

# Intercontinental Press

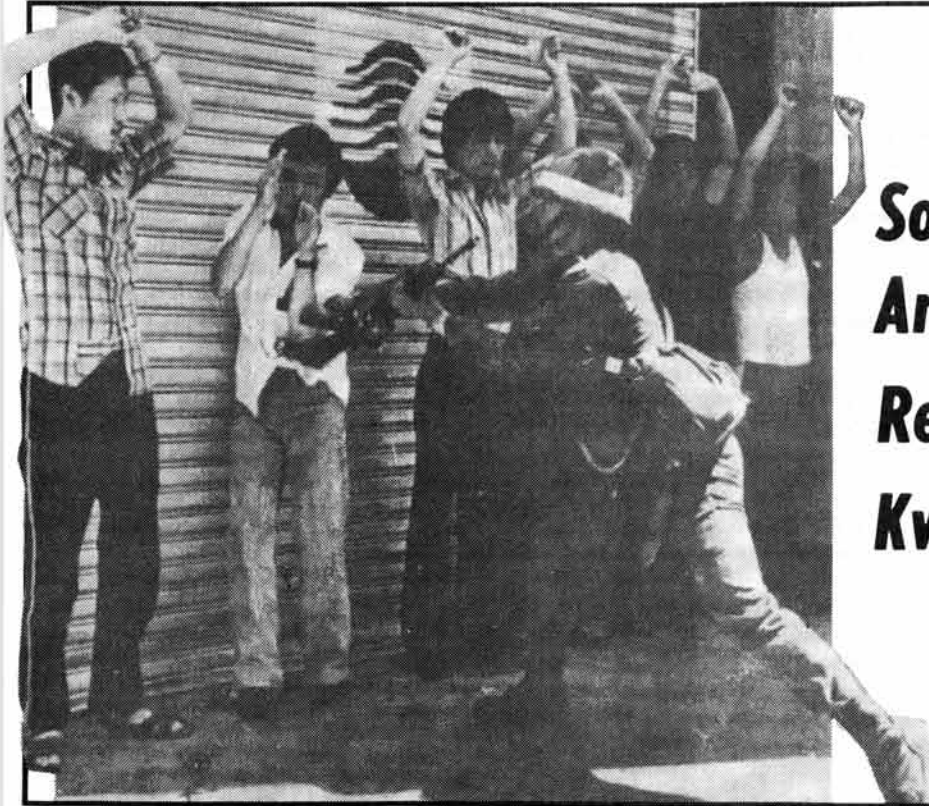
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Vol. 18, No. 22

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## **South Korean Army Deepens Repression Following Kwangju Uprising**

## **Student Protests Spark New Upsurge in South Africa**



Police attack students near Johannesburg.

**THE COMING SHOWDOWN IN THE CARIBBEAN**

## Is U.S. Pushing for Democracy in South Korea?

By David Frankel

South Korean troops have put down the insurrection in Kwangju. Although there was a sigh of relief in Washington, U.S. policy-makers are not even pretending that the crisis in Korea is over. *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman reported in a May 28 dispatch that "round-the-clock discussions on this situation in South Korea" were being held in Washington.

"The situation is dangerous almost beyond words," one "informed U.S. official" told *Washington Post* reporter Don Oberdorfer.

Comparing South Korea to Iran, Oberdorfer, in a May 27 article, described the "deepening pessimism" in Washington about the direction of events there. He said that the U.S. rulers have been "cast in the role of looking on helplessly while another strategically placed ally is afflicted with political instability and the threat of destruction from within."

There have been numerous commentaries in the mass media arguing that opposition to the dictatorship is so massive that some kind of democratic opening is essential if revolution is to be prevented. However, Gen. Chon Too Hwan, the strongman in Seoul, shows no sign of listening to such advice.

Washington's public stance has been to call on the South Korean generals to ease up and make some concessions. "Now that relative calm is returning," State Department spokesperson Thomas Reston said May 27, "we believe it is most important . . . that progress be resumed toward the establishment of a broadly based civilian government."

Do the U.S. rulers really mean it?

No doubt U.S. policy-makers wish they did have a "broadly based civilian government" in South Korea, instead of General Chon's gorillas. But Chon is what they have.

Unlike the liberal commentators in the capitalist media, the imperialists do not look at the problem of political forms in the abstract. They start with the actual social forces that are in conflict.

In South Korea today there are hundreds of thousands of workers, students, and urban poor who have demonstrated for an end to the military dictatorship, for the ouster of Chon, and for social measures to improve their conditions.

From U.S. imperialism's point of view, these forces are an enemy that threaten the political and social stability of South Korea—a stability that Washington has

repeatedly underlined as being "vital" to U.S. strategic interests. When officials in Washington talk about the desirability of democratic reforms, they mean reforms carried out by the existing dictatorship. They are opposed to the overthrow of the dictatorship by the Korean masses.

This was evident during the Kwangju uprising. Instead of declaring their support for the demands of the people of Kwangju, the imperialists warned against the supposed threat from North Korea—thus backing up Chon's propaganda against the rebels.

State Department representatives publicly expressed their "concern" over the Kwangju insurrection, in effect giving Chon a U.S. okay to try to suppress it.

A U.S. naval task force, headed by the aircraft carrier *Coral Sea*, and U.S. air force reinforcements were sent to back up the regime.

And at Chon's request, the U.S. commander in Seoul approved the release of Korean troops from the joint U.S.-Korean command for use against the people of Kwangju.

## El Salvador Coup Attempt Exposes U.S. Lies

By Fred Murphy

William G. Bowdler, assistant U.S. secretary of state for inter-American affairs, complained to the editors of the *New York Times* in a letter published April 29 that an earlier opinion column in the big bourgeois daily had given "the impression that the United States is arming the Government of El Salvador to maintain the status quo and thwart social progress. . . ."

"Nothing could be further from the truth," Bowdler protested.

Since a U.S.-backed coup replaced Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero last October 15, Washington has been on an all-out campaign to convince the American people and public opinion abroad that, as Bowdler put it, "The current military/civilian junta in El Salvador is attempting to carry out fundamental socio-economic reforms in the face of violent opposition from the extreme left and the extreme right."

Such arguments have been badly weakened by the Salvadoran army's murder, kidnapping, and terror against peasants in the countryside; by the shootings by troops and paramilitary forces of unarmed

As Oberdorfer put it in his May 27 article, "With 39,000 U.S. troops and enormous economic, political and strategic stakes at risk in Korea, Washington opted last week to place security and public order at the top of its immediate priority list."

Now that the Kwangju rebellion has been put down, the State Department is trying to appear as a defender of democracy in South Korea—without, however, directly criticizing the brutal repression now being meted out to the residents of Kwangju. It is publicly urging Chon to make concessions—just as President Carter made statements against the violation of human rights by former dictator Park Chung Hee.

But Carter never confused his propaganda stance with his basic attitude to the regime. One year ago, he visited Park in Seoul. Kim Young Sam, a bourgeois opposition leader, complained afterwards:

"Carter gave a big present to Park by coming here. . . ."

"We asked him not to come, precisely because it could encourage Park to strengthen oppression, and all this came true."

Shortly before Park's assassination, Carter also sent Secretary of Defense Harold Brown to Seoul with promises of additional U.S. military aid.

Despite Carter's 1976 campaign promise to withdraw U.S. troops from South Korea, they are still there. Anybody who thinks that General Chon will be given a harder time than Park—at least by Washington—is in for a big disappointment. □

worker and student demonstrators in the capital; and by the March 24 assassination—so far unpunished—of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero. But events in the weeks since Bowdler wrote to the *Times* have made the State Department's protestations on behalf of the Salvadoran junta sound even more ridiculous.

Disgruntled supporters of ex-dictator Romero attempted a coup on May 2. The ringleader, ex-intelligence and torture chief Maj. Roberto D'Abuisson, was jailed five days later, along with other conspirators.

Pressure for D'Abuisson's arrest came from the Duarte faction of the Christian Democratic Party, whose representatives on the junta provide the dictatorship with a civilian façade. They threatened to quit the junta if D'Abuisson and company were not arrested.

But D'Abuisson's detention laid bare where the real power lies in El Salvador. Virtually the entire military high command rebelled and forced the removal of junta member Col. Adolfo Majano as joint commander of the armed forces. Majano

had joined the Christian Democrats in pressing for the move against D'Abuisson.

As one garrison after another came out in defense of the conspirators, frantic negotiations took place under the auspices of U.S. Ambassador Robert White. Washington had initially backed the arrests, but feared the discontent among the military tops might provide an opening for a mass explosion against the dictatorship.

On May 14 a military judge declared there was "insufficient evidence" against D'Abuisson and his henchmen. They were all released. The Christian Democrats made no protest and have remained in their posts.

The coup attempt and its aftermath again exposed the claims of Bowdler and other U.S. officials that the Salvadoran junta is struggling against the "extreme right." It showed that in fact the "extreme right" is nothing other than the bulk of the Salvadoran officer corps and that it has veto power over the junta's decisions.

Far from being opposed to or separate from the armed forces, the right-wing terror squads operate with impunity and are directly tied to the military hierarchy. D'Abuisson himself is widely believed to head up the murderous White Warriors Union (UGB) and to have been responsible for the murder of Archbishop Romero.

As an interview with Salvadoran human-rights leader Marianella García Villas noted, "No member of these [right-wing paramilitary] groups has ever been brought before the courts for any crime, despite the fact that they openly take responsibility for assassinations and other crimes" (April 28 *IP/I*). The D'Abuisson affair could be called the exception that proves the rule!

The State Department's Bowdler also had high praise for the junta's alleged "far-reaching program of reform that will fundamentally alter outdated economic and social patterns." He singled out the "agrarian reform" as "one of the most significant such efforts in the hemisphere."

The so-called agrarian reform has been widely denounced as nothing more than the militarization of the countryside and the use of terror against peasants and farm workers who have organized against the dictatorship. The fraud was further exposed in mid-May when 900 technicians from the Salvadoran Institute of Agrarian Transformation (ISTA) went on strike to protest what they termed the "agrarian regression" under way in the countryside. While poor peasants are being driven off plots of less than ten hectares, the techni-

cians charged, big *haciendas* and coffee and cotton processing plants are being given back to the big landlords. On May 16

and 17, the striking ISTA employees were joined by thousands of workers from the Ministry of Agriculture. □

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### Correction

In last week's Selections From the Left column the logos for *Socialist Challenge* and *Socialist Voice* were inadvertently transposed.



### Generals Crack Down on Kwangju Insurgents

By Janice Lynn

South Korean paratroopers and infantrymen reoccupied the city of Kwangju on May 27. With tanks, helicopters, machine guns, and assault rifles, they recaptured the city's government building that had been occupied by Kwangju's workers and students.

The fierce three-hour gun battle left at least nineteen dead—almost all Kwangju citizens—and scores wounded. The unofficial death count in Kwangju since the mass demonstrations began on May 18 reached 280, with at least 2,000 injured. Kwangju hospitals are full of youths wounded by gunfire.

For more than a week, tens of thousands of demonstrators had poured into the streets to make known their opposition to martial law and to the excessive and indiscriminate brutality of the South Korean military. Some 200,000, out of Kwangju's population of 800,000, participated in these demonstrations.

On May 21, the student-led protesters—demanding an immediate lifting of martial law, an end to the hated U.S.-backed dictatorship, and the holding of free elections—succeeded in taking control of the city. They seized stocks of arms, drove out the army and police, and took over the government building.

For five days they were in control of the city. "We are fighting for restoration of democracy," they declared.

One American in Kwangju described the brutality of the paratroopers in dealing with the student demonstrations. "What struck me most was the random beating. They were hitting anyone, splitting skulls. I'm not surprised the people just rose up," the American said.

The paratroopers also stomped on the faces of those left dead to prevent identification.

The military's move into Kwangju set the stage for fierce repression and a calculated witch-hunt against the youth of the city. At least 1,740 Kwangju residents were detained at the beginning of the rebellion, and according to authorities some 730 are still in military custody. An additional 295 persons were arrested and jailed as suspected leaders and participants in the insurrection.

The country's top martial-law commander, General Lee Hi Song, ordered his troops to ferret out the "radical elements." And the South Korean government launched a campaign to place the blame for the rebellion on North Korean agents, although U.S. officials have reluctantly

admitted there is no evidence of any North Korean involvement.

Dissident leaders are convinced that some of the hundreds of students being rounded up and jailed will be forced to "confess" to North Korean connections and will be court-martialed.

One of the most prominent figures arrested was Kim Dae Jung, a leader of the bourgeois opposition New Democratic Party. It was his arrest on May 18 that especially angered Kwangju's residents.

The South Korean Martial Law Command announced that Kim was under investigation for instigating the student demonstrations that erupted in Seoul and Taejon May 1, culminating in the Kwangju insurrection (after his arrest). They claim there is evidence that Kim had planned to overthrow the government, a charge that carries the death penalty.

The U.S. backing for this repression has already drawn some public protest. In Washington, a coalition of human rights groups accused President Carter of supporting the "most vicious and fanatic elements" of the South Korean military.

And, at a May 29 memorial service in New York for the South Koreans killed under martial law, a dissident Korean leader criticized Washington's silence on the repression in Kwangju.

The U.S. government maintains 39,000 troops in South Korea. They collaborate with 600,000 South Korean troops, more than half of which are under the combined command headed by U.S. General John Wickham. It was Wickham who released about 7,800 South Korean troops to put down the rebellion in Kwangju.

The troops remain in Kwangju. They have set up roadblocks to check the identities of all travelers leaving or entering the city. Buses are being halted and passengers and their belongings are examined in a search for anyone the military thinks may be linked to the uprising.

The armed forces have begun a nationwide hunt for those it claims were behind the rebellion. This includes:

- House-to-house searches in Kwangju for anyone involved in organizing the demonstrations, and detention of any youths with long hair or soiled clothing.

- Rounding up students from Chonnam and Chosun universities in Kwangju and from the city's colleges. Anyone who participated in the demonstrations is to be questioned. Police are also guarding the subway entrances in Seoul, looking for students.

- The complete subjugation of Kwangju by South Korean troops to prevent further demonstrations or public meetings.

On May 31 the South Korean military formalized its rule over the country. The government announced the formation of a Special Committee for National Security Measures that officially put the military commanders on the same level as civilian authorities. Fifteen of the committee's twenty-five members are military officers. In fact, the military was already in full control of the government, with Prime Minister Park Choong Hoon and his cabinet simply providing a thin civilian veneer. The real rulers are Generals Chon Too Hwan and Lee Hi Song.

The entire country is now under martial law with soldiers guarding newspaper offices and radio stations and patrolling the streets. The press is censored and the universities are all closed.

Meanwhile, opposition to the military dictatorship continues. Antigovernment demonstrations were reported in the cities of Mokpo and Chonju, both near Kwangju. On May 28 and 29 20,000 people demonstrated in Mokpo despite the presence of armed troops.

Although the Carter administration has been mouthing empty phrases about favoring democracy in South Korea, this is nothing but a cover for its continued support for the Korean military dictatorship. What Washington is really afraid of is that the Korean masses will not opt for liberal reforms, but will demand the kind of social advances that would endanger capitalist rule and hence Washington's economic and political interests in the area.

The volatile situation in South Korea was underlined by correspondent Henry Scott Stokes in the May 25 *New York Times*. "... new unrest is likely in the sweatshops of the Seoul textile industry where six-day weeks and monthly salaries of \$50 are common," he wrote. "Discontent among workers may develop into new activism if students return to the streets."

This is what Washington is really worried about. U.S. officials have indicated that there is no question of Washington pulling out its troops. They are needed to intervene in case the dictatorship's army is unable to suppress the unrest. In fact, the day after the military moved against Kwangju, Washington added three new warships to its battle task force around the aircraft carrier *Coral Sea* located off the Korean coast.

But working people around the world have no stake in battling the Korean workers and students. Washington should bring all its troops home now and cease its support to the South Korean tyrants. All those arrested in connection with the Kwangju demonstrations should be immediately released. □

## South Korea—A Chronology of Protest and Repression

The antigovernment demonstrations and uprisings that have swept South Korea in recent weeks have been the most massive since the end of the Korean War. But these social explosions did not come without advance warning. They were preceded by months of mounting political and labor unrest.

The following chronology gives an indication of the sharpening political and social conflicts in South Korea that led up to the popular insurrection in Kwangju. The bulk of it (for the period from August 1979 to January 1980) is based on information in the April 30, 1980, issue of *Korea Communiqué*, published in Tokyo by the Japan Emergency Christian Conference on Korean Problems.

### 1979

**August 6.** More than 800 persons rally at Chunju Church in Andong to protest the illegal detention of Oh Won Choon, a member of the Catholic Farmers Association (CFA), and two others. Arrests follow. The same day, several staff members of the Christian Academy, who are on trial for reading "subversive" literature, testify in court that they were severely tortured.

**August 11.** About 250 women workers stage a sit-in at the headquarters of the bourgeois opposition New Democratic Party (NDP) to protest the closing of the YH Trading Company, where they are employed. They are attacked by more than 1,000 riot police, who brutally drag them out of the offices. One woman worker is killed.

**August 14.** Four journalists are beaten by police while covering a demonstration of shack dwellers protesting the Seoul municipal administration's plans to demolish their houses.

**August 15.** In protest against the police brutality on August 11, members of the Association of Families of Prisoners of Conscience begin a sit-in at Hanbit Church.

**August 20.** Nearly 10,000 persons attend a prayer meeting and mass sponsored by the Catholic Justice and Peace Committee at the Myongdong Cathedral in Seoul, the largest such meeting since 1975. It is followed by a demonstration of 300, at which support is expressed for the YH Trading Company workers and opposition is voiced against the regime's attempts to suppress the Catholic Farmers Association.

**August 24.** About 150 members of religious youth groups begin a thirty-six-hour sit-in to protest the suppression of the CFA and Urban Industrial Mission, to demand workers' rights, and to call for the release

of the arrested YH Trading Company workers.

**August 26.** More than 2,000 persons attend a "prayer meeting for workers and farmers" held in Yongdungpo, near Seoul.

**September 3-4.** Student demonstrations erupt in two cities. More than 800 protest in Chunchon and more than 2,000 in Taegu. Calls are raised for an end to the dictatorship of Park Chung Hee, for the rescinding of Emergency Decree No. 9, for the restoration of academic freedom, and for the government to take responsibility for the police brutality against the YH Trading Company workers. A number of students are arrested.

**September 4.** Fifteen political prisoners in Taegu Prison begin a hunger strike to protest their ill-treatment.

**September 10.** More than 1,800 persons attend a prayer meeting for human rights at Choongang Cathedral in Chonju.

**September 11.** More than 1,500 students demonstrate at Seoul National University. Police attack the demonstration and detain seventy students. Many other students and young people are detained for questioning in connection with "subversive printed material."

**September 20.** More than 2,000 students demonstrate at Seoul National University to demand the resignation of Park Chung Hee, the restoration of workers' rights, the readmission to the university of dismissed students, the restoration of free speech and press, an end to infiltration of the campus by the police and Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), dismissal of progovernment professors, and an end to compulsory military training on campus. Several participants are later detained.

**September 24.** Another demonstration at Seoul National University is held. It is broken up by police and some students are detained. Numerous other arrests follow leafletting and prayer services on behalf of detained CFA member Oh Won Choon.

**September 27.** Seventeen students at Yonsei University are detained for leafletting.

**October 2.** About 100 employees in each of two companies go on strike to protest against nonpayment of back wages.

**October 4.** Progovernment members of the National Assembly vote to expel opposition leader Kim Young Sam, the president of the NDP. The NDP members later tender their mass resignation from the assembly.

**October 9.** The regime claims to have uncovered a "large-scale rebel organization of students, intellectuals, and ex-

prisoners seeking to overthrow the government by urban guerrilla methods and establish a socialist state." About twenty persons alleged to be members of the South Korean National Liberation Front are arrested.

**October 13.** U.S. President Carter takes credit for the release of "tens of thousands" of political prisoners worldwide, including in South Korea.

**October 13-25.** U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown visits South Korea. Agreements are announced for the assembly in South Korea of F-5E and F-5F jet fighters. A joint communiqué reaffirms that South Korea's stability is "pivotal" to regional stability and "vital" to U.S. strategic interests.

**October 16.** Twenty-five more alleged members of the South Korean National Liberation Front are arrested. The same day, demonstrations by thousands of students begin in Pusan. They spread to the center of the city, as workers and other residents join in. Calls are raised for the ouster of the government. Police attack, leading to many injuries. Demonstrators respond by attacking police stations and other government buildings.

**October 17.** Martial law is declared in Pusan.

**October 18.** Mass demonstrations erupt in Masan, the bulk of the participants being workers.

**October 20.** The Masan area is placed under Garrison Decree, one step short of martial law. Altogether, 1,568 persons are known to have been detained in connection with the upsurges in Pusan and Masan.

**October 26.** President Park is assassinated in Seoul. Extraordinary martial law is proclaimed throughout most of the country. KCIA Director Kim Jae Kyu is arrested for Park's assassination (he is executed in May 1980). Washington declares its support for the new government, under acting President Choi Kyu Hah.

**October 28-November 8.** Scattered detentions of trade unionists and political activists in various parts of the country.

**November 10.** Some restrictions on non-political public meetings are lifted.

**November 13.** Twenty-three more persons accused of belonging to the South Korean National Liberation Front are arrested. They include members of the Catholic Farmers Association and a former trade unionist. The same day, five organizations issue a statement demanding democratic rights, for which eleven



persons are later detained.

*November 14.* The opposition NDP decides to return to the National Assembly and to participate in its functioning.

*November 16.* It is announced that all universities will be allowed to reopen classes.

*November 20.* Twelve persons are arrested in connection with a statement issued the day before by the Korea Political Prisoners Association and the Christian Association for Protection of Democracy.

*November 22.* Reporters at the Dong-a Broadcasting Company demand a free press and an end to government control.

*November 24.* Under the guise of a "wedding"—in which a member of the Democratic Youth Coalition was to marry "democracy"—a political meeting attended by more than 1,000 persons, was held in Myongdong. The meeting was a protest against the upcoming presidential election (in which acting President Choi would simply be confirmed by a rubber-stamp body). Police attack the meeting, detaining nearly 100.

*November 27.* Police raid the offices of the Korean Student Christian Federation and arrest sixty-four persons.

*November 28.* A prayer meeting in Kwangju is broken up by police and nineteen persons are detained.

*December 3.* The first meeting of a National Assembly committee is held to discuss possible revision's in the repressive constitution imposed by Park.

*December 5.* Students demonstrate at Chunbuk University and seventeen are detained.

*December 6.* Choi Kyu Hah is "elected" president.

*December 7.* The repressive Emergency Decree No. 9 is revoked by Choi "to promote national reconciliation" and sixty-eight persons detained under it are released. Kim Dae Jung, a leader of the NDP, is released from house arrest.

*December 10.* Thirty-one of the alleged members of the South Korean National Liberation Front are indicted. Shin Hyon Hwack is appointed prime minister.

*December 12.* Martial Law Commander Gen. Chung Seung Hwa and more than a dozen other top military officers are arrested after heavy fighting among military units. Generals Chon Too Hwan and Lee Hi Song emerge as the new strongmen of the military regime.

*December 19.* The government announces a general amnesty, affecting mostly nonpolitical prisoners.

*December 21.* President Choi promises that a new constitution will be in effect by the end of 1980.

*December 25.* About 130 employees of the Tongju Industrial Company, a textile firm in Pusan, stage a sit-in to protest nonpayment of wages.

1980

*January 4.* About 100 family members of workers employed by the Keum Kang Industrial Company demonstrate at the company to demand payment of back wages.

*January 21.* Thirty-eight leaders of local textile unions pass a resolution demanding the resignation of Kim Young Tae from the chairmanship of the National Textile Workers Union. Kim, who is also president of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions, is viewed as being too close to the government and the employers.

*January 25.* Eighteen persons are sentenced to prison terms ranging from one to four years for their participation in the November 24, 1979, "wedding" meeting, among them former Korean President Yun Po Sun (who a few days later is exempted from serving his sentence).

*February 29.* Civil rights are restored to 687 persons who had previously been placed under restrictions for their criticism of the regime.

*March 15.* About 700 persons attend a rally at the NDP headquarters in Seoul. NDP President Kim Young Sam warns the government that unless it undertakes moves toward democratic rights and free elections, the NDP would launch a campaign against the government. He accuses President Choi of trying to prolong the repressive system installed by Park.

*April 8.* About 150 clothing workers and members of the United Workers Union begin a sit-in at the Peace Market in Seoul. After ten days, they win a 29 percent wage increase.

*April 21.* Students at Seoul National University adopt a draft charter demanding democratic rights. Later in the week, about 3,000 coal miners demonstrate in Sabuk for three consecutive days; they occupy the downtown area. A police station is destroyed and a policeman killed in the course of the protests.

*April 26.* It is reported that so far this year there have been 719 strikes and labor disputes in the country, more than seven times the total number of strikes in all of 1979.

*April 26-27.* Nearly 1,000 workers at the Il-Shin Steel Company in Seoul stage a sit-in on the shop floor demanding wage increases and the ousting of the proemployer union president. They win most of their demands.

*April 29.* About 1,000 steelworkers demonstrate in Pusan to demand a 40 percent wage increase. They are attacked by police, and one steelworker and eleven policemen are injured. The same day, General Chon holds a news conference, emphasizing that martial law will remain in force.

*May 1.* More than 1,000 students at Sungkyunkwan University in Seoul demonstrate against forced induction into the military and for an end to martial law.

When they try to take their protest off the campus, they are attacked by police. Nearly 3,000 students demonstrate at Chungnam University in Taejon. After being attacked by riot police, they stage a sit-in at Taejon Railroad Station. About 1,500 demonstrate at Seoul National University, shouting slogans for an end to martial law. Students at Kyongbunk National University in Taegu demanded the release of two arrested students.

*May 2.* Student protests spread. About 1,000 students demonstrate at Chonbuk National University in Chonju. Thousands participate in similar actions at twelve other colleges and universities.

*May 4.* Thousands of students continue to defy the military authorities. Police are sent to Seoul National University and the Korea University, also in Seoul.

*May 7.* Students at four universities try to take their protests off the campuses. Several injuries are reported as police throw up cordons around the campuses.

*May 8.* Students are successful in breaking through police lines at several places. In Iri, about 3,000 students break out of Wongkwang University. More than 3,000 students do the same at Jungang and Kukmin universities in Seoul.

*May 13-15.* Up to 60,000 march and demonstrate on three consecutive days in Seoul demanding an end to martial law and the resignation of General Chon. As the student protesters are joined by workers and other citizens, tens of thousands also demonstrate in Taegu, Kwangju, Chonju, Suwon, Inchon, and other cities. Prime Minister Shin Hyon Hwack appears on television to promise an acceleration of constitutional reform.

*May 16.* Student leaders from around the country decide to temporarily suspend their street demonstrations, although some protests continue through the day.

*May 18.* The regime announces an extension of martial law throughout the country. All universities are closed and hundreds of political activists, student leaders, and others are arrested. About 5,000 students in Kwangju protest the repression.

*May 19.* Students in Kwangju are joined by other residents. About 50,000 demonstrate. Paratroopers and police attack the demonstrators, killing several.

*May 20.* Mass demonstrations continue in Kwangju. Protesters ram police barricades and burn down a television station. Troops kill many.

*May 21.* Up to 200,000 Kwangju residents surge through the streets. Seize arms and drive out police and army. Citizens' committees take over control of city.

*May 22.* Insurrection spreads to Mokpo, Hwasun, Polkyo, and other cities in South Cholla Province.

*May 27.* South Korean troops retake Kwangju. Begin round-up of insurgents.

*May 29.* About 20,000 persons demonstrate in Mokpo. □

## Two Protesters Killed by Police

### Black Student Strikes Sweep South Africa

By Ernest Harsch

Once again, the sound of automatic weapons' fire echoed through the streets of South Africa. As four white policemen sped away, two Black youths, one of them just eleven-years old, lay dead in Elsie's River, a poor Black residential area ten miles east of central Cape Town.

"They just began shooting," one witness said, describing how the four policemen opened fire on a crowd of protesting students May 28.

The killings in Cape Town came as the apartheid regime of Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha began a major crackdown on Black opposition in an effort to contain what has become the most widespread and sustained Black student protest movement since the massive urban rebellions of 1976 and 1977. Especially ominous for the white authorities has been the fact that the student boycotts have coincided with the outbreak of several major Black labor strikes.

Botha had already threatened such a crackdown four weeks earlier when he warned protesters that "they are playing with fire and that they are going to get hurt."

Besides numerous attacks on Black demonstrators by club-swinging police, the regime launched a wave of arrests of key Black figures.

Achmad Cassiem, a former president of the now-outlawed South African Students' Organisation (SASO), was detained without trial. Also detained were Curtis Nkondo, former president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo); Trevor Wentzel, an Azapo leader in Cape Town; and other Black leaders. Bishop Desmond Tutu, the general secretary of the anti-apartheid South African Council of Churches, was briefly arrested on May 26.

Altogether, more than 1,200 persons have been arrested since the large-scale student protests began in mid-April.

Coming two-and-a-half years after the regime banned SASO and other major Black organizations in October 1977—leading to a temporary lull in overt Black resistance—the participation of more than 100,000 Black students in class boycotts and protest rallies around the country marks a new rise in the freedom struggle.

Just as the 1976 rebellions were sparked by struggles by Black students in Soweto against the racist education system, so this new upsurge grew out of local disputes at two high schools in Cape Town.

In early February, students at Mountview and Crystal high schools in the Hanover Park section of Cape Town began

voicing their dissatisfaction over school fees, the inavailability of textbooks, and the poor quality of education in general. Initially, the student protesters were predominantly Coloured (of mixed ancestry), who together with Africans and Indians make up the oppressed Black majority.

It was not long before the students were holding mass meetings to discuss their grievances and appealing to African students, workers, and parents for support. The student demands became broader, as they attacked the entire basis of South Africa's system of apartheid education. While annual per capita expenditure for white students is nearly \$900, it is only \$280 for Coloureds and less than \$70 for Africans.

The students were also encouraged to press forward with their demands by events beyond South Africa's borders. In late February, Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union won a sweeping victory at the polls in Zimbabwe, routing the candidates backed by the South African regime. "The election victory of former guerrilla chief Robert Mugabe in neighboring Zimbabwe," *Washington Post* correspondent Caryle Murphy reported from Cape Town May 25, "profoundly affected the consciousness of blacks and contributed to the mood behind the current unrest."

By March, sporadic protests by Coloured students had spread to schools in Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth. On April 7, representatives from nineteen Coloured high schools in Cape Town met to coordinate their efforts. They established the Pupils' Representative Committee, a student coordinating body patterned after the now-banned Soweto Students Representative Council, which spearheaded the 1976 rebellions in Soweto.

On April 19, representatives from more than sixty schools in the Cape Town and Johannesburg areas issued a formal call for a nationwide student strike. By that day, some 25,000 students were already boycotting classes. Within a week, the number had risen to more than 130,000 in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth, Pietermaritzburg, East London, Pretoria, and elsewhere. Most of the protesters were Coloured, but many Indian students and some Africans also joined in.

A number of key Black organizations came out in support of the student strike, including Azapo, the Azanian Students Organisation, and the Congress of South African Students. On May 2, about 1,000

teachers in the Cape Town area decided to "down tools" in support of the students.

Initially the police maintained a low profile, for fear that an attack on the students might simply spur resistance to the regime. But as the protest movement continued to gain momentum—and to win greater support from parents, teachers, and community leaders—the police started to crack down more severely. An April 29 rally of 2,000 Coloured students near Johannesburg, for instance, was attacked by police wielding clubs, and more than 600 of the students were arrested. Such attacks became increasingly common.

Responding to these attacks, the "Committee of 61," an informal strike coordinating body, termed them acts of "naked aggression." It protested that "when we plan peaceful protest the State apparatus steps in with FN rifles, teargas canisters, dogs, pistols and riot police in camouflage uniforms and busts up our peaceful meetings."

For a brief period in mid-May, the student strike appeared to be wavering; with some exceptions, the strike had not yet won much active participation from the more socially powerful African population.

By May 19, however, African students began to join in greater numbers. On that day, the University of Fort Hare was closed down by the authorities in response to a student strike. Two days later African students near Bloemfontein took to the streets, set up barricades, and attacked symbols of white authority. Student boycotts spread to three other Black universities.

This encouraged Coloured students to resume their boycotts. On May 24, some 4,000 Coloured students converged on a "white" shopping district in Cape Town, chanting slogans against racist education and the "exploitative" economic system.

The ferment also began to extend to other social layers. On May 26, fifty-three Black and white religious figures, including Bishop Desmond Tutu, staged an illegal rally in Johannesburg to protest the arrest of Rev. John Thorne, a Coloured minister who had come out in support of the student protesters. All fifty-three were arrested, charged, and released.

Black workers also went into action. In Durban, which has a history of turbulent labor struggles, Black textile workers walked off their jobs in late May to press for higher wages. Several Black strikes also broke out in Cape Town.

Pointing to this convergence of Black student and worker struggles, correspondent Murphy reported from Cape Town, "Many observers fear that the troubles during the past two weeks may foreshadow what the 1980s will bring to this racially divided country—growing militancy among black workers that disrupts the economy and recurrent protests by students and other youth who cannot find jobs." □



## The Coming Showdown in the Caribbean

[The following statement was adopted May 24 by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee.]

\* \* \*

An historic confrontation is shaping up in the Caribbean and Central America.

On one side are millions of workers and peasants, who have said "enough!" to the poverty and tyranny imposed on them for decades by Washington and Wall Street.

On the other side is the U.S. government speaking for the business interests whose profits are bloated by the superexploitation of the peoples of Latin America. Washington is urgently seeking to free its hands to use massive military force against the advancing revolutionary fighters.

The socialist revolution that dawned in the Americas with the Cuban victory in 1959 is now being extended in Nicaragua. A revolutionary-minded government has come to power on the island of Grenada. The Salvadoran workers and peasants are rising, arms in hand, determined to take the same road.

These freedom struggles challenge the right of U.S. big business to grow fat off the labor and natural resources of the peoples south of the U.S. border. As a result, Washington is determined to prevent Nicaragua from becoming another Cuba, and El Salvador from becoming another Nicaragua.

Washington's stubborn refusal to allow the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America to run their own governments, control their own resources, and chart their own destinies carries a grave threat of war. Because the imperialists know that in the final analysis they *must* throw U.S. military might into the battlefield—or face the "loss" of El Salvador and other countries to the people who live and work there. Arming subservient local dictators is not enough, as shown last year when the shah of Iran and Washington's puppet Somoza in Nicaragua fell before massive popular insurrections.

Three big obstacles stand in the way of Washington's war plans:

- the unwillingness of American workers to fight and die in another Vietnam,
- the overwhelming opposition of working people throughout Latin America to bullying by Yankee gunboats, and
- the solidarity pledged by Cuba's revolutionary government and people to all those under fire from imperialism.

So, while escalating the U.S. military presence in the Caribbean and Central America, President James Carter has launched a propaganda offensive to slander Cuba, to convince working people

that the extension of the Cuban revolution is a threat to freedom.

For its part, revolutionary Cuba has responded with the biggest mobilizations ever held in Latin America. The latest—the May 17 March of the Fighting People—brought out some five million people, half the island's population. "Like Cuba, Vietnam, and Nicaragua—El Salvador will win," they declared. "We will never surrender." And, "Fidel pitch, because Carter can't hit."

For sure, Carter cannot get five million Americans—or even a fraction of that number—to demonstrate for his policy toward Latin America. And it's no wonder.

Why should U.S. workers fight our brothers and sisters in Latin America? We own no sugar refineries, no plantations, no copper mines, no factories there. The profits coined from the sweat and blood of Latin American workers and peasants never find their way to our pockets. The plunder of imperialist exploitation serves only to strengthen the same giant U.S. corporations that attack our wages, jobs, and union rights here at home.

Why should U.S. Blacks go to war against Cuba—the only society in the Americas that has uprooted racism—against Grenada—the first free Black land of the Caribbean—or against Nicaragua—which is treating its national minorities with equality and dignity for the first time?

Why should U.S. youth serve as cannonfodder against these revolutionary societies, where literacy and education are given top priority and where youth are shaping a future free from exploitation and injustice?

To see where working people in the United States should stand, we must dispel Washington's smokescreen of lies and look at what has really been happening in the Caribbean and Central America.

### Socialist Revolution Opened

Twenty-one years ago, Cuba broke the chains of imperialist domination. The socialist revolution has made possible sweeping economic and social advances—jobs for all, free medical care, free education for all, low rents, the outlawing of racist discrimination, and big strides toward equality for women. These despite Washington's blockade and the horrible poverty that Cuba, like all countries in Latin America, had been reduced to by U.S. imperialism.

Cuba became a beacon for workers and peasants throughout the hemisphere, proving what could be accomplished by throwing off foreign domination and eliminating

capitalism. It has won further prestige among the oppressed by sending brigades of teachers, doctors, and technicians to help other countries combat the bitter fruits of imperialist oppression, and sending internationalist fighters to help countries such as Angola combat the troops of imperialism.

Military invasion, sabotage, assassination plots, and attempts at economic strangulation have proved unable to roll back this revolution. Nor has Washington been able to crush the revolutionary spirit of the Cuban workers and peasants and their leadership.

### Extension of the Revolution

For two decades the Cuban government has carried out an internationalist foreign policy. It has sought to *defend* Cuba by *extending* the socialist revolution.

Today, Cuba no longer stands alone in the Americas. As Fidel Castro recently put it, "Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba are three giants rising up to defend their right to independence, sovereignty and justice, on the very threshold of imperialism."

The government brought to power by the Nicaraguan workers and peasants last summer, under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), is pressing forward social and economic measures to improve the lives of the vast majority of people. The biggest effort throughout the country right now is a literacy crusade that aims to teach more than half the population to read and write.

The FSLN-led government has consistently put the interests of the workers and peasants first, despite resistance from the capitalists. The Sandinistas have relied above all on the mobilization, organization, and class-conscious education of the toilers.

The FSLN leaders, standing on the shoulders of their Cuban forerunners, are consciously charting a course toward consolidating the second workers state in the Western hemisphere.

In Grenada, the government led by the New Jewel Movement has defended its right to take Cuba as a model. It has adopted the same internationalist positions as the Cubans on the big questions of world politics. The deepening revolution in Grenada is having a special impact among the millions of Blacks in the Caribbean as well as among Blacks in the United States.

These revolutionary victories have raised political consciousness, self-confidence, and combativity throughout the region—from Honduras and Guatemala to St. Lucia and Dominica, from Guadeloupe and Martinique to Puerto Rico



and Belize. The strongest movement has developed in El Salvador, where today the working class and rural poor are fighting to overthrow the murderous U.S.-backed dictatorship.

Events are educating and bringing forward new class-struggle leaders. Thousands of revolutionists are trying to learn the lessons of Nicaragua and apply them to making the socialist revolution in their own countries.

As Fidel has explained, the extension of the socialist revolution in this hemisphere is also profoundly felt inside Cuba. No longer alone and isolated, the vast majority of Cubans are inspired with new hope, confidence, and revolutionary commitment.

#### **Washington Threatens War**

These same events inspire only alarm, fear, and hatred among the U.S. rulers. Throughout this century, big business in the United States has considered the Caribbean its private lake. U.S. corporations claim the right to strip the natural resources of these countries and to appropriate the wealth produced by the labor of the Central American and Caribbean masses. The profits of the corporate overlords are swelled at the expense of the health, welfare, and democratic rights of the millions of people who live there.

The drive to protect capitalist profits at all costs is behind the escalated U.S. military threats and the media barrage of lies and slanders against Cuba.

Last fall the Carter administration raised a demagogic hue and cry over an alleged Soviet "combat brigade" in Cuba. The capitalist politicians and big-business press never mentioned, of course, the outrageous violation of Cuban sovereignty by the U.S. Navy's occupation of Guantánamo against the explicit demand of the Cuban people and the Cuban government that these forces get off Cuban soil.

Next came U.S. military maneuvers in the Caribbean, including the landing of U.S. Marines on the beaches of Guantánamo, clearly a practice invasion of the island. Spy flights by Washington's SR-71 reconnaissance planes, violating Cuban airspace, were stepped up. And a special Pentagon command center was set up in Key West, Florida, to centralize U.S. military operations for the purpose of intervening in Central America and the Caribbean.

Then, in April of this year, Washington began winding up its Big Lie machine around the events at the Peruvian embassy in Havana and the subsequent emigration of thousands of Cubans. The U.S. rulers sought to convince the oppressed around the world that the Cuban economy is in shambles, that social conditions are unbearable and getting worse, and that a brutal dictatorship tyrannizes the Cuban people. The imperialists hoped to tarnish the moral appeal of the Cuban

revolution and undermine solidarity with it.

Naturally the big-business press covered up the fact that millions of impoverished victims of imperialism throughout Latin America seek entry into the United States every year because of the higher living standards here. In Cuba, thousands have left while millions voluntarily choose to stay. If Washington opened the doors to immigration from any other country in Latin America, as Fidel has pointed out, it would "empty out overnight."

The Cuban government turned the tables on Carter. It exposed, before the whole world, that the obstacle to Cubans who want to leave the island is Washington's refusal to grant visas. Cuba reaffirmed its position that any Cuban is free to emigrate. As Fidel declared on May Day in Havana, "the building of socialism is a task for absolutely free men and women and is absolutely voluntary."

By opening the port of Mariel, the Cuban government put Washington on the spot. Would it accept the thousands of Cubans arriving by boat? Carter's abrupt reversal from offering "open arms" to cracking down on those who bring Cubans here, and his announced intention to deport thousands of the Cubans who have arrived, are sure to contribute to the radicalization of Cubans in this country and their disillusionment with capitalism's "land of the free."

Washington's hypocrisy was further underlined by its treatment of thousands of Haitians who have been refused visas and political asylum by the Carter administration. The racist double standard toward these Black immigrants has been put under a national spotlight.

The attempt to tar the Cuban revolution got another jolt when Blacks in Miami rose up in rebellion against police brutality and racism. In the very city where tens of thousands of Cubans are arriving, they have been starkly confronted with the reality of life in capitalist society.

Along with its propaganda blitz, Washington also launched the "Solid Shield 80" military exercises in the Caribbean. This operation was even more extensive and provocative than the U.S. maneuvers last fall. This time, however, after the April 19 demonstration of more than one million in Cuba, Carter backed down from the planned practice invasion of Cuba at Guantánamo.

Right now, Washington is stepping up its military intervention in El Salvador to shore up the dictatorship there against a developing armed uprising of the workers and peasants. Washington has poured in millions of dollars in military aid, along with hundreds of U.S. "advisers." With the assistance of the dictatorships in Honduras and Guatemala, preparations are being laid for a military invasion if necessary.

To prevent El Salvador from following the Nicaraguan road, the U.S. government

is prepared to slaughter tens of thousands, just as it backed Somoza's bloodbath during his last year in power.

Washington is also deploying economic weapons in the Caribbean. Next to the vindictive blockade of Cuba, the harshest measures have targeted the people of Jamaica. Washington has sought to "destabilize" the Manley regime there because it has had friendly relations with Cuba.

Under pressure of the world economic crisis, Jamaica has had to borrow tens of millions of dollars at high interest from the imperialist banks. Now the bankers are withholding further loans because the Manley government has refused to accept austerity conditions dictated in Washington.

The bankers have seized the toiling masses of Jamaica by the throat, and hope to bring the government down and replace it with one more directly serving imperialist interests. But the draconian measures may backfire, bringing about a revolutionary explosion of the Jamaican masses.

#### **Mobilizations to Defend Revolution**

The people of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada are preparing to defend themselves and their gains. Fidel has said that if imperialism invades, it will face "another Vietnam." And every Cuban knows, as they pledged so often during that war, "For Vietnam, we will give even our own blood."

The Sandinistas and the New Jewel Movement have likewise declared that they view an attack on each other, on El Salvador, or on Cuba as an attack against themselves.

Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada are all strengthening popular militias and organizing their entire populations to repel invading forces.

The series of three mass mobilizations in Cuba in a single month has shown the entire world the overwhelming support for the revolutionary government. By these class-struggle methods, the Cuban leadership has maximized the possibilities for sympathy and solidarity from working people in other countries.

#### **Stakes for U.S. Working People**

Washington's aggressive moves in the Caribbean and Central America pose a deadly threat to working people in the United States and throughout the world. Workers here are the ones who would be fighting and dying for corporate profits in any new Vietnams.

We have no interest in maintaining a military base on Cuban soil. We gain nothing from the U.S. Navy's use of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques for bombing and shelling practice. Our needs are not served by sending American soldiers to try to crush fellow workers and farmers in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

Rather, the social gains won by working people in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada

offer an inspiring example to workers here. Our interests lie in fighting here—as they have done—to bring to power a government that represents *our* class and meets *our* needs, not those of big business.

When the Cuban and Nicaraguan fighters strike a blow against Yankee imperialism, they strike a blow against the same monopolies that we are up against in this country. Their gains are our gains. Their conquests are our conquests. And their struggles *strengthen* our struggles against our common enemy.

This is the challenge before the labor movement, the Black and Latino organizations, antidraft and anti-nuclear organizations, students, and all those in this country who support the right of the peoples of Latin America to determine their own destiny:

We have a responsibility to expose and

refute the lies churned out by Washington and the media.

We have a responsibility to organize the broadest possible solidarity campaign of material aid to help our Nicaraguan brothers and sisters reconstruct their war-torn country.

We have a responsibility to mobilize united emergency protest actions whenever Washington escalates its threats or begins to deploy its interventionist forces.

The unions and organizations of the oppressed should be in the forefront of this effort.

We should join with the revolutionary peoples throughout Latin America in demanding:

U.S. out of Guantánamo!

Stop the spy flights!

End the blockade against Cuba!

U.S. hands off Central America and the Caribbean!

anniversary of the revolution on July 19.

The close relationship between the mass organizations of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants and the Sandinista army was expressed by the demonstrators with the slogan "one single army." This was the massive reply when the possibility was raised of intervention by U.S. imperialism, aided by the dictatorships in Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala.

The literacy workers, despite the counter-revolutionary terrorism aimed at them, have a higher morale than ever. Six *brigadistas* from the People's Literacy Army (EPA) who were with Gregorio Andrade when he was kidnapped and murdered, were in the grandstand at the Managua demonstration. They vowed to continue with their work in the literacy campaign—known here as the second people's insurrection.

Andrade was savagely tortured and stabbed more than fifteen times by the counterrevolutionaries. But the *brigadistas*—youths of thirteen and fourteen years old—reflect the inexhaustible will to struggle of the Nicaraguan people.

Popular anger at Andrade's brutal murder was indicated in the demonstration with shouts of "To the wall! To the wall!"

A law introduced by the July 19 Sandinista Youth, and approved by the Council of State, has fixed penalties at double the normal ones for anyone attacking *brigadistas*. The application of the law will be in the hands of people's juries, advised by a judge.

Borge, listing thirty-two Somozaist encampments in Honduras, said that defense along the Honduran border had been reinforced. He also warned those who would dare invade Nicaragua—whether they be Somozaists or "mercenaries coming from over there"—a clear allusion to U.S. imperialism. □

## 'Against Every Aggression, More Revolution!'

### Nicaraguans Protest Murder of Young Teacher

By J. Milan

MANAGUA—Thousands of people turned out in Nicaragua's main cities May 23 to protest the cold-blooded murder of a young teacher in the literacy campaign, Gregorio Andrade. "Against every aggression, more revolution!" was their chant.

Former National Guardsmen of ex-dictator Anastasio Somoza slipped across the Honduran border to carry out the assassination. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) called for mass mobilizations to answer the outrage, and in less than forty-eight hours there were close to 100,000 marchers here in Managua.

Tomás Borge, in his speech at the Plaza of the Revolution, laid out the tasks of the people and their mass organizations in the face of the plans and activities of the counterrevolution. The FSLN called for:

- Stepping up the ideological and political struggle against anticommunist demagoguery. Such demagoguery is utilized in particular by Alfonso Robelo, who recently resigned from the Junta of National Reconstruction, and by the capitalist entrepreneurs organized in the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP).

- A qualitative leap in the political work and vigilance of the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs) organized in each neighborhood.

- A major push to organize militias in the cities and the countryside.

Since the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship last July, every attack by imperialism or the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie against the Nicaraguan people and the FSLN has

been answered with a deepening of the revolutionary process and the extension of the power and organization of the mass movement. In response to Borge's call, the CDSs are organizing meetings to discuss how they can "play a strategic role" in the tasks of the revolution.

There has been an appreciable strengthening of the militias in recent days, and not only in Managua, where the CDSs have promised that there will be more than 50,000 militia members organized by the



Barricada

Literacy volunteer teaches peasants after day in fields.



## Protester Killed in Paris

### French Students Mobilize Against Racist Laws

By Lisa Hickler

PARIS—On Wednesday, May 14, 15,000 students marched through the streets here demanding a halt to police attacks on students and to racist legislation against foreign students.

This action, the largest student demonstration in France since 1976, was held the day after police entered Jussieu University and attacked students conducting a strike there.

One protester fell off a ledge to his death while fleeing the police.

The Jussieu protest was the latest in a series of student actions responding to the government's expulsion of foreign students from French universities. There are 30,000-40,000 immigrant students in France, mostly from North and West Africa.

Last year the Bonnet law sought to weed out foreign students by initiating entrance exams in French for all entering students.

This year the Imbert decree established a national study to determine a quota of foreign students for each of the universities. This was coupled with the government's attacks on foreign workers in general and on the public university system and social services.

The strike at Jussieu University protested the expulsion of a Moroccan student.

As word of the May 13 police murder at Jussieu spread, emergency meetings were held to discuss a response. Meetings of approximately 300 students each were held at Nanterre, Tolbiac, and Villanetouse. Strikes and protests occurred at Grenoble, Ponthéon, Sorbonne, Vincennes, and elsewhere. In high schools, meetings mobilized students for the May 14 action.

The May 14 demonstration demanded that foreign students be able to enroll wherever they want and that all racist laws and decrees be repealed.

Some contingents at the demonstration also called for a general strike of students and demanded the Giscard government be thrown out.

The action was organized by the strike committee of Jussieu University and supported by the National Union of French Students (UNEF).

March organizers were concerned that police violence would be unleashed on protesters as it had been at Jussieu University the day before. But the government had clearly decided by that time that it could not risk an all-out attack on the march. It proceeded to its conclusion without being broken up.

However, several students were injured in confrontations with the police. In one

such incident, a small group of protesters broke away from the demonstration and overturned a police van outside a Parisian police station. Approximately forty cops quickly assembled in the street in riot gear and charged the students.

Students, reporters, and passersby scrambled to avoid being caught under a police club.

In an interview, Pierre Raiman, a student at Tolbiac University and member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), explained that the JCR had taken major responsibilities for organizing the march and mobilizing students against the racist attacks against education. The JCR is a Trotskyist youth group in solidarity

with the Revolutionary Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International.

JCR members attended meetings leading up to the demonstration. Raiman said they "explained that students should not remain separate from the rest of the working class, and that the students should call for a meeting and a demonstration of the workers organizations together with the students against the government."

This proposal, he said, "was rather popular in the universities because most of the students understand that they cannot win their fight against the government just by their own strength alone. They need the workers movement to change this government and repeal the racist laws."

The May 14 demonstration occurred the day after the General Confederation of Workers (CGT), one of the large union confederations in France, organized a one-day strike that closed down many enterprises in Paris and brought 50,000 workers into the streets to protest government cutbacks in health care. □

### May 14 'Day of Action': Victory or Defeat?

### British Socialists Discuss Protest by Unions

By Phil Hearse

[On May 14, between one and two million British workers went on strike and more than 100,000 demonstrated as part of a Day of Action called by the Trades Union Congress (TUC). The one-day protest was against cuts by the Conservative government in spending for social programs, and against the antiunion Employment Bill.

[The strike was strongest in Scotland, where some 250,000 took part, and in the industrial areas of northern England. Demonstrations took place in Glasgow, where 20,000 marched, and in Edinburgh, where 7,000 participated in what was probably the largest demonstration there since World War II.

[Nearly 10,000 people marched in Sheffield, including more than 3,000 miners and 1,500 engineering workers and steelworkers. Nine thousand people demonstrated in the Manchester area, and there were numerous demonstrations in London. Protests also took place in smaller cities—1,400 marched in Aberdeen, 1,000 in Barnsley, 3,000 in Bristol, 2,000 in Bradford, 1,400 in Nottingham.

[The following article evaluates the impact of the May 14 action. It appeared in the May 22 issue of *Socialist Challenge*, the newsweekly sponsored by the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.]

14 May represented by far the largest action so far against the Tories. At first sight, between one and two million on strike and tens of thousands of demonstrators against Tory policies hardly represents a "victory" for the Tories.

But in the period leading up to the Day of Action, the Tory leadership and the unprecedented press barrage upped the stakes enormously.

A challenge was thrown at the feet of the TUC leaders—to carry out an enormous mobilisation of their members, or have 14 May counted as a defeat. [TUC head Len] Murray and Co. entirely failed to rise to that challenge; the only effective reply they could have made was to go all out; to vehemently denounce the Tory press; to make it clear they were not prepared to be bullied.

But instead the TUC leadership prevaricated.

The strategy of the *Express*, the *Sun*, the *Mail* and the rest was to appeal over the heads of the trade union leaders to their members. The mass media effectively said to rank-and-file trades unionists: "Murray is leading you nowhere. On 14 May you will lose a day's pay for nothing. Not many people will strike. Don't put yourself on a limb for nothing."

This line of argument was backed by the

decision of the High Court against the print unions; that their instruction to members at Express Newspapers to strike was illegal. NATSOPA's refusal to withdraw the instruction provided the high point of resistance to Thatcher's rule on 14 May, and Express management duly withdrew its threat to sack the printworkers who took action.

The only reason that the Tories' onslaught could be effective was because most of the unions had made strike action *optional*. They did not issue clear instructions for mass strike action. Yet it was not only a firm lead at this level that was lacking.

Millions and millions of copies of the Tory newspapers argued the case against the TUC action, but hardly anything was done by the unions to counter this with arguments of their own.

They should have produced tens of thousands of leaflets. Union districts should have organised hundreds upon hundreds of meetings to explain the case for 14 May. In the event the case of the unions, the working class point of view, went by default.

In light of this, the fact that *so many* thousands of workers took strike action is remarkable, and represents a glimpse of the deep-seated hatred and frustration with which this government is regarded.

The response to the call was uneven, area by area, sector by sector. The biggest response came in areas like Scotland, South Wales, South Yorkshire and Merseyside. This repeated the pattern of the general election, reflecting the militant traditions of those areas. More than that, it showed that where there was a militant lead; where there was even the inkling of a class-conscious leadership—as in South Wales and the Yorkshire mines—there was a good response.

By raising the stakes of this conflict, the Tory offensive put the TUC leadership on the spot. Murray and the other members of the General Council could only have turned the situation around by going all-out to have a massive mobilisation of the rank and file. This they were not prepared to do; they never wanted a one-day general strike or anything like it.

As Murray said: "We achieved everything we wanted to on 14 May." Precisely. Nothing scares the union bureaucrats more than the thought of the membership, in their millions, taking strike action. The dynamic towards a general strike petrifies them. They wanted just a "protest." If the propaganda barrage of the press made that protest ineffective, that was a price they were prepared to pay.

There was a deep-seated cynicism about the Day of Action, even among the militants. The reason for that is obvious. The arguments of the Tory press—that one-day action would affect little—struck a chord. The one-day action was completely unconnected with any *perspective* for on-going

action or long-term plan to kick out the Tories.

14 May, as a "protest," had no specific demands attached to it. It was simply "to raise the level of public debate," and to "get the government to change course."

Such a perspective had an air of complete unreality about it. Anyone with the least bit of sense could see that the Tories are not going to be turned aside by "protest." This is the most determined and right-wing government since the war. What is needed is mass industrial action leading to a general strike. That's the only thing which will succeed in throwing the Tories out.

Whatever the short-term demoralisation resulting from the relative lack of impact of 14 May, it will continue to have reverberations inside the labour movement. Thousands of people could see that they

were being let down by their leaders; they could see that if a fight against the media offensive took place, it was possible to build a much bigger action.

Socialists have the job of turning this frustration from demoralisation and anger into determination to push the struggle forward. We have to continue a fight inside the labour movement to commit it at every level to mass action against the Tories. The targets have to be the special Labour Party conference on 31 May, and then beyond that the Trades Union Congress in the autumn.

But it is impossible to fight the right wing and to commit the trade union leaders to action without building an organised left wing in the unions. That is the key to the whole situation. Without an organised left, 14 May will be not a beginning, but the precursor of more demoralisation and defeat. □

## 'All the Oppressed of This Earth Support You'

### Iranian Students Hail Blacks in Miami

[The following is excerpted from a statement by the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line released in Tehran on May 23.]

\* \* \*

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate; the great people of Islam; the great nation of Iran.

The rising tide of the Islamic revolution of Iran has captured the Great Satan—the American beast—inside its own country, the United States.

The Carter administration . . . has treated American Blacks—who are in the camp of the oppressed—in the most savage way possible.

Carter—this professional criminal and so-called supporter of human rights—has denied Blacks their most elementary human rights.

You Blacks, who are so innocently caught in the diabolical hands of Carter, you must know that you are not alone. For all the oppressed of this earth support you.

And Islam supports you . . . you, who are fighting to be free from the hands of the oppressors.

Today, we in Iran and you in the United States, and all the oppressed throughout the world, must fight in the same front against all the oppressors—especially the criminal American government. With this unity, we can throw these professional criminals into the dustbin of history.

Blacks . . . the great Khomeini has declared, "You oppressed of the world, whatever color or creed, from whatever country, . . . do not be afraid of the big noise America and the other oppressors are making."

You American Blacks, who have today risen for your human rights, you should know that your struggle today is not only a struggle of Blacks, but is a struggle of the oppressed of the entire world against their oppressors. It is the way to the salvation of humanity, a salvation which will come about with the annihilation of our oppressors.

And this is only possible when all the oppressed join together in one front, a united front.

The Islamic revolution of Iran is a good example for you and for all the oppressed. Our Imam has said that this great mobilization, this general Islamic mobilization will be a pattern for all the oppressed of the world.

You American Blacks, it is the police of Carter's criminal government who kill you. It is the judicial system that makes criminals out of innocent people and damns the oppressed. And it is this same government that launches a military attack against our nation.

We have taken the American spies as hostages until the treacherous [shah] Mohammed Reza, and the wealth that he has stolen from Iran, supported by the United States, is returned to Iran. And when this is done, the hostages will be released.

But the uncultured government of Carter not only does not respond to this rightful demand of ours so that he can save the lives of the hostages, but he militarily attacks our country—a country which has already given so many martyrs.

Once more, we unconditionally support you—the oppressed Blacks of the United States. □



## Militancy Remains After Quebec Referendum

By Colleen Levis

MONTREAL—Standing and waving Quebec flags, the thousands of largely young people gathered in the Paul Sauvé Arena on May 20 shouted: "It's only the beginning. We will continue to fight!"

That was their response to the tears of defeat shed by Premier René Lévesque following the majority vote for the "no" position in the May 20 referendum on negotiations for Quebec's sovereignty, tears that were not appreciated, tears that were even booed.

It was a strange victory for the federalist forces. Their meeting in Verdun of 3,000 showed none of the enthusiasm expressed by the 15,000 "yes" supporters, who were supposed to be the "losers."

Despite the millions spent by the largest corporations and the federal government, despite the majority for "no," the crowd at the Paul Sauvé Arena and the millions of Québécois who watched the meeting on television did not feel defeated. They felt a certain sense of deception and some anger, but also a desire to struggle. Because they know that the workers, the youth, the students, the women are going to go into action to repulse federal attacks against their national rights. And they know that the federal government has already been forced to announce its intention to negotiate changes in the status of Quebec.

Leaving the arena people were already drawing the lessons. A worker next to me, in his fifties, said: "These damn capitalists

can't even wage an honest campaign." Another worker added: "That's right, because Air Canada and the Canadian National Railway spent a fortune to support them." A third chimed in: "In two years this will be like Allende, everything will be turned back. That's because the people were not armed. We have to be prepared."

On the lawn everyone was talking. I asked people why they thought "yes" had lost, why they had voted "yes," what should be done now.

All the answers were in the same vein: We have to educate the French-speaking majority, we have to counter the federalist advertising, we have to overcome the fear, we have to organize solidarity among Québécois, we have to defeat the "colonized" spirit.

A young trade-unionist, who is a veteran of six years of activism in the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), told me his "yes" vote was a vote for total independence. He felt that the struggle for independence especially had to go through the union movement. Describing himself as a socialist, he felt that the Parti Québécois (PQ) was just a stage. He is for a workers party and believes that one will soon be organized through the union federations.

A thousand youth in the street began a spontaneous demonstration. The six lanes of Pius IX Street were filled. On motorcycles, in cars, on foot people honked and chanted: "We are proud to be Québécois,"



Enthusiastic crowd filled Paul Sauvé Arena in Montreal.

Colleen Levis/Lutte Ouvrière

"Trudeau, Ryan, sell-outs," "Up your ass, Canada," and "FLQ, Help."<sup>2</sup>

The march passed apartments with "yes" posters in their windows. In response to chants of "Québécois into the streets," people came out of their apartments to join the demonstration. When the demonstration arrived at St. Denis Street it had grown to 2,000. In total, the march covered fifteen miles, with hundreds of people joining for a short period and then being replaced by others.

When the march passed a federal billboard saying "No thank you," one young fellow, encouraged by the crowd, climbed up to rip it in half. The lights illuminating the billboard were knocked out by rocks.

People booed the Canadian flag when they passed one. At the Place des Arts someone knocked one down, still attached to its pole. A little later, an American flag was burned.

A squad of forty police cars was waiting for us at the corner of Ste. Catherine and Peel. Wearing helmets and carrying billy clubs, the police walked around as a warning, but did not intervene further. In the face of that intimidation, most of the people soon dispersed. But others remained. "Let's go west, to the west," they cried, referring to Westmount, the area where the richest English-speaking bosses live.

The 150 youth who got as far as Mont-Royal, next to Westmount, were attacked by frenzied police using clubs. This took place in front of the TV and newspaper cameras. A cameraman for the CTV network was clubbed in the neck while filming the clubbing of young students.

The next day it was all shown on television. The cameraman, along with a photographer for *Journal de Montréal* and another journalist, filed law suits against the police for their brutality.

This first demonstration against national oppression in a number of years also expressed the frustration with the Parti Québécois, which has rejected any mobilizations for national rights. There should have been mobilizations against the Canadian Supreme Court's decision against French language rights, against the closing of factories. In that spirit, two young people marching next to me added another slogan to the ones already being chanted: "Lévesque, pay attention!"

Several unions issued a warning to the PQ along the same lines. Workers and young people like those who reacted on the evening of May 20 are the ones who will lead the struggle for independence, for national liberation. □

1. Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau and Claude Ryan, the leader of Trudeau's Liberal Party in Quebec.—*IP/I*

2. Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ—Quebec Liberation Front), a defunct proindependence terrorist group.—*IP/I*

## Behind the Coup in Surinam

By Sandew Hira

[Since the following article was written, the noncommissioned officers who seized power in Surinam on February 25 have appointed a civilian cabinet, headed by Prime Minister Henk Chin A Sen, a supporter of the Nationalist Republican Party (PNR). Most of the cabinet ministers are bourgeois figures, but included in the cabinet are Harold Rusland, a trade union leader, and Siegmien Power-Staphorst, a member of the leftist Volkspartij (People's Party). Effective power, however, still remains in the hands of the nine-member National Military Council.

[In early May, the new regime announced that it had defeated an attempt by several hundred "mercenaries" to invade Surinam—a country of 450,000 inhabitants on the northern coast of South America. About 300 of the attackers, who included Surinamese as well as Belgian and Dutch citizens, were captured. Frits Ormskerk, a former sergeant in the Dutch army in Surinam, was executed in Paramaribo on charges of leading the invasion attempt, which was staged from the neighboring country of Guiana, a French colony.

In a televised speech, Prime Minister Henk Chin A Sen accused former members of the ousted Henck Arron regime of having been behind the invasion attempt. Six members of Arron's National Party Coalition (NPK) have been arrested, and Arron himself remains in detention.]

\* \* \*

After a group of noncommissioned officers overthrew the Henck Arron regime on February 25, there is still confusion over the character of the coup.

The international press presented the coup as the result of the Arron government's inability to resolve a conflict between the army general staff and about 200 noncommissioned officers organized in the Bond Militair Kader (Bomika—Military Officers' Union). Bomika was fighting against the nepotism prevailing in the army's promotion policies, against the spartan discipline, and for higher pay.

The top army command, supported by the government, refused to recognize the noncommissioned officers' union and rejected all offers to negotiate. By arresting three of Bomika's leaders and charging them with mutiny, Arron provoked the coup.

This is, more or less, how the bourgeois press presented the coup. But, if we examine things more closely, we can see that there is something else involved.

Opposition to the Arron government was

more widespread than just the opposition that came from the noncommissioned officers. Massive emigration to Holland began in 1974. While it slowed down in 1976 and 1977 (just after Surinam won its independence on November 25, 1975), it picked up again after 1977. This emigration was a clear expression of the discontent with a regime weakened by inflation and unprecedented unemployment.

The impoverished small farmers and skilled layers of the working class sold all their belongings in order to pay for a plane ticket to their "country of origin." Workers had to be "imported" from Guyana and Haiti to replace the skilled workers who left for Holland. This immigration in turn exerted a strong downward pressure on wage levels in Surinam.

The discontent of the working class and poor farmers was reflected in the steady growth of leftist organizations, such as the Volkspartij and the PALU (Progressive Workers and Farmers Union).

The Arron regime also encountered opposition from certain sectors of the bourgeoisie. Surinam's modest industrialization had given rise to a new class of capitalists who were owners of capital goods. In contrast to the old comprador bourgeoisie, who were merely local representatives of foreign capital, this new capitalist class had its own interests to defend, interests that often conflicted with imperialist capital.\*

The comprador bourgeoisie, by contrast, was totally subordinate to its foreign bosses. The Arron government often put the interests of these comprador capitalists ahead of the interests of the new indigenous bourgeoisie, a policy that led to protests by the native bourgeoisie.

A typical example of such a reaction was a March 1978 letter from the Surinam Committee of Architects (a committee composed of construction companies) addressed to the Dutch embassy. The committee strongly protested the fact that all construction projects had been systematically given to CARIMECO, a company that was a subcontractor for the Dutch multinational corporation Van Hasselt en de Koning.

### Widespread Corruption

Perhaps one of the most important reasons why the national bourgeoisie opposed the Arron government was because that government was more concerned with

\*In addition to Dutch firms, American firms are also heavily involved in Surinam, particularly in the bauxite industry—IP/I.

strengthening its own position—by openly stealing funds from the state treasury—than with confronting the increasing strife among the workers and poor farmers.

In the May 20, 1976, issue of the *Financieel Economisch Magazine* (a mouthpiece for Dutch big business), a correspondent summarized his impressions after a visit to Surinam:

In the small community that makes up Surinam's population, there are a growing number of people who have had enough of strikes of all sorts, enough of hidden unemployment, and enough of incompetent intervention and participation by the state in private business. According to these people, the state should be content with the usual taxes and leave business to the businessmen. They think that all the bums should be rounded up each morning and made to work in places like Victoria (a coconut-oil plantation), Mariënborg (sugar cane), Surland (bananas), in the brick industry, etc. These enterprises all operate in part with immigrant laborers, principally from Guyana. . . .

This, among other things, has led certain circles to think that the democratic form of government is not the best choice for a young developing country in South America.

And these "certain circles" are numerous. The corruption certainly feeds these criticisms. No one should be surprised if within one or one-and-a-half years Surinam's form of government becomes more like the traditional South American forms.

Another reason for discontent with the Arron government was its obstinate refusal to form a "broad" national cabinet that could halt the growing influence of the leftist groups, which were the expression of the mass radicalization.

Several weeks before the elections, originally planned for March but then constantly rescheduled, Arron publicly announced that if he won, there would be no changes in his government. He also denounced attempts by the United Democratic Party (VDP) to form an "enlarged" cabinet. Since the last election in 1977, the VDP has served as a rallying point for the regroupment of several bourgeois parties. The VDP leadership succeeded in bringing the bourgeois nationalist wing of the Nationalist Republican Party (PNR) into this bloc.

This maneuver provoked a split in the PNR. Under the leadership of trade-union leader Fred Derby, one faction split and joined with the PALU to form the Progressive Front. The remaining faction, led by Robin Ravales, Eddy Bruma, and Frank Leeftang, has close ties with business circles.

Plans for a coup had existed for a long time—well before February 1980. In the



March 15, 1980, issue of the Amsterdam weekly *Vrij Nederland*, correspondent Gerard van Westerloo explained how Daisy Bouterse, a member of the National Military Council (NMC), had begun to organize supporters in the army to carry out a coup.

According to Westerloo, the Dutch embassy knew about these plans for quite a while. For a year the Dutch embassy had been getting constant reports from the Dutch military mission urging that the Surinam army be strengthened and giving detailed information on several plans for coups. In fact, intervention by the army was just one of a number of plans for overthrowing the Arron regime.

According to the March 3, 1978, issue of a Surinamese daily newspaper, large quantities of arms had been stolen from the army depots: automatic pistols, machine guns, hand grenades, and ammunition. This was not your ordinary sort of theft.

Some weeks after the coup, several members of the National Military Council admitted it was impossible that a simple labor dispute in the army would by itself lead to a coup. According to council member Sergeant Chas. Mijns, "without a doubt you could call it a meticulously planned military action" (*Algemeen*, February 29, 1980).

Nevertheless, this military action was not of the same character as the seizures of power we are used to seeing in other Latin American countries. The plans for the coup were interconnected with the noncommissioned officers' struggle against the high command. It is not improbable that a portion of the military, supported by the anti-Arron bourgeoisie, successfully seized upon the labor dispute within the army in order to steer it towards a coup.

It is hardly a coincidence that Leeftang and Bruma—who were also involved in the labor dispute, one as an adviser and the other as counsel for the defense in the trial of the arrested Bomika leaders—were asked by the NMC to make proposals for the formation of a civil government right after the coup succeeded.

The overlap between this trade-union conflict and the coup resulted in the formation of two wings inside the NMC. One wing is composed of those sergeants who had started out fighting for the right to have a union and participated in the coup only because they saw no other way out of the situation they found themselves in after their leaders were arrested. But because these sergeants had no clear perspectives for fighting against the corruption, inflation, growing unemployment, and the deepening gap between the rich and the poor, the bourgeois current was able to strengthen its positions.

#### Character of New Government

The new government is composed mainly of bourgeois figures. To this day it has still not presented any program. But

the concrete measures it has taken since the coup clearly demonstrate that the bourgeois current in the NMC predominates. A curfew was decreed and all public meetings were banned. It gave assurances to native and foreign capital that their interests would not be threatened. A special office was created for censoring the press.

The NMC and the civilian administration are doing everything possible to prevent the masses from mobilizing. This is in glaring contrast to what is happening in Grenada and to the Nicaraguan revolution, where mass mobilizations are strongly encouraged.

Immediately after the coup several criminals convicted of theft, kidnapping, and rape were sentenced to corporal punishment. In the capital city of Paramaribo

this measure won mass approval, but was certainly greeted with the most enthusiasm by the merchants whose goods had been stolen.

The mass support that the NMC initially received began very quickly to dissipate. Travel agencies report that they are expecting a new wave of emigration. All flights from Paramaribo to Amsterdam are completely booked through December 1980.

A crisis of confidence could easily lead to a new coup, or—depending on whether any of the leftist organizations are capable of mobilizing the masses—to a revolutionary situation. These possibilities illustrate that the class contradictions are becoming sharper—a process that has already led to revolutionary situations in other countries in the region. □

## Trinidad Police Attack Protesters

Protests from around the Caribbean have scored the vicious police attack on April 21 against students and workers at the St. Augustine campus of the University of the West Indies in Trinidad and Tobago.

The armed police assault came in response to a strike by the university's nonacademic staff, who had won the support of the student body.

The workers, represented by the University and Affiliated Workers Union (UAWU), were pressing for a 50 percent wage increase. The university administration responded by obstructing negotiations and locking out some of the workers. The administration's intransigence prompted the students to express their solidarity with the workers through demonstrations and an occupation of the administration building.

On April 21, police armed with auto-

matic rifles, batons, and submachine guns charged the students and workers at the administration building, firing their weapons and beating the protesters. The police had removed their badges to avoid identification. About fifty demonstrators were injured, and Ambrose Phillip, the president of the Student Guild, was hospitalized after having been beaten unconscious.

The next day, Daaga Hall, the main student recreation building on the campus, was seriously damaged by a mysterious fire.

The regime of Eric Williams tried to justify this police brutality by slandering the strikers and protesters. Police Commissioner Randolph Burroughs claimed that the police had acted after discovering a "plot by extremist elements."

Various political organizations and trade unions in Trinidad promptly pro-



Armed police in front of university administration building on day of attack on students and university employees.

tested the attack: the Trinidad and Tobago Student Movement, the National Movement for the True Independence of Trinidad and Tobago, the Communication Workers Union, the UAWU, and other unions.

In a front-page article headlined, "The Police Must Apologise," the May issue of the Barbados *Caribbean Contact* reported, "Academic, non-academic staff and students from around the region have already pledged their support with the St. Augustine students in demanding a full-scale investigation into the events of April 21 and for a satisfactory solution to the strike issue."

## After Tito's Death

### Which Way for the Yugoslav Workers State?

[The following appeared as an editorial in the May 15 issue of the French-language Paris fortnightly *Inprecor/Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The reaction of the Yugoslav masses to Tito's death confirms one essential fact: that the proletariat and layers of poor farmers consciously identify with the country's regime, and with the workers state, to a qualitatively higher degree than in any other country in Eastern Europe.

The reasons for this have nothing to do with Tito's so-called charismatic personality. There are three principal factors involved.

First, the Yugoslav workers state came into existence through a real people's revolution in which millions of the exploited consciously participated. This was not the case in any other "people's democracy."

Second, the Yugoslav masses saw the Tito-Stalin split in 1948 and the victorious resistance to Stalin—capped by a spectacular triumph in 1955 when Khrushchev had to go, if not to Canossa, at least to Belgrade,<sup>1</sup>—as an affirmation of the right of the Yugoslav peoples to build their own political future, independent of the Soviet bureaucracy's dictates.

Third, the Yugoslav masses view the establishment and development of workers' self-management, despite all its weaknesses, imperfections, and contradictions, as an *additional fundamental result* of the

The April 26 issue of the *New Jewel*, the weekly organ of the ruling New Jewel Movement in Grenada, denounced the police attack, and in particular the severe beating of Student Guild President Ambrose Phillip, who is a Grenadian national.

"The brutality inflicted on our Comrade, Ambrose, reminds us of the days of [former dictator Eric Gairy] in Grenada! How lucky we are that the days of Police brutality are over! It angers us to know that after all this struggle to achieve freedom from this form of brutalization at home, one of our Comrades should be badly beaten by fascist police just next door." □

1945 revolution, along with the end of capitalist exploitation and national oppression.

With the disappearance of the supreme arbiter, the contradictions and growing tensions in Yugoslavia create a difficult political situation.<sup>2</sup> These contradictions and tensions result from the hybrid combination of self-management in the enterprises with the so-called socialist market economy and the single-party political regime—a party that continues to exert tight control over the central economic decisions and the state apparatus, leaving no real possibility for the masses to assert their interests and opinions on these levels.

These tensions threaten to deepen in regard to relations between nationalities, relations between the workers and bureaucrats, and relations between the party central bureaucracy and army on the one hand and the "technocratic" wing of that bureaucracy on the other. We can also expect to see numerous reflections of all these contradictions inside the League of Yugoslav Communists itself, which is less homogenous than ever, and more susceptible to the most diverse pressures.

In this situation, it seems probable that the Soviet bureaucracy and the imperialists of southern Europe, for whom the particular experience of the Yugoslav workers state remains a special source of irritation and even trouble, will seek opportunities to fish in troubled waters and stir up these tensions.

The spectacular gathering of so many heads of state and government at Tito's funeral hardly represented an homage to this former partisan leader who founded the Nonaligned movement, and even less a gesture of "good will" toward a workers

2. See *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, May 19, 1980, pp. 511-518.

state that is "independent of the two blocs" (a meaningless phrase if ever there was one!).

Rather, it reflected the beginnings of big maneuvers to try to influence Yugoslavia's foreign policy. The Kremlin would like to lead Yugoslavia back into the fold, as a country that would give unconditional support to all the Kremlin's diplomatic operations. And, the NATO countries and those of the European Economic Community would like to see Yugoslavia tied to them, in one way or another.

We have always criticized the class collaboration that was involved in Tito's policy of "nonalignment." It is based on the illusion that at a moment of extreme danger for the Yugoslav workers state this so-called movement will come to Yugoslavia's aid. But we give no support to the Kremlin's attempts to subordinate defense of the Yugoslav workers state to the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, and we give no support to the Kremlin's maneuvers inside Yugoslavia to accomplish that end.

Since 1948, the Fourth International has taken a special attitude toward the Yugoslav workers state. In no way do we underestimate the weight and control exercised by the bureaucracy in this workers state. We believe that in Yugoslavia, as in all the other European workers states, a political revolution is needed to clear the way for progress toward socialism.

But we also believe that in Yugoslavia the working class and critical and oppositional communists have a greater margin for independent activity than in any other workers state in Europe, not to mention the Soviet Union.

We believe that even though workers' self-management was established bureaucratically from above and in an extremely hybrid form, the Yugoslav proletariat sees it as a decisive gain. We are for defense of this gain, just as we are for defense of the Yugoslav workers state against all dangers and all threats by the forces of social conservatism worldwide to "destabilize" the Yugoslav federation.

This is why we believe it is our duty to stress the point that once the cohesive factor Tito represented is gone, the integrity of the Yugoslav state and the post-capitalist society can only be assured in the long run by extending the self-management system to the entire economy and transferring it to the political plane.

This means establishing a congress of workers councils and communes as the supreme body for planning and economic centralization. It means that such a congress must exercise real political power. There must be socialist democracy that would allow the working class and toiling masses to elect these councils and to make key political decisions by having a choice between several alternative proposals on each question.

This would make Yugoslavia invincible against all open and hidden enemies. □

1. In 1077 Emperor Henry IV had to journey to Canossa, a village in northern Italy, to make a humble submission to Pope Gregory VII. In 1955, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev landed at Belgrade airport and publicly apologized to Tito for the seven-year campaign of insults and slanders that had emanated from Moscow.—IP/I



## French and Italian Communist Parties Go Separate Ways

By Pierre Frank

The French Communist Party is going through an internal crisis that has now reached right into the party apparatus itself. The clearest example of this process is the case of Henri Fizbin, a CP full-timer since 1957. Fizbin is a former member of the Chamber of Deputies and a Paris municipal council member. In 1977 he was the CP's candidate for mayor of Paris.

On January 11, 1979, Henri Fizbin resigned his post as secretary of the CP's Paris Federation, ostensibly for "reasons of health." Although Fizbin was reelected to the CP Central Committee in early 1979, in November 1979 he resigned from that body as well, and he has just written a book, *Les bouches s'ouvrent* (The Mouths Are Opening), that explains why he took that step.<sup>1</sup> Just after the book was published, the CP leadership felt compelled to publish a resolution on it signed by the "Paris Federation Committee," which took up two-thirds of a page in the party daily *l'Humanité*.

Fizbin's book is of interest because it relates in detail, with supporting documents, the debate and the crisis that have developed in the highest levels of the CP in the past two years. The debate and the crisis have taken forms that reveal a great deal about the internal situation in the CP and about the leadership's concepts of organization.

One could not say that Fizbin is really opposed to his party's policy. He defends the decisions of the CP's Twenty-second and Twenty-third congresses, which he feels are a step forward for the CP over its past. What Fizbin questions is the CP's internal functioning.

Fizbin feels that the CP Political Bureau is being too hesitant in carrying out the decisions of those congresses. His disagreement with the Political Bureau developed when that body suddenly "discovered" weaknesses in the Paris Federation led by Fizbin, and attributed those weaknesses to the Paris leadership's supposed

hidden political opposition to the party's line.

For Fizbin, who is supported by what was then the Paris Federation Bureau, what is at the bottom of the crisis is his refusal to accept the Political Bureau's version of the situation and his refusal to serve as a scapegoat. Moreover, he views it in terms of the insufficient effort in recent years to eliminate the old Stalinist methods of functioning and to make the party's internal life more democratic. He resigned from the Central Committee, he explains, to help move the party forward.

This is a brief summary of the views put forward by Fizbin. Along with those views, he published documents, especially relating to the joint meeting of the Political Bureau and the Paris Federation Committee held January 11, 1979, where the crisis began and where he resigned as federation secretary. The Political Bureau has disseminated a false version of that meeting to the entire party.

### Political Roots of CP's Crisis

Fizbin's explanations of his actions and the crisis is one thing; but the *political roots* of that crisis, whose outer manifestations he deals with, is quite another thing.

For years, beginning in 1972, the whole CP was passionately involved in the Union of the Left policy with the Socialist Party (SP). The CP was growing and its members hoped for an electoral victory that would have placed its leaders in government posts.

But the Political Committee began to feel that the Union of the Left was helping the SP more than the CP. They felt that the SP's gains were threatening the CP's hold over a majority of the working class, which it had maintained for three decades. At the same time, they worried that the far-left that has existed since the 1968 general strike could also become dangerous for the CP in this period of crisis.

These factors led the CP leaders to decide that their main goal should be to try to reestablish the CP's hegemony in the workers movement. This was to be done by centering all the CP's fire on the SP.

So the CP made a sudden shift in policy in 1977. Its explanation—that the SP had made a sharp right turn—was not very convincing to either its own ranks or to the workers in general. The CP's new policy remains reformist in content, but it is very sectarian in form and leads it continually into collisions with important layers of militants and of the working class.

As a result of the new policy, the Union

of the Left broke up. What had seemed like a sure victory for the left in the March 1978 legislative elections turned into a defeat. And in the present political situation in France, the workers movement is seemingly without any political perspectives at a time when the capitalists are carrying out daily attacks against gains the workers have won in the past and against democratic rights.<sup>2</sup>

While they do not deny the SP's responsibility for this situation, many CP members do not fully accept the point of view that the Political Bureau so tenaciously puts forward and do not accept its policy of aiming its fire primarily, if not exclusively, against the SP. This policy has reached the point where in a number of recent incidents the CP has tried to down-play government scandals, fearing that the SP would gain if the present bourgeois government became too discredited.

### Fizbin's Real Crime

These opposition currents within the CP are especially numerous in Paris and the Paris region. The Political Bureau feels that Fizbin's real crime, and the real crime of the team that supported him in the Paris leadership, is to have taken the words about a more democratic internal party life as good coin, and especially that these forms could be applied in a quite difficult internal situation. Their crime was that they allowed these dissidents considerable room for expression instead of mercilessly stamping them out.

Having done this, they created the threat that these opposition currents would be allowed to make themselves heard at the CP's Twenty-third Congress. "There is every reason to fear the behavior of the [Paris] Federation in the preparation of the congress," remarked party leader Georges Marchais at the January 11, 1979, meeting mentioned previously. These remarks were reported by Fizbin and have never been denied by Marchais.

In the course of his book, Fizbin seems to evolve politically. He appears to become more sensitive to the criticisms made in the Political Bureau. But he particularly insists that he is trying to warn the Political Bureau that by not resolving differen-

1. Fizbin's title comes from an article by former CP leader Maurice Thorez, which was not the beginning of a liberalization or democratization of party life, but rather the beginning of Thorez's seizure of the party leadership, with the aid of the Comintern, from those who had applied the Comintern's ultraleft "third period" line and had to serve as scapegoats. Given his age, Fizbin only knows this history through the embellished version dispensed in the party schools. Nonetheless, Fizbin has begun to open his mouth, and what happened at another time with Thorez will certainly not be reproduced this time.

2. There are no longer any political perspectives for those whose outlook is restricted to electoral consultations, who have not drawn any lessons from May 1968, and who therefore reject any perspectives that would be opened up by a general strike.

ces in a political way, but rather through authoritarian intervention by higher bodies as in the past, there is a danger growing within the party. He does not yet understand that if the Political Bureau were to listen to him at all and were to sit down to have political discussions, it might no longer be able to control the situation.<sup>3</sup>

There is no doubt that all this is still quite confusing for Fizbin. But we should not forget that this man was a CP full-timer for nearly a quarter century, during which he developed, as he himself acknowledges, patterns of thought that still weigh quite heavily upon him. This fact itself gives particular importance to his comments.

On January 11, 1979, for the first time, Fizbin refused to endorse the Political Bureau's criticisms of the Paris Federation, which were explicitly but only verbally formulated by several members of the Political Bureau, among them Marchais. Fizbin thought that a solution could more easily be arrived at if he resigned from the Paris secretariat for health reasons, grounds that were not completely baseless.

He hoped that this would permit the Political Bureau to find a solution that would not destroy the Paris leadership. But he soon learned that he was mistaken. The other members of the Paris Bureau were led in turn to resign in the weeks and months that followed, without being able to invoke reasons of health.

The Political Bureau felt that they had gone too far, that the whole business had become public knowledge, and that the opposition currents in the party were moving forward. Fizbin, who continued to hold the false impression that "democratic centralism" means that in lower bodies you must defend the positions you voted against in higher bodies, decided in November 1979 to resign from the Central Committee, this time openly on grounds of political disagreement.

The resolution on Fizbin's book, which was signed by the Paris regional committee and reaffirmed at the Twenty-third Congress, was adopted by a vote of 71 to 14, with one abstention. Although *l'Humanité* did not mention the vote, it was reported in *Le Monde* and no denial was forthcoming.

We can draw two conclusions from this. First, the Political Bureau officially ig-

3. Fizbin is no novice concerning the party's functioning, especially the functioning of the Central Committee. He indicates that at certain points—and this was the case since the 1977 turn—the Political Bureau has categorically refused to consider any amendments, however slight, to documents it submits for a vote in the Central Committee. In such a case it is clear that the documents presented are the product of laboriously worked out compromises within the Political Bureau, compromises that any vote on amendments would blow up.

nores minority votes and feels party members need not be publicly informed of them. Second, within a leading body of the party there is still a minority that, through its vote, rejects the Political Bureau's version of the crisis.

There would be little worth saying about the resolution printed in *l'Humanité*, were it not for the fact that the resolution takes Fizbin's resignation from the Paris secretariat for "reasons of health" and uses it against him. It says, in effect, you hid the real reasons for your resignation; you hid your political disagreements from us; and today those disagreements have widened. It ends up with insinuations about Fizbin's conduct, in which an amalgam is made with the anti-CP campaigns aimed against the party: The enemy will use your book against the party. In his book Fizbin had anticipated that this "argument" would be used against him.

What is new in all this is not only that members, including former full-timers, remain in the party while stating their opposition to party policies, methods of functioning, or both. What is also new is that the Political Bureau does not expel them, and even seems afraid to do so, while using indirect means to incite them to quit the party.<sup>4</sup>

The Political Bureau knows that expulsions could provoke explosions. But allowing former leaders to remain in the party to say and write what they think with impunity, at a time when other leaders privately think in the same or similar ways,<sup>5</sup> is equally dangerous over the long run.

It is clear that, given the present state of

4. Party cells have sent letters to dissidents like Jean Elleinstein telling them that they should quit the party since they don't seem to have anything in common with it. These "spontaneous" letters have been published in *l'Humanité*.

5. Fizbin leads us to think this and it is quite plausible.

the CP, the Political Bureau can no longer do whatever it wants with the party. One can understand why it exaggerates all the criticisms and all the attacks, wherever they come from; why it jumbles them all together and then denounces a plot against the party and appeals to the members' party patriotism to get them to close ranks around the leadership.

The Fizbin affair challenges the CP's method of internal functioning and, in addition, it challenges the political turn the CP carried out in 1977 in its relations with the SP.

#### Italian CP Courting Socialists

Recently another event directly and forcefully challenged the policy toward the SP. On March 24, François Mitterrand, the first secretary of the French SP, and Enrico Berlinguer, general secretary of the Italian CP, held a meeting in Strasbourg. According to the joint declaration they issued, in two hours of discussion they took up "the most urgent problems of the international situation" (disarmament, détente, cooperation in Europe and around the world, respect for the rights of man, independence of all countries) as well as the "specific role . . . of the workers movement, and of the various parties that represent it. . . ."

The meeting did not deal with the specific policies of either party, especially in terms of their relations with the other workers parties in their countries. But no one could doubt—especially the two participants in the meeting—that such a meeting, even with a very limited agenda, would have international significance and international consequences, particularly for the French CP.

Berlinguer and Mitterrand each had his own "national" reasons for meeting together. Berlinguer is trying to further his "historic compromise" policy, whose aim is to have the CP accepted for a role in a coalition government with the ruling Christian Democrats in Italy. For Berlin-



Mitterrand (left) and Marchais (right) before Union of the Left broke up.



guer, getting recognized by Socialist parties that are or have been governing parties represents a big step forward toward this goal. Since the beginning of the year, Berlinguer has met with Willy Brandt of West Germany and Spanish, Portuguese, and Scandinavian Socialist party leaders in addition to his talk with Mitterrand.

Mitterrand's primary concern is to counteract the French CP's propaganda among workers about the SP's "right turn." The best argument he can use against that campaign is an agreement, however limited, with the Italian CP. Wouldn't that prove that the responsibility for the breakup of the Union of the Left and for the absence of any agreement between the two big French workers parties rests solely with the CP leadership?

The blow this meeting dealt the French CP is even more serious because almost every word in the Mitterrand-Berlinguer joint declaration challenges the CP's policies. The declaration includes the Socialist parties among the "workers parties," while the French CP rejects that definition. The declaration has a "Europeanist" character, while the French CP is hostile to the European Economic Community (EEC).

The joint declaration comes out for disarmament of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Its call for independence of all countries alludes to the Soviet presence in Afghanistan among other things. Berlinguer and Mitterrand were, in this way, making veiled criticisms of the French CP's policies.

#### Marchais Blasts Meeting

But the French CP leadership reacted sharply, and immediately responded in order to try to prevent vacillations within its ranks. Marchais, in press conferences and radio and television statements, made no attempt at subtlety. The time and place of the meeting, said Marchais, were "inopportune." The Italian CP and the French SP "favor austerity policies. . . . Both of them are in favor of providing the EEC with supranational powers," Marchais argued.

Mitterrand, according to Marchais, "went to Enrico Berlinguer to seek an endorsement for his policy of alliances with the right. . . . Now François Mitterrand can go around covering himself under the umbrella of the historic compromise."

At the same time that the Mitterrand-Berlinguer meeting was taking place, the French CP and the Polish CP were in the midst of preparations for a Paris meeting of European CPs to be held April 28-29.<sup>6</sup> The meeting was ostensibly called to dis-



Berlinguer: Still looking for "historic compromise."

cuss disarmament, although the real purpose was to firm up support for the Kremlin's policies toward Europe. But the Italian CP, along with the Spanish CP and the League of Yugoslav Communists announced they would not participate in the gathering.

The Italian leadership gave the appearance of having been surprised by Marchais's comments, although the surprise seems a bit phony. It is probable that neither party will pursue this polemic in the immediate future, since it would embarrass both of them. But given the deep differences between the two parties, we can be certain that the international situation will provide many new occasions where they will have a falling out.

#### 'Eurocommunism' Dead?

The bourgeois press in France seized upon these events to declare that "Eurocommunism" was dead and that the Berlinguer-Mitterrand declaration heralded the beginning of a "Euroleft." In fact, however, the declaration did not mark the death of a nonexistent "Eurocommunism," nor the birth of some sort of "Euroleft."

We have always maintained that there was no basic unity among the parties that were described as Eurocommunist. Rather there was a certain parallel evolution of parties that found themselves in somewhat similar situations. We further said that since these parties increasingly define themselves around national considerations, they would not hesitate to take opposing positions from each other if the need should arise, which has just been verified in practice.

What were the supposed common features of the "Eurocommunist" CPs? It is true that the so-called Eurocommunist parties renounced the concept of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and are for the "parliamentary road to socialism." But they have, in fact, held these positions for a long time, and other CPs that are not included among the Eurocommunists also share these positions. At most one could say that certain positions taken coincided with more or less real perspectives of

participating in the government.

Some people began to speak of Eurocommunism when a number of Communist parties expressed disagreements with the Soviet Union. But this too has been taking place for a long time in the cases of Yugoslavia and China, neither of which is "Eurocommunist." Furthermore, these disagreements with the Soviet Union were dictated by "national" needs and did not lead to a common assessment of either the Soviet Union's past or present.

There is no fundamental doctrine that characterizes this supposed "Eurocommunism." The parties in question have undergone similar evolutions only as a result of pure empiricism.

The French CP's position of unrelenting hostility to the SP is based on its attempt to maintain its hegemony in the French working class, which is threatened by the SP. The Italian CP, on the other hand, faces a very small SP in Italy and therefore has no fear that the SP could supplant it as the main working class party. This means that the Italian CP is free to pursue its policy of "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats, which it hopes will lead to a Christian Democratic-Communist Party coalition government.

We should add that none of these "Eurocommunist" parties has the slightest intention of trying to create any kind of international body, not even one limited to Western Europe. This is also true of the Italian CP, which has been very careful to refurbish the idea that the Communist movement is "polycentric," an idea the now-deceased Palmiro Togliatti raised offhandedly.

Finally, we should note that the differing paths toward a supposed "Eurocommunism"—paths that were dictated by concrete circumstances—have not led to real victories for these different parties, and have instead now led to internal crises in these parties, whatever the present lines they follow.

#### Is There a "Euroleft"?

In the same way, there is no "Euroleft." The Berlinguer-Mitterrand declaration is not a step toward either the creation of an International or toward the establishment of unity in action on a Western European scale. The declaration is simply a fleeting agreement among two thieves who have their own distinct objectives. It is not a manifestation of proletarian internationalism, but rather a manifestation of "socialism in one country," which both support.

The present dispute between the French and Italian CPs shows that after years of growth their reformist policies have not assured them entry into bourgeois governments, but have rather given rise to internal difficulties and crises. Neither the sectarianism of the French CP nor the maneuvers of the Italian CP can provide a solution to these crises.

April 16, 1980

6. Twenty-two delegations from Western and Eastern Europe attended the conference. The meeting was boycotted by the Romanian, Yugoslav, Italian, Spanish, British, and Swedish CPs, while the Belgian and Swiss CPs sent observers who did not endorse the conference's final document.—IP/I

## China—A History that No One Can Ignore

By Yi Ming

[Yi Ming is a well-known dissident who writes for the underground Canton journal *Renminzhi Sheng* (Voice of the People). The following article, which reflects the thinking of part of the Chinese dissident movement, was published in the July 8, 1979, issue of *Renminzhi Sheng*. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

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The Cultural Revolution is dead. But it left a profound mark on our people. Millions of sons and daughters of our land died during this immense mobilization; the mountains and plains of our country were watered with their red blood. The blood of these martyrs must not have been spilled in vain. A serious attempt must be made to draw the lessons of this painful experience.

The Cultural Revolution must be analyzed as soon as possible. Marxism teaches us to look for the origins of the Cultural Revolution in the socio-economic structures, politics, philosophy, and tradition. It teaches us that we must not be satisfied with putting the blame on individuals. In this brief document, we are going to try simply to determine the origins of the Cultural Revolution.

In view of the historical and social background of our party, it was easier to make an ultraleftist deviation than a rightist one. Such a deviation was all the more dangerous precisely because of this. During the war years, the pressure from the enemy forced us to correct the line rapidly and to replace leaders who made mistakes. After the seizure of power, there was no

one who could force us to correct our errors in the way we did before. Over thirty years, a left opportunist line developed and spread. More than once, it damaged the acquisitions of the party. And finally, it led the country into the catastrophe of the Cultural Revolution.

After the liberation of the country and the agrarian reform, the left opportunist line began to take form. At the time, two different points of view were held in the party. They were the current favoring the "consolidation of the new democracy" and the "utopian socialist" current.

The first current was represented by Liu Shaoqi and Bo Yipo.<sup>1</sup> Their view was based on Lenin's theory of "state capitalism." It stressed the need for developing the productive forces of the society. These figures thought that in an economically backward country such as China, the proletariat holding political power could and should allow capitalist development within the limits set by the law in order gradually to build up the bases for socialism.

The second current advanced the theory of peasant equalitarianism. They saw that the national economy was being progres-

sively reestablished and noticed that a section of the peasantry was beginning to enrich itself, regaining a living standard comparable to the prewar one. So, the advocates of this second view began to raise alarmist outcries: "We are being divided between class poles," "the workers and peasants alliance is in danger," "the line of the rich peasants is winning out." These slogans were immediately directed against the comrades who insisted on defending the line of the Seventh Congress.<sup>2</sup>

The result of the struggle between these two lines was a certain compromise. The general line for the period of transition indicated that it would take at least fifteen years to industrialize the country and to carry out a socialist transformation of capitalist agriculture, craft production, and trade.

This general line was, however, rapidly pushed aside by the ultraleftists. The year 1955 saw the beginning of the movement "against rightist conservatism—against the binding of women's feet." The scapegoat in this campaign was Comrade Deng Zihui.<sup>3</sup> In the impetus of this movement, 500 million peasants all followed the line

1. Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch'i), one of the main leaders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) became vice-chairman of the party, and president of the People's Republic. He was the main target of the Cultural Revolution. He has been semirehabilitated posthumously.

Bo Yipo was one of the main economists of the CCP. He became minister of finance and was pushed out during the Cultural Revolution.

2. The Seventh Congress of the CCP met in April 1945 and held a second session in March 1949 on the eve of the seizure of power throughout the country.

3. Deng Zihui was long responsible for the Agriculture Commission of the Central Committee. He was elected to the Central Committee by the Ninth Congress of the CCP held in 1969.



The Chinese people must draw the lessons of the painful experience of the Cultural Revolution.



of collectivization. So a new era began in which citizens were obliged to use ration coupons to get necessities, and the number of coupons required increased day by day.

The ultraleftists opened attack on the correct line of "opposing adventurism" advanced by Comrade Zhou Enlai.<sup>4</sup> They did not wait for the stabilization of the lower-stage agricultural producers cooperatives before going on to transform them into higher-stage cooperatives. So, in 1957 tasks that were supposed to take fifteen years to accomplish had been carried out in less than four. The ultraleftists vaunted these glorious "exploits." The ultraleftist line thus more and more prevailed in the party, creating the conditions for economic collapse.

At the same time, ultraleftism asserted itself in the ideological realm. The Eighth Congress<sup>5</sup> of the party declared that the principal contradiction confronting us was between the modern relationship of production and the backward productive forces.

Once the main socialist transformations had been carried out, based on the collectivization, class struggle on a large scale was ended. However, the left opportunists, for their own reasons, began to falsify the doctrine of "class struggle." They refused to make an effort to study how to utilize democratic methods in the ideological field. That is, they did not try to use discussion as a means of advancing Marxism and overcoming the differences between the various currents of thought.

To the contrary, they raised the boogymen of a "gap between theory and practice," and resorted to the easy method of repression in order to consolidate the dicta-

torship of the proletariat. They first "drew out" the "oppositionists," then pinned the label of "rightist" on them, and then sent them off for "reeducation through labor."

In conducting this sort of "class struggle," the "leftists" not only struck at the elite (millions of intellectuals) but also helped to create a favorable climate for the Great Leap Forward.<sup>6</sup> After this, no one would dare speak the truth inside or outside the party.

In the aftermath of the liberation, we threw away the chance to establish relations with the Western countries. We adopted the line of "everything on the Soviet model," and "all on one side." This was not intelligent, but at least with the aid of the Soviet Union we achieved the economic objectives set by the first five-year plan. Under the leadership of Comrades Zhou Enlai and Chen Yun,<sup>7</sup> our national economy made gains. Between 1953 and 1957, the economy grew by an annual rate of 10.9%, that is, 18% in industry and 4.5% in agriculture. After the condemnation of Stalin's errors in the Soviet Union, the confidence that had been placed in our "big brother" disappeared. The traditional idea of "greater China" began once again to flower.

As a result, "the general line," the Great Leap Forward, the People's Communes, and all these strictly Chinese "inventions" sprang up like mushrooms after a rain. Under the "glorious illumination" of the "Three Red Flags,"<sup>8</sup> the pages of the various party journals began to be filled with fantasies such as "every mu must produce ten thousand jin,"<sup>9</sup> and "one year of hard struggle to reach communism."

The journals also showed how far to the "left" some of the leaders at the time stood. Of course, not everyone was crazy then. There were many people who were just interested in saving their skins. "They shut up after criticizing the right." In the chorus of praise, only the great general Peng<sup>10</sup> stood out. He was the only one to speak the truth. But he was gotten out of the way.

7. Chen Yun was one of the main economists of the CCP and one of the four vice-chairmen of the party Central Committee elected by the Eighth Congress. He was ousted during the Cultural Revolution.

8. The "Three Red Flags," (the Great Leap Forward, "the general line," and the People's Communes) summed up the party's orientation at the end of the 1950s.

9. One mu represents about 6.6 ares (or one-sixth of an acre). A jin is about 500 grams. So every one-sixth of an acre was to produce 5,000 kilos of rice.

10. Peng Dehuai was one of the main leaders of the CCP, a member of the Political Bureau, vice-chairman of the Governmental Council, and minister of defense. He was ousted for having opposed the line of Mao at the Lushan Conference of the Central Committee in 1959, but was reinstated shortly after.

During the summer of 1959, the party had a deepgoing feeling about the dangers of the "left" line. But the Central Committee that met in Lushan mobilized to overthrow the right. What a sad spectacle! This mobilization to "overthrow the right" not only "overthrew" a great many comrades who were among the most active and loyal but at the same time it turned upside down the lives of millions of hungry people. Food production fell from 250 million tons in 1958 to 150 million tons in 1959. In 1960, production fell by another 12.6% and by 1962 it had fallen by another 2.4%. During these three difficult years, the amount of food per capita was less than in any famine year. In 1961, industrial production plummeted to a level 38% below that of 1960, and fell by another 16.6% in 1962.

Twenty million workers were left out of work and were sent back to their native villages. More than a hundred million persons suffered from malnutrition.

Facing such a situation, the ultraleftists were forced for a time to withdraw from the political scene. For some months, democracy seemed to be reestablished. The label of "intellectuals" was withdrawn, and cultural life seemed to be freer. Under the direction of the "rightists," the economy began to show new strength. It was the hopes aroused by this trend of growth that kept the starved body of China going and enabled it to get through the famine of spring 1962, the hardest period. However, history has shown us that the ultraleftists have never admitted defeat. They have only ducked their heads a little to wait for a new chance.

At a cost of hundreds of thousands of lives and more than a hundred billion yuans in capital, the left opportunists carried out an unsuccessful social experiment. If they had stopped there, they might still be regarded as "reformers" suffering from "the infantile disorder of communism." But when they started up again, the situation had profoundly changed.

In the second half of 1962, when the national economy had begun to climb out of the depths of the abyss, this clique of charlatans, such as Chen Boda and Kang Sheng,<sup>11</sup> moved quickly at the Tenth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee to tear up the resolution of the Eighth Congress.

They stated "that to each according to his need is the sole content of socialism." Taking advantage of the bankruptcy of the

11. Chen Boda, a former secretary of Mao (after 1937), gave a theoretical form to Mao's orientations and thoughts. He was chairman of the Cultural Revolution Committee before himself being purged with the elimination of the "radicals" from the Cultural Revolution in 1971.

Kang Sheng entered the Political Bureau in 1931. He was the perpetual chief of the security services and a member of the Cultural Revolution Committee. He was disgraced only after his death in 1973.

4. Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai), one of the main leaders of the CCP, was considered a "moderate" and was a faithful executor of the line of the party. As premier of the People's Republic he managed to escape all the political purges up to his death in 1975. He is apparently highly respected by the population.

5. The Eighth Congress of the CCP was held September 15-27, 1956.

6. The author is referring here to the period of the Hundred Flowers Bloom campaign (the end of 1956, beginning of 1957) and the Movement of Rectifications that followed in which a severe repression against the "rightists" succeeded a very liberal period in which the expression of differing ideas (the Hundred Flowers) was encouraged. The Great Leap Forward (1958-1960), which was pushed by Mao, was designed to get China to make a "leap" to communism through the accelerated formation of People's Communes in the countryside and through an intensive mobilization of the population. This was to rescue the country from its underdevelopment, despite its technological backwardness. Often archaic methods were used for this purpose. One can get an idea of how exaggerated this project was by noting that Mao hoped that in fifteen years China would catch up with Britain in per capita production. The Great Leap Forward was officially launched at the Eighth Congress of the CCP, reconvened in May 1958.

People's Communes, they declared that the political program of communism had to be postponed for hundreds, if not thousands of years.

They completely abandoned the essence of scientific socialism—the development of the system of “state ownership” in which the proletariat is the ruling class. They moved instead toward a system of “united individuals,” that is collectivism. They abandoned the historic task of the proletariat, which is to assure the withering away of classes in order to arrive progressively at the disappearance of the state and the party. They replaced this with the political program of a feudal fascist “socialism”—the so-called fundamental line of the Ninth Congress,<sup>12</sup> which was supported by Lin Biao<sup>13</sup> and Kang Sheng.

At this time, their “leftist” behavior was no more than windowdressing. In the place of Leninism they put an idealism based on denying the decisive role of the productive forces, on voluntarism and equalitarianism in the system of remuneration. The real nature of their opportunist line was simply revisionism, completely betraying Marxism and the line of the Eighth Congress.

This line of left revisionism could not at first be unmasked by the masses, because its instigators were deceitful and insidious. At first they pointed their poisoned arrow away from the party, pretending that their target was the few vestiges of an almost extinct exploiting class.<sup>14</sup> They progressively turned their arrow toward the party after their theories gained acceptance.

Their target shifted from the “counterrevolutionaries in the masses” to the “bourgeoisie in the party.” It then shifted from the “local cells infiltrated by the enemy” to the “general headquarters of the bourgeoisie.” Finally, thanks to the close collaboration of the pens of Chen Boda and Kang Sheng, the guns of the clique of Lin Biao and Huang Yongsheng,<sup>15</sup> and the secret police of the Xie Fuzhi clique,<sup>16</sup> they



Steel furnaces on people's commune in 1965.

changed the political line of the Eighth Congress, as well as the leading party bodies.

At the central level, they changed the National People's Congress and the president of the country. At the local level, they changed the various local political authorities and leaderships of the mass organizations.

The left opportunists finally established a feudal lordship. They reached the height of their power and thus created the conditions necessary for their own downfall.

Reading Comrade Mao's letters to Jiang Qing<sup>17</sup> and his conversations with Snow<sup>18</sup>, it is not hard to see that he was against the cult of the personality and found it disagreeable. He knew that this cult was not materialist and that it was contradictory to the principles of the party. But despite everything he considered it an effective weapon in the political struggle (among the factions). History has demonstrated that Lin Biao and the Gang of Four<sup>19</sup> took

16. Xie Fuzhi, a man of military background, was minister of security after 1959. He was a “radical” in the Cultural Revolution, during which he led the Peking Revolutionary Committee.

17. Jiang Qing (Chiang Ch'ing), a former actress, became Mao Zedong's wife after she went to Yanan in 1937. She reached the summit of power during the Cultural Revolution, in which she represented the “radical” wing. She was ousted from power with the fall of the “gang of four.”

18. Edgar Snow was an American journalist who was able to meet with Mao on several occasions and publish their conversations.

19. The “gang of four” was the name given by its enemies to the Maoist faction that after Mao's

advantage of this consideration of Comrade Mao.

It is not possible to move history forward by basing yourself on the superstition and backwardness of the people. Nor is it possible to consolidate the gains of the party by damaging the democracy within it.

Our party is made up of a majority of peasants and petty bourgeois; the democratic life that existed in the Bolshevik Party (from the bottom to the top) is absent in our party, and the regime in our party is even further removed from that of the original Marxist organizations in the Western societies.

To lead the revolution, our party had to fuse Marxism with traditional Chinese culture. In this process, because of the lack of democracy and humanist traditions in feudal society, this aspect of Marxism was allowed to fall into neglect. In the early years of the party, Chen Duxiu's<sup>20</sup> family-circle-type leadership was responsible for the failure of the great revolution. After this, the party experienced the tragic les-

death included Jiang Qing, Wang Hongwen, Yao Wenyuan, and Zhang Chunqiao. It was overthrown by Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) in 1976.

20. Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-hsiu) one of the founders of Chinese communism, was general secretary of the CCP up until the bloody failure of the second Chinese revolution in 1927. Moscow put the entire blame for this disaster on him despite the catastrophic role played in determining the line of the CCP by Stalin and his envoys. Chen Duxiu became convinced of the views of the Left Opposition before being arrested by the Kuomintang. At the time of his death in 1942, his political orientation had become very confused.

12. The Ninth Congress of the CCP met April 1-24, 1969.

13. Lin Biao, a career military officer, replaced Peng Dehuai as minister of defense after the Lushan Conference. One of the main “radicals” in the Cultural Revolution, he was also the chief of the army that very severely repressed the mass movements or Red Guard movements that got out of the control of the Maoist faction. He was designated by the Ninth Congress as Mao's official heir. He died in 1971 in circumstances that to say the least remain murky.

14. The author is here in fact polemicizing with the theses developed at the Lushan Conference by Mao.

15. Huang Yongsheng, involved in the revolutionary struggle since 1927, was military commander of the Peking region in 1966. In 1968 he became the leader of the new Revolutionary Committee in Guangdong before going to Peking and becoming chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army.



son of Wang Ming's<sup>21</sup> time. The democratic life that existed in the Yen-an<sup>22</sup> period is an example in the history of our party, but despite everything it was not entirely healthy.

Some educated youth who had a more definite conception of democracy were rather shocked and discouraged when they came to Yen-an from the White areas and found the old cadres preoccupied with the pleasures of the dance floor and with chasing the women students. They expressed some discontent. Later they were categorized as "spies" and "counterrevolutionaries" by the Kang Sheng clique.<sup>23</sup> They were the forerunners of the millions of "counterrevolutionaries," "rightists," and the "capitalist roaders."

The traditional rule in ancient China was that "the victor is the king and the loser the bandit."<sup>24</sup> This attitude remained deeply rooted in the party. After the correctness of certain views of Comrade Mao Zedong was confirmed, many people flattered him, hailing him as the "savior" of the people. In this way, they laid out a primrose path. This path was later followed by Comrade Liu Shaoqi. When he was charged with drawing up the constitution and the statutes of the party, he included the names of leaders.

The revelation of Stalin's errors profoundly shocked our party. Shortly after the secret report Khrushchev made to the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet CP, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made a report in the name of the party leadership to prepare the way for changing the party statutes at the Eighth Congress. He stressed the need for combating the cult of the personality.

The party statutes adopted by the Eighth Congress left out the names of individual leaders, thereby greatly improving the ideological quality of the party. But all this was turned back a few years later, following the break-off of Sino-Soviet relations. "Everything defended by our enemies must be denounced by us." Khrushchev made a rapprochement with Yugo-

21. Wang Ming, the representative of the Stalinist pro-Moscow faction in the CCP in the 1930s, was gradually pushed out by the Maoist faction during a long internal struggle in the CCP. The struggle ended with Wang Ming's departure for Moscow, where he died.

22. The Yen-an period is when the CCP forces and the Red Army took refuge on the northern frontier of China after the Long March and before going back on the offensive during the Sino-Japanese war, which began in 1937.

23. This "intellectual opposition" appeared within the CCP base areas in Yen-an in 1942.

24. In ancient China, the legitimacy of the emperor did not come solely from his royal descent (his "blood") but from the fact that he had succeeded in seizing power. His victory was the sign that he had in fact gotten the "mandate of heaven," which had been withdrawn from the preceding vanquished emperor.

slavia and so on. Narrow nationalism distorted the thinking of some comrades, and the anti-Marxists took advantage of this. From the 1960s on Lin Biao wore his title of Chairman Mao's "star pupil" on his chest in order to peddle his voluntarist schemes and fundamentally to promote the notion of "absolute authority."

According to the information available, aside from some disapproving opinions from Deng Xiaoping, Lu Dingyi, and Luo Ruiqing<sup>25</sup> about some of Lin Biao's exaggerated notions, there was very little resistance before the Cultural Revolution to excesses of "Lin Biao thought."

For very long periods, many older comrades did not understand the interest in democracy in the party. They did not make any effort or sacrifices (except for Comrade Peng Dehuai, who was foresighted). They thought that the weapon of the cult of the personality could protect the party's banner. In so doing, they helped prepare public opinion to accept Lin Biao's counterrevolution. Once the disaster had arrived, people woke up, but it was too late for them to base themselves on democracy.

At the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee and the working group meeting that followed it, a large majority of Central Committee members were

25. Deng Xiaoping, one of the main leaders of the CCP, was denounced as the second most important advocate of "restoring capitalism" after Liu Shaoqi. Today he is the strongman of the new regime.

Lu Dingyi, a former minister of propaganda and culture, was ousted during the Cultural Revolution.

Luo Ruiqing was vice-chairman of the Governmental Council and deputy minister of defense and chief of staff before he was arrested in 1966 for engaging in a "plot."

26. Chen Yi joined the CCP in 1923. One of the military leaders during the wars of liberation, he was close to Zhou Enlai. Vice-chairman of the Central Committee's Commission on Military Affairs on the eve of the Cultural Revolution, he suffered an eclipse. He died in 1972 while minister of foreign affairs.

Li Fuchun joined the CCP in France at the beginning of the 1920s, took part in the Long March, and after 1949 was put at the head of the Planning Commission. Vice-chairman of the Governmental Council and close to Zhou Enlai, he lost his position on the Political Bureau.

Li Xiannian joined the CCP in 1927. He was a guerrilla commander and later became minister of finance in 1954 and vice-president of the Governmental Council. Close to Zhou Enlai, he suffered an eclipse during the Cultural Revolution, but remained a member of the Political Bureau.

Tan Zhenlin, a member of the Political Bureau in 1966, was minister of agriculture.

Nie Rongzhen was one of the ten marshalls of China appointed in 1955.

Ye Jianying took part in the Canton Commune in 1927. Appointed marshal in 1955 and to the Central Committee in 1969, he is president of the People's Congress.

Xu Xiangqian, one of the ten marshalls, was a member of the Cultural Revolution Group in the army.

ousted by a little gang of warlords and rotten intellectuals. The pretext was that these people "were acting against Chairman Mao" and that they were "against the thought of Mao Zedong."

In February 1969, Comrades Chen Yi, Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian, Tan Zhenlin, Nie Rongzhen, Ye Jianying, and Xu Xiangqian<sup>26</sup> waved the banner of the party to counter the weapon of the individual dictatorship controlled by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. The outcome of this was tragic. The weapon of the individual dictatorship rent the banner of the party. But the masses remained inert, on the sidelines. Because for a long time they had been taught to consider the weapon the banner and the banner the weapon.

Today there is a tendency to make a dichotomy between eleven years after the liberation and seventeen years after.<sup>27</sup> Seventeen years after is supposed to be paradise, eleven years after, hell. This tendency is either ahistorical or seeks deliberately to cover up the link between these two phases.

No one, neither the glorious Mao Zedong nor the tiny Gang of Four, could create the Cultural Revolution on their own. History is always written by the people. That is true both of April 5<sup>28</sup> and the Cultural Revolution. It is obvious that without the support or the neutrality of the majority of youth and citizens at various times and in various degrees, it would have been impossible for the Gang of Four and Lin Biao to take on the cadres of the party as a whole.

From 1921 to 1949,<sup>29</sup> in twenty-eight years, the Chinese people got to know the CCP. It was the most courageous force in the struggle against Japan. It was the firmest in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. It was more honest and correct than the Kuomintang, and had more of a future.<sup>30</sup> The people saw the party as representing hope and the possibility for rebuilding the country. So, they willingly supported the CCP. During the period of the democratic revolution,<sup>31</sup> the members of the Chinese Communist Party did not betray the people.

The high quality of the CCP members

27. That is, 1960, the end of the Great Leap Forward, and 1966, the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

28. April 5, 1979, the date of the demonstration at Tien An Men Square held in honor of Zhou Enlai and violently repressed by the Maoist faction. This demonstration is, after a fashion, the birthdate of the present "democratic movement."

29. That is, from the founding of the party until the seizure of power.

30. The Kuomintang was a bourgeois nationalist party. It competed with the CCP for the leadership of the national movement and then attacked it violently. Today it maintains a neo-colonial police dictatorship on Taiwan.

31. The period that immediately preceded the seizure of power in 1949.

was forged in the prisons of the reactionaries and tempered on the field of battle. After the seizure of power, the party began to become a fount of honors and social position. Under the influence of flattery, some members of the party very quickly degenerated. The honor of the party was not seriously tarnished because it was able in time to conduct the campaign of the Three Anti's, severely correcting the corrupted elements.<sup>32</sup>

In 1957, the party had been leading the country for eight years. It was difficult to prevent the proliferation of the "three bad styles of work" and the "five attitudes,"<sup>33</sup> by relying solely on consciousness and the ideological "reeducation" of the cadres. So, the party appealed to the masses outside the party to correct us. This measure was very popular. But, surprise, it unleashed an "antirightist" movement.

Not only were the cadres not educated by this movement but, to the contrary, they became more and more arrogant. After that, they said, "Anyone who dares touch me is against the party."

Although the targets of the "antirightist" movement were mainly intellectuals and the masses of workers and peasants had not yet been touched, the link between the party and the masses disappeared. People sought rather to avoid the party.

During the period 1958-1962, the behavior of the cadres underwent a profound evolution. Lies, labels, insults, and violence became the rage. A taste for luxury, waste, thievery, and corruption—as well as violations of the law—proliferated. Now, the workers, peasants, and masses at different levels came directly under the gun. A fatal blow was dealt to the honor of the party.

It is clear that this disaster was a result of the party's wrong orientation. But the people had not balked. They supported the party. This is the best evidence that the masses still placed their confidence in the party and that this confidence was a precious thing! Obviously, at a time when so many people were struggling to survive, the metamorphosis of the cadres accelerated. The confidence of a section of the discontented population was shaken.

The society experienced real tremors and waves of agitation. This was predictable. The leadership should have assumed its responsibilities. It should have taken initiatives to resolve these problems correctly. At the time, it did nothing. To the contrary, it put the blame for the situation on

32. The Three Anti's (or *San Fan*) campaign began in December 1951. It was against corruption, waste, and bureaucracy, and was aimed at the cadres and functionaries. This movement continued until April 30, 1952.

33. The campaign against the Three Errors in Style of Work was a continuation of the Hundred Flowers campaign. It was aimed against bureaucracy, subjectivism, and sectarianism. The "five wrong attitudes" were bureaucratic, apathetic, extravagant, arrogant, and affected.



Liu Shaoqi, partially rehabilitated after death.

the ranks. The so-called maxim "never forget the class struggle" was simply a whip applied to the rank-and-file cadres to get them to hold down the masses. The so-called Socialist Education Movement<sup>34</sup> was a double-edged sword that could be used both against the masses and against the cadres. The successive political mobilizations only increased the contradiction between the cadres and the masses and between the party and the masses at a time when the relations were already strained as a result of three difficult years.

At the same time, our party launched the "antirevisionist" movement internationally, despite the fact that the people were not familiar with the situation in the Soviet Union.

The social situation in China was very well known. The cadres worn out by the "two-line struggle" felt their revolutionary determination faltering. They were getting older, and no one was concerned about the interests of the masses. People were no longer paid in accordance with their work.

34. The Tenth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee met September 24-27, 1962. It reaffirmed the theme that had fallen into neglect of the continuation of "class struggle" within the party. Mao himself insisted: "Comrades, don't forget the class struggle." He stressed this in the speech he gave to the Central Committee on September 24. The Socialist Education Movement was thought up in 1957 by Mao. But it did not take form until 1962, after the Tenth Plenum. This was to be a movement of "moral and ideological rearmament," to be based on the "three most read documents," that is, three short documents written by Mao in the Yanan period ("In Memory of Comrade Norman Bethune," "Serve the People," and "How Yukong Moved the Mountains.") It was on this occasion that "Mao Zedong Thought" became omnipresent throughout the country. This campaign was also accompanied by the strengthening of the political role of the army and to some extent prepared the way for the Cultural Revolution.

The privileges were becoming decisive.

The younger generation, which was not fully informed, was putting the blame for several years of disaster on the bureaucrats around them. They put all their hopes in "absolute authorities" standing above everyone. They sought the vitality and purity of socialism. They sought ways to break up the bureaucratic caste in order to develop their knowledge and intelligence. So, they sought to carry over the struggle "against revisionism" from the international to the national level. At the time, the Red Guards were their representatives.

Overall, in the China of 1966, the people generally felt a certain distaste, even contempt, for the "seventeen years," especially the last nine of them. The people dreamed of better things. What? They didn't know yet. It was precisely in this situation that the clique of the swindlers Lin, Chen, Khan, and Jiang<sup>35</sup> were able to use the prestige of the "great master, great leader, great guide, and great helmsman" in order to offer the Cultural Revolution to the people as a panacea. There are many examples like this in history. The king of France associated himself with the citizens in order to take away the powers of the big French lords who were threatening the throne. The Cultural Revolution Committee based itself on the Red Guards in order to destroy the various structures of the party.

During the Cultural Revolution, the people educated themselves. They learned through practice and experience that the "new authority" was a hundred times harsher than the old variety, as well as other lessons. "Eleven years are not as good as seventeen years." The resurrection of feudalism is a much more real danger than the rebirth of capitalism.

Combating corrupt officials will not solve the problems of society. A frenzy of superstition and anarchism is no match for the bureaucracy and the privileged class. Only democracy and socialist legality can bring the Four Modernizations<sup>36</sup> to China, as well as a brilliant future for the country. Only they can enable the people to take real charge of the country.

History has turned a new page. We must draw profound inspiration from the experience of the last thirty years. We must firmly follow the path laid out by Marxism. We must advance courageously under the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. □

35. Lin Biao, Chen Boda, Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing.

36. The Four Modernizations are the central theme of the present policy of the Deng Xiaoping leadership. This theme was affirmed on January 13, 1975, at the opening session of the National People's Congress in a speech given by Zhou Enlai. They are the modernization of agriculture, of industry, of national defense, and of science and technology.