was issued in Brussels September 23 by the International Campaign for the Right to Abortion. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

The International Campaign for the Right to Abortion is asking you to join in an International Day of Action on March 31, 1979.

We are asking you to support our demands for women's right to contraception and abortion and against all forced sterilization. These demands are international.

* * *

Nowhere in the world are women guaranteed the absolute right to control their fertility, the absolute right to decide whether they want children, and if so, under what conditions.

Millions of women incur mutilation and death because their right to contraception and their right to legal abortion under safe conditions are denied by civil law and by the church. Women suffer physical injuries from clandestine abortions; they are sometimes imprisoned and always humiliated because they demand this right.

Many women in Portugal, Spain, North Africa, Italy, or Ireland, for example, are forced to take expensive journeys abroad to get an abortion under better conditions. An incredible number of women die each year as a result of clandestine abortions, while everyone knows that abortion is an operation without risk if it is performed under the proper conditions.

In some countries—such as Switzerland, the Netherlands, West Germany, or Belgium—abortion is still illegal, but is tolerated in practice. In this way, women are still denied the *right* to control their bodies. In addition, these formal restrictions make it possible to raise the price of the operation. They also turn it into a traumatic and guilt-inducing experience.

The laws liberalizing abortion that have been passed in such countries as the United States, France, Italy, or Great Britain impose severe limits on the right to choose, including time limits and the denial of this right to underage and immigrant women, as well as the "conscience clauses" that "legitimize" doctors' refusal to perform abortions. Under these laws, women must often give proof that they have been raped, that they are prone to "mental instability," or that they run "grave risks" to their health in order to get an abortion. And in most cases the final decision rests with the medical profession.

Women From 13 Countries Issue Call

The second coordinating meeting of the International Campaign for the Right to Abortion and Contraception and Against Forced Sterilization was held in Brussels on September 23.

The number of countries that sent representatives to the meeting, or that contacted the steering committee of the campaign during the summer to lend their support to the action that has been called, showed the impact that this battle can have around the world. Women attended from France, Britain, Ireland, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Australia, the United States, Chile, Brazil, and Jamaica. Groups from Québec and Canada and from Mexico and other Latin

American countries wrote to express regret at not being able to attend.

An international appeal (printed on this page), a poster, and a lot of ideas about how to build the campaign came out of an intense day of work.

The international day of action was definitely set for March 31, 1979. National days of action were already being planned in Belgium, Britain, the Netherlands, and Québec. Another coordinating meeting will be held in Paris on December 9 to review progress.

For information and campaign materials, write to: ICAR, c/o National Abortion Campaign, 374 Grays Inn Road, London WC1, England. □

These laws do not provide for the installation of the necessary facilities. The medical hierarchy controls public services and often opposes free, socialized medical care for women, thus raising the price of abortions and leaving poor women with no other choice but illegal abortion. In England, where medical care is free, abortions performed in public hospitals are still an exception, and 50% of them are done in private clinics where there is a fee. In the United States, where only 18% of public hospitals do abortions, federal funding for abortion has now been abolished, although it still covers 90% of sterilization costs.

In many countries, the right to abortion is nonexistent, and women who decide to have an abortion run the risk of heavy penalties. In other countries, rights have been granted and later withdrawn. Israel, for example, is about to limit the right to abortion to those women whose lives are seriously threatened by pregnancy. In New Zealand, a new law permits abortion only in extremely limited cases that do not include rape.

Chilean women prisoners who have been raped by their guards do not have the right to abortion, owing to a recent law that gives human rights to the fetus. In Eastern Europe, it is now being argued that women's right to abortion should be secondary to the needs of the state in the economic and demographic sphere. Romania and Hungary have made it more difficult to obtain abortion and contraception.

Population-control programs are used in

some parts of Latin America, Africa, and India—as well as among women of the oppressed nationalities and poor women in the United States and Europe—to impose forced sterilization and contraception on women. In Puerto Rico, for example, 35% of women of childbearing age have been sterilized. Women are lied to and told that poverty is the result of "overpopulation," and economic aid from foreign countries is accompanied by an appeal to limit the population growth.

In many countries, doctors are more likely to be paid for sterilization than for giving information about contraception. Forced sterilization is an instrument of racist policy everywhere.

Information about and access to contraception often remain a privilege of the rich. Research into surefire and safe contraceptive methods is not being done because of control by the multinational pharmaceutical trusts, whose priorities are not determined by the needs of women but rather by what will bring them the most profits. The side effects of contraceptive methods are frequently hushed up and can cause serious illnesses in some women. The use of contraceptives by minors is actively discouraged, and in many countries there is a strict ban on contraceptive advertising, both on television and in the press as a whole.

Dangerous working conditions, and toxic substances present in the environment or used in warfare, are altering women's reproductive organs and causing miscarriages. The dioxin explosion in

Seveso, Italy, and the spraying of defoliants by the United States over North Vietnam have been the cause of countless miscarriages, cases of sterility, and monstrous deformations in fetuses.

Sexist laws and attitudes permeate women's entire existence, in the areas of both sexuality and reproductive functions. In some countries, for example, the genitals of little girls are mutilated by infibulation and excision so that as adults they cannot experience sexual pleasure. Homosexuality is considered abnormal. The murder of "unfaithful" wives is not considered murder, but a "crime of honor."

In some countries, abortion is legal only if a married woman is considered to have committed adultery. Women are not free to express their sexuality, as long as they live in societies that condemn it and penalize children born out of wedlock.

Women do not confront these problems only as individuals. Throughout the world, women are struggling for the right to control their bodies under adequate conditions and to decide when and if they want children.

The struggle for the right to safe, legal abortion has been led by the women's liberation movement. But this struggle concerns all movements and individuals who are fighting for democratic rights and social justice. Women's rights to control their bodies, to contraception and abortion, and to refuse forced sterilization have become international questions that have called forth debates and confrontations around the world. The forces opposed to women's right to choose are powerful. They include governments, churches, the medical profession, political parties, and antiabortion groups that force women to suffer and die in the name of morality. The result of the struggle to defeat these forces will have an impact on all battles for elementary human rights.

* * *

Women demand:

1. The right to control our own bodies.
2. The right to contraception.
3. The right to abortion.
4. The right to refuse all forced sterilization.

We call for an international demonstration of solidarity in support of women's right to choose.

We call for a massive mobilization by women, students and youth, workers and the labor movement, political and human-rights organizations, and immigrant organizations, in support of our call for an International Day of Action around these demands. □

No Extra Charge

French postal officials reported November 15 that they have recovered 35,000 letters from a Paris sewer. After being disinfected, the letters will eventually be delivered, they promised.

Middle East After Camp David Accord

Begin, Sadat Buy Time With Promise of Peace

By Michel Warshawsky



BEGIN: Gains separate deal with Egypt without even verbal promise of Israeli withdrawal.

When Carter took the initiative to set up a summit meeting between Sadat and Begin in the intimacy of Camp David, far from the microphones and television cameras, he staked all his authority and played his last card to try to save at least the chance for future negotiations in the Middle East, if not the Sadat peace initiative.

Israel was ready for a peace agreement with Egypt, even at the price of a withdrawal from all of Sinai. Sadat did not reject the idea of a separate peace with the Zionist state, as long as he could present it as one component in an overall settlement whose general outlines had been agreed to by Israel and Egypt.

Carter's ambitious objective in setting up the Camp David summit was to mix up a brew that would be sufficiently murky to befuddle Arab public opinion while still satisfying the partisans of Greater Israel who voted massively for Begin a year and a half ago.

In order to allow Egypt to negotiate the return of the Sinai peninsula what was needed was a formula, or as it was called, "the Framework for an Agreement on the Middle East," that could be presented to the other Arab states and to the Egyptian masses to show them that there had been an agreement in principle on the structure of a future hypothetical peace accord between Israel and all the Arab states.

The Egyptian president long ago gave up trying to win an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza. What

Sadat asked was that Carter get Israel to make a vague declaration of intention, saying that it would be ready to consider a withdrawal from the occupied territories in the future.

Armed with such a declaration, which he like everyone else knows doesn't mean anything, Sadat would be free to carry out the negotiations towards a bilateral accord with the Zionist state.

But the Begin government refused to do even this, feeling that such a declaration of intent would call into question the sovereignty of the Jewish people over all of Palestine. Until the last day of the Camp David meeting it appeared that Carter had failed in his objective, and that Begin had been successful in sticking to his initial intransigent positions.

Finally on September 18 Carter was able to announce to international public opinion that an accord had been reached between Begin and Sadat, which would make possible an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty within three months.

As might be expected, the accord was the result of pressures exerted by Carter, for whom failure of the conference would have meant a heavy personal defeat.

But, paradoxically, Carter used the weight of his "influence" primarily on Sadat. Thus, one of the most important elements of the Camp David conference is that Begin did not yield on the question of a withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza. But Sadat nonetheless agreed not only to pursue the negotiations, but to announce that the signing of a bilateral peace treaty is imminent. This is an important new concession on the Egyptian president's part. Sadat bowed to the Israeli *diktat* demanding a separate peace with Egypt without any commitment on Israel's part concerning the other fronts.

The Camp David accords can be broken down into two parts. The first concerns the framework of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.

Egypt commits itself to sign a peace treaty with Israel. Israel in turn commits itself to withdraw from all of the Sinai. The major concession Israel made is the dismantling of the Jewish settlements on the Rafah strip and along the Gulf of Aqaba, which the Knesset has just ratified by an overwhelming majority.

Once the treaty is signed, Egypt commits itself to establish normal relations, including diplomatic relations, with the Zionist state.

Thus at Camp David Sadat agreed to complete normalization of relations be-

tween an Arab state and the State of Israel, breaking the more than thirty-year isolation of the Jewish state within the Arab world.

Withdrawal from the Sinai, including the dismantling of a dozen Jewish colonies, is not a high price to pay for this kind of change in the situation, in which Israel will continue to exist. Moreover, by signing a peace treaty with the most important of the Arab states, Israel greatly reduces the risk of a war with the other Arab states, and especially the risk of a military defeat.

The second part of the accords is called a "Framework for Peace in the Near East." This document, based on Security Council Resolution 242, lays out the general structure of future and highly hypothetical peace treaties between Israel and Jordan and Syria. It goes back to the idea of "administrative autonomy" on the West Bank and Gaza strip, which Begin had put forward after Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. This would be limited to five years, at the end of which Israel, Egypt, Jordan, and the elected representatives of the Palestinian population in the areas occupied by Israel would be called upon to decide the permanent status of these territories.

To put it more clearly, Sadat is going along with the Israeli occupation, with some minor modifications, for a period of at least five years, and doesn't even call for a partial withdrawal from these territories by the Zionist state, even after the transition period.

Therefore it is easy to see why the Camp David accords were ratified by an overwhelming majority in the Knesset. In truth, what could the most intransigent Zionist leader complain about? Begin has given up nothing, absolutely nothing, in regard to the Syrian front, the West Bank, and the Gaza strip, or in regard to the Palestinian question.

Begin, moreover, repeated this from the rostrum of the Zionist parliament: "We say no to a referendum, no to a Palestinian state, no to negotiations with the organization of assassins called the PLO, and five years from now, when we are called upon to discuss the question of sovereignty over the territories of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, we will demand that it be Jewish sovereignty; if our partners do not agree, the present status quo will continue," meaning Zionist occupation, under the circumstances baptised autonomy.

Begin and his advisers can thus be proud: they have gotten what no one in Israel had dreamed of: a separate peace treaty with Egypt without even verbally committing themselves to a withdrawal from territories that the Zionists call the "Land of Israel."

The only concession that Sadat could boast of was Israel's agreement to freeze the establishment of Jewish colonies during the period of the negotiations. But Begin is already beginning to claim that this was a misunderstanding, and that

this agreement is good only for a period of three months.

At first glance the results of the Camp David conference represent a giant step forward in the establishment of a *pax americana* in the Middle East and a sweeping victory for all the reactionary forces. The signing of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel will guarantee a stabilization of the Arab East and of the most openly proimperialist forces. American imperialism's domination has been acknowledged and the Soviet Union has been excluded from the diplomatic maneuvers, after having been thrown out of the most important Arab country.

Israel, the number one bastion of imperialism, sees its security guaranteed not only by the strength of its army, but also by a peace treaty with the only country capable of menacing it today.

The Palestinians, the principal anti-imperialist leaven in the Arab world, have been excluded from all the diplomatic maneuvers and left in tragic isolation, even after a large segment of their leadership had been persuaded to abandon the path of struggle and attach themselves to the coattails of the diplomatic maneuvers led by U.S. imperialism.

But the class struggle is more subtle than the alchemy of Carter's brilliant advisers. And the class struggle often makes a mockery of the formulas, magic or not, concocted in one or another summit conference. Without the shadow of a doubt it can be said that the "Camp David peace" is so fragile that it would be hazardous for the local or international bourgeoisies to stake their capital on its chances of success.

First of all, from the standpoint of imperialism, the Camp David accords are dangerous in themselves, despite the self-congratulatory declarations of the American president. Since Egypt is the only Arab country involved, if the dynamic of the negotiations doesn't proceed rapidly, there is the risk that an ever-growing number of Arab states will be pushed toward an anti-American position, which, for lack of any alternative, means pro-Soviet. The representatives of European big business, who are more vulnerable than the Americans to a new oil embargo, have understood this clearly. They do not share the optimism of their American colleagues.

That's why Washington is using all the means at its disposal to try to persuade Jordan's King Hussein to participate in the upcoming negotiations over the future of the West Bank and Gaza strip. But at this point Hussein has nothing whatever to gain by teaming up with Sadat, since the Israelis are not ready to concede anything to him except the role of an assistant cop to maintain order on the West Bank under Zionist occupation. At that price he would just as soon rejoin the Steadfastness Front, something Hussein still holds off

doing since he is trying without much luck to persuade Washington to force Israel to yield on issues that concern him.

With the Steadfastness Front drawing closer to the Soviet Union, and with the moderate countries like Saudi Arabia, the Emirates, and Jordan keeping their distances from the Camp David accords, the situation on the whole is not very encouraging. Washington may very rapidly find itself again in the situation it was in before Camp David. It must either put pressure on Israel or risk the loss of its influence in several important Arab states.

In regard to Egypt, despite Sadat's isolation in the Arab arena he hopes for popular support for his peace initiative. For many months the Egyptian masses have been told that peace is the absolute prerequisite for solving the problems of the Egyptian economy and the destitution of the masses. But how long can Sadat maintain this bluff?

No one can say; because peace with Israel will not change the catastrophic situation of the Egyptian economy in any way, despite advantageous loans Carter undoubtedly promised the Egyptian president and despite a substantial reduction in the military budget.

The situation in the economy is the direct result of the strengthening of economic liberalism and of the policy of "opening" the economy up to the imperialist interests. In light of the strong militancy of the Egyptian working class, the respite that a peace treaty with Israel can provide Sadat is not likely to last very long.

The certain failure of a large-scale economic reform, and the social consequences of such a failure, will be even more significant in that the promises of prosperity have been tied to the policy of capitulation to Israel. This policy will then come under criticism at the same time as the failure of the economic reforms. Of course, the Egyptian working class does not yet have a recognized political leadership, and the first criticisms of Sadat are coming from within the present state apparatus. But this serious handicap may not be enough to prevent the rapid awakening of the Egyptian working masses.

But it is again the Palestinian question that threatens to be the stumbling block to this new attempt to tie the Arab East to the coattails of imperialism. Since 1970, with the American attempt to impose the Rogers Plan, it has been evident that the stabilization of the Middle East requires a solution to the Palestinian national question. Such a solution would have to be based on two interlocking elements—the destruction or at least serious reduction of the military potential of the Palestinian resistance and of its most militant wing, and the integration of the moderate wing of the resistance into the overall framework of bourgeois Arab diplomacy, with the objective of granting it national sov-

eignty over those portions of Palestine that Israel might be induced to let go of.

Six years later, it seems that imperialism and its local allies had attained their objectives: the Palestinian resistance was brought into line, with the majority of its leadership ready to participate in the framework of a negotiated settlement with the Zionist state in order to receive a Palestinian mini-state on the West Bank and the Gaza strip. But this did not take into account that Israel would absolutely refuse to recognize the Palestinian national movement or consider the idea of an independent Palestinian state in any way, shape, or form. At Camp David Sadat acquiesced to the Israeli position.

Of course the Palestinians would be able to "participate" alongside Egypt, Israel, and—Israel permitting—Jordan, in the negotiations over the status of the Palestinian territories occupied since June 1967. But this would involve Palestinians elected only by the inhabitants of the occupied territories, and only after Israel recognizes them as valid negotiators. As one might expect, those close to the PLO, as well as those close to Jordan, immediately rejected the privilege of representing the Palestinian masses under these circumstances and restated their view that only the PLO is competent to speak in the name of the Palestinian people.

No Palestinian state, no referendum, no negotiations with the PLO—the results of more than five years of moderation by the leadership of the PLO are meager indeed.

While it is not unlikely that certain elements of the PLO will try to call for "using" the autonomy status in order to bring the PLO to the negotiating table through the back door, there can be no doubt that the months to come will witness a resurgence of Palestinian military operations, no doubt including commando operations against civilian populations. The effectiveness of such operations has never been proven, and it is probable that after a short period of national unity against Sadat's capitulation, internal struggles will regain the upper hand, this time involving a serious assessment of the results of the overall strategy of the various organizations that make up the PLO.

As for the territories occupied since 1967, it is still too early to tell whether the prevailing reaction in the short run will be despair or a desire to use the meager concessions that the autonomy status provides the population. But here too, the lack of a leadership that is recognized by this population makes it difficult to build a broad, massive opposition to the Zionist occupation and may leave the road open, for a certain period, for some notables to try to play the game of "administrative autonomy," whether through naïveté or opportunism.

The Zionist state can once again congratulate itself on the results of its collaboration with American imperialism. It is



SADAT: Selling deal with Israel as solution to economic catastrophe.

true that after his return from Camp David, Begin got a very chilly reception from his own spiritual offspring in the Religious Bloc and the Movement for Greater Israel, some of whom went so far as to say that the dismantling of the Jewish colonies in Sinai was treason.

But the immense majority of the Knesset and of the population support it, and the Peace Camp and the "left" Zionist intellectuals have been among the warmest in their total support for Begin and the Camp David accords.

It is clear that many illusions surround the results of Camp David in Israel. The Israeli capitalists already see themselves pouring into Egyptian markets, and the less privileged are figuring out the cost of vacations on the banks of the Nile. The real sense of relief that the agreement with Egypt provided in regard to what seemed the certainty of a war, is now replaced by a sense of security that is highly exaggerated given the still fragile results of Camp David.

Undoubtedly the most glaring symptom of the illusions the Camp David accords provoked was the dismantling of the Peace Movement, for whom Camp David is synonymous with peace and Begin is a hero to be defended against his friends in Likud and the far-right coalition.

This shows how difficult the task of anti-Zionist activists will be for the near future. Their task is not to stand in opposition to

the Israeli population's hopes for peace, but to show how illusory is a peace that is primarily based on the total negation of the national rights of the Palestinian people. Only the insecurity of the Jewish people in the State of Israel can feed a mass anti-Zionist consciousness, and the illusion of security won through the negation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians maintains the faith of the Jewish masses in the effectiveness of a policy based on terror and permanent aggression.

By strengthening this kind of illusion, Camp David, far from being a step forward towards peace between the peoples of the region, threatens to go down in history as one of the steps leading the Jewish masses of Israel toward the barbarism of Masada. □

Shortcircuit in Pentagon Think Tank

"The federal government has spent \$500,000 to draft a plan for the relocation of 8 million New Yorkers in case of nuclear attack, but Mayor Koch said yesterday that he was never consulted about the plan and police brass responsible for carrying it out have voiced 'serious reservations' about whether it would work. . . .

"The draft plan assumes that there will be a 10-to-11 day attack warning. . . ."
—New York Daily News, November 15.

The Fight for Class-Struggle Policies in Peru's Unions

By Fred Murphy

In the big general strikes and mass struggles that have erupted in Peru in the past year and a half, the trade unions have played a central role.

The success of the general strikes of July 19, 1977, and February 27-28 and May 22-23, 1978, resulted from unity in action being achieved among the trade-union organizations at the national level. On these occasions—and in many local strikes and struggles—the unions have been able to draw much broader sections of the masses into motion.

Two key problems still confront the Peruvian labor movement, however. If they are to be effective instruments for defending the rights and living standards of the workers, the unions must overcome a legacy of fragmentation and develop a cohesive national leadership with a class-struggle perspective.

To understand the present situation in the Peruvian trade unions, it is necessary to review some of the history of the labor movement in that country.

Breakup of the Aprista CTP

The principal trade-union federation in Peru today is the Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú (CGTP—General Confederation of Peruvian Workers).¹

The CGTP was formed in 1968 after unions of miners, metalworkers, and bank workers had broken from the Confederación de Trabajadores del Perú (CTP—Peruvian Workers Confederation). The CTP had long been controlled by the bourgeois-nationalist Peruvian Aprista Party.²

After its founding as a federation of Communist- and Aprista-led unions in 1944, the CTP enjoyed near-total control over the labor movement. It was banned by the Odría dictatorship in 1948, but was reconstituted in 1956.

The CTP leadership proved incapable of maintaining its dominance in the late

1960s, however, as the working class radicalized under the impact of an economic crisis.

Disillusionment with the Apristas because of their rightward shift in the 1950s and their open collaboration with the rightwing bureaucracy of the U.S. AFL-CIO also played a part in the CTP's decline.

As more and more unions broke with the CTP and entered the CGTP, the latter became the principal federation in Peru. It gained government recognition in 1971. By then, all that remained of the CTP was its bureaucratic apparatus and a few unions in the sugar and textile industries.

From its inception, the CGTP was dominated by the pro-Moscow Stalinists of the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP). The CGTP was formed during a period when repression had eliminated many of the more radical workers leaders; in addition, an earlier turn by Peruvian revolutionists to work in the countryside and a guerrilla-warfare strategy had left the union field relatively clear for the Stalinists.

While the CGTP encompassed the majority of Peru's trade unions by the early 1970s, the class-collaborationist policies of its leaders prevented it from gaining the overall dominance once enjoyed by the CTP. For example, the pro-Moscow Stalinists' failure to back up the demands of a militant teachers strike in 1971 led to the formation of the independent union SUTEP³ under Maoist leadership the following year.

The powerful miners union, the FNTMMP,⁴ broke from the CGTP in 1973 after its leaders were expelled from the Communist Party for criticizing the CP's unconditional support for Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado's reformist military government.

Other important unions, especially those in which Maoist or centrist forces had gained influence, broke with the old CTP but did not enter the CGTP. These included unions of brewery workers, graphic arts and printing workers, and glass workers.

Meanwhile, the Velasco regime set out to create its "own" union federation, not being satisfied with the CGTP bureau-

crats' efforts to control the labor movement. In 1971 a gang of thugs (the "Revolutionary Labor Movement") organized by Fisheries Minister Gen. Javier Tantaleán took control of the fishermen's union and many smaller unions. In 1972 these were all brought together as the Central de Trabajadores de la Revolución Peruana (CTRP—Central Workers Union of the Peruvian Revolution).

Rise of Left-Wing Currents

Radicalization among workers accelerated in 1973, as it became obvious that Velasco's "revolution" was bringing little improvement in living standards. There was a growing number of strikes and struggles, including a general strike that spread throughout southern Peru in April and May. These involved unions both inside and outside the CGTP and were led either by forces to the Stalinists' left or by CP militants opposed to the party leadership's policies.

A number of efforts were made in this period to coordinate the CGTP opposition and the independent unions at the national level. The most notable of these was the Committee for Class-Struggle Trade Union Unification and Coordination (CCUSC), formed in late 1974. It initially involved the miners and teachers unions and the Peruvian Peasants Federation (CCP), as well as dissidents inside the CGTP.

The CCUSC failed to become a viable alternative leadership, owing to incorrect policies and sectarian bickering among the various Maoist groups that came to dominate it. The Maoists tried to turn the CCUSC itself into a "revolutionary" federation,⁵ dismissing the CGTP as "bourgeois" and thus isolating themselves from the federation's militant ranks.

In December 1974 the fishermen regained control of their union and threw out Tantaleán's thugs. Many other CTRP unions, especially in Lima, broke with the regime around this time. These developments gave rise to the Federation of Peruvian Fishermen (FPP) and the CTRP-Lima as independent unions. The national CTRP apparatus was left a hollow shell.

Soon after Gen. Francisco Morales Ber-

1. The CGTP takes its name from that of Peru's first union federation, formed in 1929 at the initiative of José Carlos Mariátegui, the outstanding pioneer of Peruvian Marxism. The original CGTP declined after Mariátegui's death in 1930, weakened by the sectarian "third-period" policies of the Communist Party. It was dissolved by the Benavides dictatorship in 1934.

2. Also known as the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA—American People's Revolutionary Alliance). APRA has been one of the main political forces in Peru since the 1930s, when it was a revolutionary, anti-imperialist organization.

3. Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores de la Educación del Perú (United Federation of Educational Workers of Peru).

4. Federación Nacional de Trabajadores Mineros y Metalúrgicos del Perú (National Federation of Miners and Metalworkers of Peru).

5. This policy is known as *quintacentralismo* among Peruvian radicals. It refers to attempts to set up a fifth (*quinta*) national federation in addition to the four that now exist: the CGTP, CTP, CTRP, and CNT (Central Nacional de Trabajadores—National Workers Federation, a group of Christian-Democratic-led unions).

múdez replaced Velasco in an August 1975 palace coup, the dictatorship scrapped most of its radical demagoguery and turned to more direct attacks on the labor movement to enforce its increasingly harsh austerity measures. In 1976 emergency decrees did away with trade-union rights in the mining, sugar, and fishing industries.

But the Stalinists atop the CGTP still refused to break with the government. Even as the austerity policies were in full swing, the CP was calling on the masses to support the "revolutionary and anti-imperialist" Morales Bermúdez regime.

While this situation brought growing discontent among the ranks of the CGTP and inside the Communist Party itself, the initial fruits were frustration and defeats for the most militant sectors.

A state of emergency that was to last fourteen months was declared in July 1976. Strikes were banned and constitutional guarantees suspended. The CGTP leadership offered no response to the repression, while the Maoists issued call after call for a general strike in the name of the CCUSC. These went unheeded by the workers. The mass movement went into a downturn, except for a nationwide fishermen's strike that was broken in December 1976.

Revival of Mass Movement

After a new package of austerity measures was imposed in June 1977, fresh struggles began. Ad hoc trade-union fronts, or "comités de lucha" (struggle committees), arose in many areas. Strikes, street demonstrations, and shantytown uprisings broke out in many provincial cities.

Finally pressure from the ranks—and the deaf ear turned them by the regime—forced the CGTP bureaucrats to join the independent unions in calling a twenty-four-hour general strike for July 19.

The strike paralyzed Lima and most other cities. It was the first nationwide work stoppage in Peru since 1919.

The body set up to organize the general strike was called the Comando Unitario de Lucha (CUL—United Struggle Command). The CUL brought together the CGTP, CNT, CTRP-Lima, FNTMMP, and about twenty other unions.

Such broad unity was short-lived. The CGTP and CNT left the CUL almost immediately after the general strike to renew the search for a "dialogue" with the government.

Five thousand of the most militant unionists lost their jobs in a wave of firings ordered by the military. Thus cut off from their ranks, the union leaders remaining in the CUL gravely overestimated the willingness of the masses of workers to move independently of the CGTP. The CUL called an indefinite general strike for September 20, 1977. It was a total failure. The CUL ceased to function.

The contrasting experiences of July 19

and September 20 led to a reevaluation of tactics among the independent union leaders, most of whom identified with one or another of Peru's Maoist, centrist, or Trotskyist groups. They turned to a policy of seeking closer ties with the militant ranks and secondary leaders of the CGTP, who were becoming increasingly restless in face of the bureaucrats' refusal to wage a fight for the reinstatement of the 5,000 fired militants. In this way the independents hoped to pressure the CGTP leaders to call further actions against the government.

In December a national delegates' assembly of the CGTP met, with more than 300 delegates present from most of the federation's unions and provincial organizations. The top bureaucrats found themselves in the minority. The assembly voted to call a general strike for January 23-24 and reconstitute the CUL.

The CUL began functioning again as a real united front among the CGTP and the independent unions. But four days before the general strike was to begin, CGTP General Secretary Eduardo Castillo unilaterally canceled it at the request of General Morales and the minister of labor. By the time the CUL was informed, Castillo's statement (which cited the alleged danger of an imminent "war with Ecuador") was on the front pages of all the government-controlled newspapers.

The CUL acceded to calling off the strike, under strong protest. But it also issued a statement that declared "the group of leaders headed by Eduardo Castillo . . . traitors to the working class and the people of Peru."

The strike was called off just as a long-standing crisis in the Communist Party was coming to a head. The CP split into two public factions, the PCP (*Unidad*) and the PCP (*Mayoría*).⁶ Castillo and the top CGTP bureaucrats remained with the PCP(U)—the faction that kept the party apparatus and newspaper—while the new PCP(M) included the CGTP leaders who favored a more militant policy and unity in action with the independent unions, and who had opposed cancelling the general strike.

To prevent the dissidents from gaining control of the CGTP, the bureaucrats mobilized their goon squad, the "Guardia Obrera" (Workers Guard), for the next national delegates' assembly in February. They were also lent assistance by the government's Civil Guard. Many militant delegates were forcibly prevented from attending the assembly.

The delegates' assembly did call a new general strike, however. This was mainly because the CUL—with the support of the

6. The two public factions of the Peruvian Communist Party take their names from their newspapers. The old-line Stalinists publish *Unidad* (Unity), and the oppositionists publish *Mayoría* (Majority).

CGTP dissidents—had held a rally of 35,000 in Lima on the previous day and were pressing ahead with their own plans for a new general work stoppage.

The February 27-28 general strike was not so widespread as the one in July 1977, owing to the confusion generated among the workers by the maneuvers of the Stalinist bureaucrats. The CUL and the CGTP apparatus functioned separately in organizing the strike.

In April the PCP(U) tried to consolidate its hold on the CGTP. A national delegates' assembly, meeting under the clubs and chains of the Guardia Obrera, purged the federation of the officials who had been pushing for greater democracy and a more militant policy.

A cold split thus developed in the CGTP, with the dissidents in control of important unions such as the steel, metal, paper, garment, and leather workers, and key provincial federations such as those of Junín, La Libertad, and Huancavelica. The dissidents constituted themselves as the "Coordinating Commission of the Ranks of the CGTP."

When the regime handed down a series of drastic price increases May 14, the CGTP bureaucrats took the initiative to call a two-day general strike for May 22-23. The call was soon joined by the dissidents and the CUL.

The strike proved to be the most massive yet; it remains the high point of the present wave of struggles by the Peruvian masses. It also served to enhance somewhat the prestige of Castillo and the CGTP officialdom, which had been badly tarnished in previous months. The dissident leaders, on the other hand, were preoccupied with the internal battle in the CGTP and played less of a role in the general strike.

But the overall support for the PCP(U) among the masses of workers was eroding. This was shown in the June 18 constituent assembly elections. The PCP(U) received about 6 percent of the vote, as against the more than 20 percent that went to the parties and blocs identified with the CUL and the CGTP dissidents.⁷

There were big strikes by teachers, miners, and public employees in July, August, and September. In taking a sectarian attitude toward the Maoist-led teachers union, the CGTP bureaucrats were discredited further.

The miners went down to defeat at the hands of heavy military repression. They were forced to call off their strike on September 8, with none of their demands having been met. Primary responsibility for this setback must be put on the CGTP leadership. They refused to call a general

7. That is, the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front (FOCEP), the Democratic People's Union (UDP), and the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR). The PCP(M) participated in the UDP.

strike to defend the miners, and even refused to allow miners union leaders to speak at a CGTP rally in Lima on September 2.

In early September the CUL and the Coordinating Committee of the Ranks of the CGTP issued a statement calling on "all the forces of the trade-union movement . . . to hold a united national assembly in order to plan strategy and tactics for trade-union unity, to strengthen the CGTP, and to advance toward a single federation of the Peruvian proletariat."

This National Trade-Union Assembly was held in Lima September 24. It brought together 300 delegates from sixteen unions and provincial federations of the CGTP; from the FNTMMP, the SUTEP, and other independent unions; and from the peasant organizations the CCP and the CNA.⁸ Altogether some sixty unions were represented.

Delegates from the newly formed Intersectoral Committee of State Workers (CITE) were also in attendance. The CITE arose out of recent struggles by public employees against layoffs. It marks the first attempt to form a union of government workers, and could soon become one of the largest unions in the country.⁹

Agreement was reached at the assembly on the need to unite all Peruvian unions in the CGTP, and to press for democracy, class-struggle policies, and a change in leadership inside the big federation.

All the independent unions agreed to seek affiliation to the CGTP, as did the CCP. Even the SUTEP, whose Maoist leaders had always been particularly hostile to the idea of unity with the CGTP, agreed to seek affiliation.

The CGTP representatives present pledged to present a proposal to the federation's congress for the rapid unification of all the unions and federations.

The development of a more coherent national orientation among the independent unions and their own dissident ranks caused the CGTP bureaucrats to take steps to ensure control over the federation's fifth congress.

Rump provincial federations were set up in Junín, La Libertad, Pisco, Tarma, and Piura. Parallel unions of metal, garment, and paper workers were put together.

The bureaucrats demanded at the last moment that all unions be paid up in dues to be allowed delegates at the congress. Among the unions excluded in this way were the university workers and the militant CGTP locals at the Manufacturas Nylon and D'Onofrio plants in Lima.

8. Confederación Nacional Agraria (National Agrarian Federation). The CCP and the CNA are now in the process of fusing.

9. The CITE held its founding congress October 7-10 and decided to convert itself into the Confederación Intersectorial de Trabajadores Estatales (Intersectoral Federation of State Workers).

During the week before the congress the Guardia Obrera good squad ransacked the offices of the CGTP unions of metalworkers, garment workers, and miners.¹⁰

The Stalinists' sectarian frenzy also spilled into the political arena. On September 20, the Guardia Obrera attacked a united rally of 10,000 in Lima that had been organized by the FOCEP, UDP, PCP(M), and other parties. (The PCP(U) had declined an invitation to participate.) The cops used the disruption as an excuse to break up the rally.

The CGTP Congress

While their undemocratic methods and good squads ensured the PCP(U) a majority at the CGTP congress, they were unable to squelch all opposition. The leftist Lima weekly *Marka* reported October 5:

The debate was intense in the seven working commissions. Above all, it was political. Two big tendencies were apparent from the outset: PCP(U) partisans on one hand; and on the other, all the rest of the leftist groups, including the PCP(M). "Independent" delegates were in a small minority, and no "third" position emerged.

The weight of the PCP(U) made itself felt from the outset. They made sure that all the commission heads were their people. In one commission they overturned an initial radical majority by rapidly bringing in more of their own delegates. . . .

The verbal battle was heaviest over the requests for affiliation made by new contingents. For the PCP(U), the requests to join the CGTP made by organizations such as the SUTEP and the CCP were "opportunist." . . . The radicals defended those requests and explained that refusal to accept them was a "maneuver" aimed at preserving the present relationship of forces, since the SUTEP, the CCP, and other organizations are led by parties other than the PCP(U).

The congress had opened with a three-and-a-half-hour report by General Secretary Eduardo Castillo, who devoted much of that time to attacking the "ultraleft" as the main enemy of the workers movement. He defended the removal of the PCP(M) leaders from the CGTP officialdom as necessary to "purify" the federation.

But Castillo also felt compelled to attack the government more sharply than the CGTP leadership had done on previous occasions. He characterized the Morales Bermúdez regime as the faithful servant of the International Monetary Fund, while harking back to the "revolutionary" days of General Velasco.

The congress did vote to call a new national general strike. But no date was set and the PCP(U) delegates added amendments making the resolution as vague as possible. Nevertheless, the bu-

10. While most of Peru's miners are in the independent FNTMMP, some of those in the smaller mines are organized in the Federación Minera, a CGTP union set up after the FNTMMP pulled out in 1973.

reaocrats may come under pressure from the ranks and the independent unions to carry out this decision.

The PCP(U) consolidated its control over the CGTP apparatus in the vote for the forty-five member National Council, electing a slate made up entirely of PCP(U) stalwarts. An opposition slate—the first in the federation's history—received one-third of the votes cast.

The battle for unification, democracy, and class-struggle policies in the Peruvian trade unions is by no means over. As the defeat of the miners strike and the CGTP congress showed, the pro-Moscow Stalinists of the PCP(U) remain the biggest obstacle to be overcome.

Nevertheless, the opposition in the unions does appear to have grown stronger in recent months. It has achieved closer coordination at the national level, and has adopted a policy that more clearly puts the onus for disunity on the CGTP leadership.

Unless they alter their sectarian, divisive policy in the CGTP, the PCP(U) bureaucrats could eventually find themselves in the same boat as the Apristas in the CTP and the generals in the CTRP—a magnificent apparatus, but little rank and file.

November 2, 1978

Philippines Freedom Fighter Chained in Windowless Cell

Jose Maria Sison, who is said by the Marcos regime to be the chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, has been severely tortured since he was captured by the military last year.

According to a report in the October 13 *Philippine Liberation Courier*, after being held in solitary confinement for nearly ten months Sison was brought before a military tribunal September 8. There he was charged with smuggling arms to antigovernment fighters of the New People's Army.

In spite of courtroom security measures, Sison managed to reveal several aspects of the treatment he had been subjected to.

Following his capture he was starved for three days and tortured for six days.

Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos met with Sison immediately after he was captured. At the end of the meeting, Marcos told the military, "Do anything you want with him."

Sison has been kept in solitary confinement in a windowless cell three feet square. After an unsuccessful escape attempt, he was severely tortured once more. Since then, he has been chained by one leg and one arm to his bed every night.

He has been denied sunshine and exercise, and was not allowed to receive any visitors until August 6, nine months after his arrest. Both in prison and during courtroom sessions, he has been kept isolated from the other eleven defendants in the case, including his wife. □