

Intercontinental Press

combined with **IMPRECOR**

Vol. 18, No. 23

June 16, 1980

USA \$1

UK 30p



West Bank

Zionist Terrorists Strike at Palestinians

Iran

Carter's Travel Ban Takes a Beating

El Salvador

Campaign of Genocide

Special Feature

China Since Mao

NEWS ANALYSIS

U.S. Hands Off Jamaica!

By Ernest Harsch

Within weeks of Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley's March 24 decision to break off negotiations with the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF) and seek financial assistance from other sources, Carter's National Security Council, headed by Zbigniew Brzezinski, stepped up its efforts to destabilize the Manley regime.

With elections planned for later in the year, the imperialists hope to oust Manley's People's National Party (PNP) in favor of the right-wing and openly pro-American Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) of Edward Seaga.

Citing sources within the U.S. State

Department, as well as former UN Ambassador Andrew Young, reporter Chauncey Bailey confirmed the existence of the destabilization plan in a series of articles in the May 17, 24, and 31 issues of the Harlem-based New York *Amsterdam News*.

The National Security Council, Bailey reported, was opposed to Manley's break with the IMF. In addition, American officials were against the PNP's policy of "democratic socialism"—in reality, a series of bourgeois-nationalist measures—that had resulted in the partial nationalization of foreign-owned bauxite firms, higher taxes on imperialist investments, and greater expenditures on housing, educa-

tion, social services, and jobs programs.

Besides the reasons cited by Bailey for Washington's hostility to the Manley regime, there is the U.S. concern over Jamaica's close ties with Cuba, which has provided Jamaica with important economic and technical assistance.

The Carter administration, moreover, is alarmed by the wave of revolutionary struggles that are sweeping through the Caribbean, from Grenada to Nicaragua. In such a context of increased social instability and political polarization, the imperialists consider any display of independence by Caribbean governments—even by regimes like Manley's—as a threat to their economic and political stranglehold over the region.

If Manley is ousted and replaced by the ultraconservative Seaga, Washington's position in the Caribbean could be significantly strengthened. Carter would find it easier to move not only against the Jamaican workers and peasants, but also against the revolutions in Nicaragua, Grenada, and Cuba and the struggles of

Our New Price and An Appeal for Funds

By Steve Clark

Regular readers of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* are probably aware of the useful articles on world inflation that we've featured by Marxist writers such as Ernest Mandel.

What you may not be aware of is the extent to which *IP/I* has been a *victim* of this inflation.

Our projected expenses for 1980 are up 23% compared to last year—and that's with a *cut* in the size of our editorial staff. That means that the expense side of our ledger is expanding at a much faster clip than even the U.S. government's cost-of-living index.

Our first class mailing expenses will be going up 19% due to postal increases, and mailing expenses to Europe will shoot up 60%! We'll be paying a quarter again as much for printing this year as we did in 1979.

Yet, in our initial 1980 budget, there was no projection for any increase in income.

That's why, beginning with this issue, we've been forced to raise our cover price from 85¢ to \$1, and our subscription rates by 17% across the board. The details are in the business information on the facing page.

We figure that these increases will bring in 12-13% more income by the end of 1980 than in 1979.

But that still makes us the tortoise in the race against inflation.

So we're also launching a fund appeal in order that you, our readers, can help us keep putting out the best magazine we can each week with as few cutbacks as possible.

IP/I is a unique magazine. Each week it brings together news, Marxist analysis, speeches and documents, translations, and other materials not easily available in other English-language publications—and sometimes not available *anywhere* else.

But putting out such a useful weekly tool costs money. For example, we will spend \$2,600 this year alone on newspapers, magazines, and other publications in many tongues and from many parts of the world.

Just in the past eight months, here is some of the on-the-spot coverage that we've been able—at substantial expense—to provide our readers:

- *IP/I* staff writer Fred Murphy has filed articles almost every week from Managua on developments in the Nicaraguan revolution.

- Staff writer Ernest Harsch travelled to the island of Grenada last October to cover its unfolding revolution. And Jerry Hunnicutt made a trip back there in March to cover the first anniversary celebrations of that revolution.

- Gerry Foley interviewed Republican fighters in Ireland recently released from the infamous H-Block prison cells.

In addition to the trips made by *IP/I*

staff writers, our correspondents in many countries have provided eyewitness reports on the anti-imperialist struggle in Iran; the British steel strike; the recent labor battles in Sweden; developments inside revolutionary Cuba; the Ford strike in South Africa; the rising class struggle in El Salvador; and much more.

On top of such reportage, we translate and run articles from the French-language *Inprecor/Intercontinental Press*, as well as from newspapers of sections of the Fourth International. *IP/I* is the only place in English where you can read the resolutions, declarations, and statements of the world Trotskyist movement and its elected bodies.

We also translate and publish many other documents of political interest, as well as speeches by figures such as Fidel Castro and leaders of the Grenadan and Nicaraguan revolutions.

Just imagine if you had to rely on *Newsweek*, *Time*, or the *Economist*. And they all cost *more* than a dollar!

So do your share to help us keep putting out the kind of publication that we know you want to read. After all, it's you, our readers, who suffer when we can't do something we'd like to merely because of a lack of money.

Send your contribution to: *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, 410 West Street, New York, New York, 10014.

the Salvadoran masses.

The U.S. plan to oust the Manley regime, according to Bailey's sources, is two-fold. On one hand, the National Security Council is pressing American bankers and businessmen to refrain from "supplying assistance or capital" to Jamaica. On the other, it is seeking to funnel support to Seaga's JLP campaign.

The imperialist economic pressures on Manley have already been quite substantial. For several years the IMF provided loans to Jamaica, demanding in return that Manley impose severe austerity measures on the Jamaican workers and peasants. In December 1979, after Manley refused to make further cuts in social services and lay off an additional 11,000 workers, the IMF cut off funding. This eventually led to Manley's decision to break off negotiations with the IMF.

Although since then Manley has been able to secure several important loans and credits from Libya, Venezuela, and other countries, he has been unsuccessful in getting much-needed financial assistance from the major imperialist banks.

The imperialists hope that this economic squeeze will increase discontent within Jamaica and convince voters to elect Seaga, who claims that he has already "lined up" \$150 million in new investments. "There is not much more I can do to bring this money into the country now," he told Bailey, "it . . . hinges on a new government coming to power."

In addition to this indirect American intervention in the Jamaican elections, Washington has also been pouring money directly into Seaga's campaign effort.

Bailey reported: "According to sources, including financiers, who said they have declined to make 'contributions' after being approached by Seaga supporters—even the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is funneling money into Seaga's campaign coffers. The CIA is following a directive from the National Security Council, according to a source within the U.S. State Department."

At the same time as this stepped-up American backing for the JLP, the political violence in Jamaica's shantytowns has sharply escalated, much of it initiated by armed JLP supporters. In February, a PNP mass rally was physically attacked and several people were injured. In April, Manley and 500 supporters were shot at. At least twenty-seven persons have been killed since February in the fighting between JLP and PNP members.

On May 20, a fire swept through a nursing home in Kingston, killing 144 elderly women. There was evidence of arson.

All this is reminiscent of the armed provocations that accompanied the 1976 election campaign, at a time when the U.S. government had initiated an earlier plan to oust Manley. More than 300 persons died in the fighting that year.

Carter's current offensive against Jamaica is part of imperialism's broader drive to contain the Caribbean and Cen-

tral American revolutions. It is a threat to the peoples of the entire region. It must be opposed. □

In This Issue

Closing News Date: June 9, 1980

| | | |
|--|-----|--|
| WEST BANK | 612 | Zionist Terrorists Strike—by David Frankel |
| ZIMBABWE | 613 | Workers Win Pay Hike |
| IRAN | 614 | International Conference Condemns U.S. —by Janice Lynn |
| | 614 | Hostage's Daughter Calls for Peace —by Al Campbell |
| | 615 | U.S. Socialist Defies Carter's Travel Ban |
| | 615 | An Inaccurate Report |
| | 616 | Isfahan Steelworkers Call for Transforming Economy |
| | 617 | What a Workers Government Would Do |
| IRELAND | 617 | Dublin Court Forced to Reverse IRSP Frame-up |
| USA | 618 | Another Black Leader Gunned Down —by Jon Hillson |
| | 618 | SWP Candidate's Response |
| | 625 | Puerto Rican Nationalist Sentenced to Life —by Fernando Torres |
| | 627 | Cuban Emigrés Get Their Welcome to "Free World"—by Suzanne Haig |
| | 630 | Chemical Nightmare at Love Canal —by Suzanne Haig |
| EL SALVADOR | 620 | Junta's Campaign of Genocide—by J. Milan |
| CANADA | 621 | Women Workers Demand Their Rights —by Janice Lynn |
| BOLIVIA | 622 | A Working Class Alternative in Elections —by Manuel Aguilar Mora |
| GRENADA | 624 | Thousands Mobilize Against "Marijuana Capitalists"—by Ernest Harsch |
| | 624 | Editorial in "New Jewel" |
| CUBA | 626 | Mexican Sectarians Discover Machiavellian Plot—by Felipe García C. |
| JAPAN | 631 | Kyoji Nishi, 1926-1980—by A. Miyamoto |
| CHINA | 632 | "New Winds Are Blowing and All Things Are Possible"—by Leslie Evans |
| AUSTRALIA | 640 | Metalworkers Fight for 35-Hour Week —by Nita Keig |
| STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL | 619 | Solidarity With the Mass Struggle in South Korea |
| DOCUMENTS | 628 | "We Are Not Going to Renounce Our Just Demands" |

Intercontinental Press (ISSN 0162-5594).
Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street,
New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New
York each Monday except the first in Janu-
ary and the third and fourth in August.

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

Editor: Mary-Alice Waters.

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

Managing Editor: Steve Clark.

Editorial Staff: Gerry Foley, David Frankel,
Ernest Harsch, Janice Lynn, Fred Murphy,
Will Reissner.

Business Manager: Nancy Rosenstock

Copy Editor: David Martin.

Technical Staff: Arthur Lobman.

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

Signed articles represent the views of the
authors, which may not necessarily coincide
with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar
as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned
material stands on the program of the
Fourth International.

To Subscribe: For one year send \$35.00

(41.00 Canadian dollars) to Intercontinental
Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y.
10014. Write for rates on first class and
airmail.

Subscription correspondence should be
addressed to Intercontinental Press, 410
West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

For air-speeded subscriptions to Australia:
Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box
K208, Haymarket 2000. In New Zealand:
Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 3774,
Auckland.

European Subscribers: For air-speeded
subscriptions write to Intercontinental
Press, P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, Eng-
land. Britain and Ireland, send £11.00 for
one year. Continental Europe and Scandina-
via, send £15.00 for one year. For airmail
from London send £22.00. Address sub-
scription correspondence to Intercontinen-
tal Press, P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP,
England.

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

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

Zionist Terrorists Strike on West Bank

By David Frankel

Coordinated terrorist attacks in four cities left nine West Bank Arabs wounded June 2. In Nablus, Mayor Bassam Shaka lost both his legs when a bomb exploded in his car. A similar car bomb blew off Ramallah Mayor Karim Khalaf's foot. And in Hebron, a hand grenade was thrown into a crowded market, injuring seven more Palestinians.

Ibrahim Tawil, the mayor of Bira, narrowly escaped injury from a bomb planted at the garage where he keeps his car. An Israeli explosives expert who approached the garage lost both his eyes when the bomb exploded.

Zionist fanatics claimed responsibility for the terrorist outrages, and Israeli colonists on the West Bank could hardly contain their glee. "I can't say that I'm sad. . . . The time has come for the Arabs to be afraid too," said Yossi Weiner, secretary of the Qiryat Arba settlement outside of Hebron.

"They deserved it," another Qiryat Arba resident declared.

The bombings came just thirty days after six Zionist settlers were killed by Palestinian liberation fighters in Hebron. Rabbi Meir Kahane, head of the protofascist Kach movement, said June 6, "All I know is that good and capable Jews avenged the blood of good Jews spilled in Hebron."

Kahane was detained by Israeli authorities May 13, and has been held without charges since then—a procedure that in the past has been used only against Arabs struggling for their rights. After the story began to leak out, Israeli officials admitted that Kahane's group had been planning to blow up the Al Aksa mosque in Jerusalem—one of Islam's holiest sites—on a Friday afternoon, when it would have been filled with worshippers.

On the same day as the West Bank bombings, Kach leader Yossi Dayan was interviewed by reporters. Speaking of the Arab mayors maimed in the attacks, Dayan told *New York Times* correspondent David K. Shipler:

"We called on them twice to leave the area. Now they are paying the price. They can't call on everyone to revolt and at the same time not expect to be hurt. As soon as the Arabs leave the country, they'll have fewer troubles. There's room in this land for only one nation. Anyone who thinks Jews and Arabs can coexist is a fool."

The following day Dayan vowed, "What you saw yesterday was just the beginning."

Some Israeli officials have gone so far as

to try to blame the bombings on the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Israeli ambassador expressed outrage when the UN Security Council voted to condemn the Zionist regime June 5. But on June 4, Brig. Gen Benjamin Ben-Eliezer, the West Bank military commander, confirmed that the explosives used were of Israeli Army issue. (*Washington Post*, June 5.)

Several weeks earlier, on May 10, Israeli authorities arrested two soldiers who had stashed six cases full of Israeli army explosives on the roof of the Wailing Wall Yeshiva in Jerusalem—a spot overlooking the compound where the Al Aksa mosque is located. More than 260 pounds of explosives, along with thirty grenades, were recovered. However, large amounts of stolen arms and explosives remain in the hands of Zionist fanatics, as the June 2 bombings indicated.

Israeli officials, leaders of Zionist organizations, and reports in the capitalist media have all sought to confine the blame for terrorism against Arabs to a handful of ultrarightist goons. Along with Kahane's group, the ultra-Zionist Gush Emunim (Block of the Faithful) is most frequently mentioned.

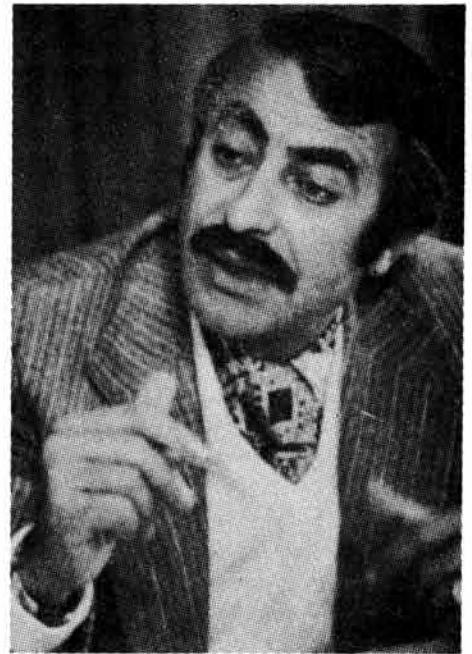
But what is involved in these attacks is far more than the racism of a few sick individuals. Kahane and his followers have merely taken the official policies of the Israeli government one step further.

It is the Israeli government that is responsible for practicing a policy of collective punishment in the occupied territories. Whole villages placed under curfew; prohibition of economic activities; random beatings; the demolition of family homes because of the alleged activities of one family member—these are the day-to-day policies of the Israeli occupation regime.

In Hebron, the Zionist ultras carried out their own version of collective punishment by tossing a grenade into the market place.

Furthermore, it is the Israeli government that has singled out the West Bank mayors as targets for repression. Although not even the Zionist regime was able to claim that they were involved in the May 2 attack on Israeli settlers in Hebron, the government immediately ordered Hebron Mayor Fahad Kawasmeh and Halhul Mayor Mohammed Milhem expelled from their homeland without so much as a hearing.

Last November, the Israeli regime moved to expel Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka, falsely claiming that he had expressed approval for terrorism during a



Karim Khalaf

private conversation with Israeli Gen. Danny Matt. Although a vigorous defense campaign forced Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to back down and release Shaka, the mayor warned at the time that "this is a plan against all the mayors in the occupied territories who are against their plans of occupation."

As one Palestinian in Nablus remarked to *New York Times* correspondent William Borders June 4, "Begin blew our leader's legs off, just as sure as if he had set the bomb himself. The attacks were planned within the Israeli government."

A History of Terrorism

Begin's government is honeycombed with supporters of Gush Emunim. The prime minister himself—whose regime has systematically violated the Geneva accords in its treatment of the Palestinians in the occupied territories—suddenly became acutely conscious of legal rights. "We must remember, we are a state of laws," declared the hypocrite. "As long as we don't have prima facie evidence against anyone, we should not accuse them."

While assuring the terrorists of kid-glove treatment, Begin continued the crackdown against the Palestinian population. The day before the bombings, occupation authorities banned two Palestinian newspapers—*Al Fajr* (The Dawn), and *Al Shaab* (The People)—from circulating on the West Bank. The papers were charged with "incitements against the military government," and with describing "the situation on the West Bank as being very hot when the situation was quiet."

Immediately after the bombings, Israeli troops opened fire against demonstrators, sending two youths to the hospital with bullet wounds. Repressive measures were also used to break a protest strike by West

Bank merchants. And within Israel's pre-1967 borders, two Palestinians active in protests against the expropriation of Arab land were placed under police restriction.

Perhaps the most cynical aspect of the coverage of the bombings in the bourgeois media is the constantly repeated theme that—as *Times* correspondent Borders put it—Israeli terrorism “is virtually without precedent in the past 30 years.”

The entire record of the Israeli state has been one of terrorism against the Palestinian people.

Begin, a fitting leader for the Zionist state, led the terrorist Irgun Zvai Leumi, which carried out the infamous Deir Yassin massacre in April 1948. The inhabitants of an entire Arab village were slaughtered.

Yitzhak Rabin, who preceded Begin as Israel's prime minister, described in his memoirs how the 50,000 Palestinian inhabitants of Ramle and Lydda were driven out of their homes during the 1948 war. In all, more than 700,000 Palestinians were expelled from their towns and villages and turned into refugees, making possible the creation of the Israeli state.

Nor did the terrorism stop after the establishment of the Zionist state. On

October 29, 1956, for example, Israeli troops murdered forty-nine people in the village of Kfar Kassem. When the government found that it was unable to cover up the affair, it brought eleven of the participants to trial. Eight were convicted, but all were let off with a tap on the wrist. In September 1960 the Ramle municipal government hired Gabriel Dahan, convicted of killing forty-three Arabs in a single hour, as officer for Arab affairs.

Terrorism is the only word to describe the Israeli regime's savage policy of bombing and shelling towns and villages in Lebanon. And when the Israeli army mounted a full-scale invasion of Lebanon in March 1978, the military command was unable to completely cover up the fact that Palestinian prisoners and Lebanese villagers were murdered. In one case, four Lebanese villagers were tortured, strangled, and their bodies dumped in a well. The soldier who did it was given a sentence of two years in prison.

Kahane and his followers, in demanding the expulsion of the Arab population from the West Bank, are only following the tradition of mainstream Zionism. What is different today is not the existence of Zionist terrorism, but the changing rela-

tionship of class forces, both within Israel and internationally. That relationship of forces is making it increasingly difficult for the Israeli regime to get away with its attacks on the Palestinian people, and on the Arab peoples as a whole.

There is an element of desperation in the terrorist actions of the Zionist gangs. They fear that, in spite of its annexationist policies, the Begin regime may still be forced to withdraw from the West Bank.

More and more Jewish workers are becoming convinced that the annexationist policy of the Begin regime, and the fanatical racism of Kahane and the Gush Emunim settlers, can only lead to endless warfare. They are feeling the pressure of the capitalist economic crisis and the burden of Israel's huge military budget, and they are beginning to look for alternatives.

At the same time, the Palestinian masses have been inspired by events such as the Iranian revolution and the deepening crisis of imperialism. Their determination to fight against Zionist oppression was indicated by Shaka, who declared from his hospital bed, “They can cut off my legs but they can't cut off our struggle.” □

Government Agrees to Set Minimum Wage

Zimbabwean Workers Win Pay Hikes

The new Zimbabwean government, in face of a continuing wave of strikes, announced on May 28 that it would soon establish a national minimum wage to cover the country's approximately one million Black workers.

At a news conference in Salisbury, Labour Minister Kumbirai Kangai said that Parliament would enact a minimum wage law on July 1, setting minimum monthly wages of US\$108 for industrial workers and US\$46 for domestic workers and agricultural laborers.

Since Black wages had been kept extremely low under the previous white supremacist regime of Ian Smith, this minimum wage law will require employers to grant substantial wage increases, in some sectors doubling the workers' current pay.

Kangai's announcement followed three months of labor unrest that has swept the country, drawing in tens of thousands of Black workers in more than 100 strikes, most of them for higher pay.

The strike wave began shortly after Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) won a sweeping victory in the elections held in late February, defeating the candidates favored by the white settlers and the British and South African governments. The country

gained its formal independence on April 18, with Mugabe becoming the first Black prime minister.

ZANU's electoral victory and the attainment of independence after years of bitter struggle greatly fired Black expectations. Seeking to improve their abysmally low living standards, Black workers moved into action.

Textile workers, shoe company employees, bus drivers, manufacturing workers, and many others walked off their jobs in Salisbury, Bulawayo, Gwelo and other cities in March to press for higher pay.

ZANU leaders, although they at times expressed sympathy with the strikers' demands, nevertheless urged the workers to return to their jobs. Kangai toured the strike-hit plants, addressing workers and asking them to give the new government time to work out its labor policy. Mugabe himself broadcast an appeal on March 25 for an end to the strikes.

Some of the strikers heeded Mugabe's call. Others did not.

In early May, the strike wave again went into an upswing. Some 4,000 Black coal miners, earning US\$3 a day, walked off their jobs to demand US\$3 an hour. They were employed at the Wankie coal mine in northwestern Zimbabwe, a mine that is owned by the Anglo-American

Corporation, a giant South African firm. Some 8,000 workers at the Hippo Valley sugar estates, also owned by Anglo American, briefly struck before returning to work under Kangai's urging.

On May 13, about 5,000 gold and asbestos miners went on strike for higher pay. And on May 20 some 2,000 workers at Zimbabwe's largest iron and steel plant, located in the town of Que Que, did likewise.

In addition to the labor unrest, there have been mobilizations against the police force, which is still predominantly white-led.

On May 28, the same day as Kangai's announcement about the minimum wage, Blacks demonstrated in Salisbury demanding replacement of the existing police force with a “people's police” composed entirely of Blacks. The next day, about 500 persons, most of them women, again demonstrated in Salisbury outside the parliament buildings. Many of the protesters wore clothing with ZANU's colors or bearing Mugabe's portrait.

Riot police ordered the women to disperse. When the women refused, the police attacked them with clubs.

The continued strength of the white settler minority—in the economy, army, police, and civil service—places significant obstacles in the path of the Zimbabwean freedom struggle. But as the victory of the Black strikers showed, the settlers and their imperialist allies are in a much weaker position than before, and cannot hold back the struggles of Blacks as they did under the Smith regime. □

International Conference Condemns U.S. Role in Iran

By Janice Lynn

The United States government was roundly condemned for its past and present role in Iran at the June 2-5 international conference on U.S. intervention in Iran.

The conference, held in Tehran, was attended by 350 delegates representing political parties, trade unions, and liberation organizations from some fifty-four different countries.

This was a direct blow to Washington's attempts to isolate Iran internationally and helped to further expose the real aims and objectives of U.S. imperialism.

Among those attending the conference was a group of ten Americans, headed by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark. The ten Americans—ministers, attorneys, and human rights activists—traveled to Iran in direct defiance of Carter's unconstitutional travel ban, which is intended to prevent Americans from finding out first hand the truth about the Iranian revolution.

Clark denounced Carter's April 24 military invasion of Iran calling it "a lawless military expedition, an assault on the sovereign territory of Iran."

"Our reason for coming here," Clark told reporters in Iran, "is the belief that dialogue between all people is essential for understanding and respect."

Clark and the others face sentences of up to ten years in prison and fines of up to \$50,000 upon their return. A resolution has already been introduced in the U.S. Senate urging their prosecution.

The first three Americans to return from Iran were detained at the airport and their conference-related material (including a copy of the Koran) was confiscated and photocopied. Attorney Leonard Weinglass, known for his defense of anti-Vietnam War activists, told reporters that in Iran he found a willingness to talk and discuss. In comparison, upon his return to the United States, he said, "with the threat of prosecution and the seizure of our materials I think it's clear which side is responsible for the prolonging of this crisis."

Black civil rights attorney Lennox Hinds asked, "Why is it that Mr. Carter and his advisers are trying so hard to stop Americans from going to Iran?"

In a June 4 speech broadcast throughout Iran, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini also asked, "Why is Mr. Carter afraid of these delegations coming to Iran? Why does he impose fines on people who are from his country and are especially high-ranking people?"

"Why is he so afraid of the trial of these people in the so-called embassy, which we

call the nest of spies?"

At the conference, delegates were shown some of the classified documents found in the U.S. embassy. For example, there was one document, dated January 22, 1979, exposing how Washington had indeed been planning a military takeover in Iran immediately after the shah fled in early 1979.

The document, a message from U.S. General Robert Huyser to U.S. General Alexander Haig stated, "The actions I am pressing are to break the strike by the use of military in customs, oil and banking. . . . If that fails my guidance to them is that we must go to a straight military takeover."

Another part of the document exposed even further the methods U.S. imperialism resorts to. Referring to the possibility of civil war, it stated, "One good way to

trigger it is to have Khomeini return and be assassinated."

These documents directly contradict the White House claims that the purpose of the Huyser mission in Iran was to forestall a coup by the shah's forces.

Some of the documents found in the U.S. helicopters left in Iran after Washington's abortive military raid were also presented at the conference. Other documents dealt with the connections between the CIA and SAVAK, the shah's secret police.

The international conference adopted a twelve-point resolution. Washington was harshly condemned for the CIA-sponsored coup in 1953 that reinstated the shah on the Peacock Throne and for the April 24 military raid on Iran. The conference also severely criticized the U.S. government for freezing Iranian assets; mistreating Iranians, especially students, in the United

Hostage Daughter Calls for Peace With Iran

By Al Campbell

[The following is excerpted from an article in the June 6 issue of the U.S. socialist newsweekly the *Militant*.]

* * *

BOSTON, Massachusetts—Luzette Graves, whose father John Graves is one of the American hostages in Iran, toured the Boston area from May 16-18. She is seeking support for a peaceful settlement of the embassy crisis, and for an end to the Carter administration's hostility to Iran.

Her tour, which included a news conference and speaking at a rally for peace with Iran, received wide coverage in the media around Boston and some national coverage.

This is the first such tour by a hostage relative opposed to Washington's policy.

At the May 16 news conference Graves warned that, in her opinion, Carter was still looking toward a "military solution" of the embassy crisis in the wake of the failure of the April 24 raid against Iran.

She said that she and other hostage relatives were told by an official of the U.S. Information Agency, "There comes a time when the lives of the hostages are expendable."

"What happened in Iran is not something unique among countries of the third world," she explained. "They all feel the same way. The so-called independent countries are not truly independent. They are

really being dominated and run by countries such as our own."

She said she had known nothing of Iran before the embassy takeover. "They really are people," she added, "and you don't need to be Iranian to know the meaning of the word, 'oppression,' and the word, 'torture,' and the word, 'murder.'"

The next day more than 300 people marched the half mile from Copley Square to the Boston Common, where a rally was held. Two favorite chants were "Iranian students are welcome here" and "Hell no, we won't go. We won't fight for Texaco!"

Luzette Graves was the featured speaker. "We've got to sit down and talk it over and find a peaceful solution," she said.

She criticized the seizure of Iranian assets in U.S. banks.

Graves concluded, "If we go to war, it's not Chase Manhattan or Exxon that are going to go over there and fight, it's you and I. And not only will many be dying, but those of us who survive will keep on paying for that war, for these war machines, while Chase and its friends just collect interest."

Graves also read a message from her mother, Bonnie Graves. "I regret that I will not be present at the peace rally. Both as wife of a hostage and, as a rule, a loyal concerned American, I applaud your efforts to promote a peaceful settlement of the crisis between our nation and Iran." □



Kargar

Mass anti-imperialist demonstrations, like this May 23 Tehran march in support of Blacks in the United States, are continuing throughout Iran.

States; and pressuring other nations to impose economic sanctions against Iran.

The conference also "recognized Iran's right to seek compensation for its enormous material and human losses as a result of U.S. practices during the past 27 years" and its "right to seek the extradition of the shah and the return of his wealth plundered by the Pahlavi dynasty."

Some members of Iran's parliament were suspicious of Clark's presence at the international conference, which was primarily organized by Iranian president Abolhasan Bani-Sadr and Foreign Minister Sa-degh Ghotbzadeh.

Last November, immediately after the embassy occupation, Carter sent Clark to Iran as his emissary. At that time Khomeini refused to receive Clark and he was not allowed into the country.

Moreover, many Iranians objected to some of Clark's statements. Although his remarks were in the context of support for the Iranian revolution and opposition to Washington's policies in Iran, Clark urged the release of the hostages, saying he thought the students were holding the wrong people.

Clark said he thought it would be different if Allen Dulles, Kermit Roosevelt, Richard Helms, Henry Kissinger, or Richard Nixon were the hostages, referring to past top U.S. leaders and officials of the State Department and CIA. Clark also offered to take the place of one of the hostages.

But Clark ignores the fact that the U.S. embassy personnel in Iran included a number of high ranking State Department employees, and ignores all the evidence released on how the embassy was used as a center of spying and for organizing activity against the Iranian revolution.

Clark's criticisms were not endorsed by any of the other Americans attending the conference. They explained they were not

there to interfere in Iran's internal politics.

The conference dates coincided with massive demonstrations commemorating the seventeenth anniversary of the June 1963 uprising against the shah. It was this huge outpouring of popular opposition that had led to the exile of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

On June 5 commemorative marches and rallies were held in cities and towns in almost every region of the country. In Tehran alone, more than half a million people turned out. Tens of thousands poured into the streets in Isfahan. These were some of the largest mobilizations in several months.

The major theme of the demonstrations was opposition to U.S. imperialism. Those who participated came primarily from Iran's working class.

At the Tehran rally a resolution was passed, amid cheers and shouts, endorsing the demands of the students who occupied the U.S. embassy—that the shah and his wealth must be returned to Iran. The crowd also resolved to resist Washington's economic boycott and to safeguard Iran's independence.

Bani-Sadr warned against any right-wing violence against participants in the demonstration, an indication that the capitalist-inspired attacks on the campuses several weeks ago had totally failed to whip up mass support and had, in fact, backfired against the government. The demonstration proceeded without incident.

The Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) distributed 25,000 leaflets urging people to participate in the demonstration.

Members of the American delegation in Iran observed the massive rally in Isfahan, where they also met with Iranians who had been maimed and crippled in the shah's infamous torture chambers.

The U.S. delegation's participation in the conference has served to further educate American working people as to the real role of U.S. imperialism. Washington's role in Iran is but one example of how the U.S. government tries to sabotage struggles for democratic rights and social progress all over the world.

Clark has declared he will form a commission in the United States to expose the U.S. government's involvement in Iran during the shah's regime. He said he would sue the government under the Freedom of Information Act, if necessary.

This could be a further step in exposing the Carter administration's refusal to resolve the hostage crisis. Carter refuses to even acknowledge the existence of U.S. crimes against Iran, let alone apologize for them. Such a commission could also help Americans further understand why the Iranian masses continue to firmly demand the extradition of the shah and the return of his plundered wealth. □

Socialist Defies Carter Travel Ban

Susan Lyons, who attempted to travel to Iran in defiance of the Carter administration's travel ban several weeks ago, successfully arrived in Iran on May 23 to visit with her Iranian husband.

Lyons, a member of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and a defender of the Iranian revolution, had attempted to board a Scandinavian Airlines flight on May 12. She was prevented from boarding after airline officials checked with the U.S. State Department. She was subsequently able to arrange alternate transportation via Europe.

Lyons' attorney, Margaret Winter, has vowed to fight any government attempt to prosecute Lyons upon her return. "The travel ban on Iran is unconstitutional," Winter declared. "We will fight them in the courts and we will win."

An Incorrect Report

The May 22 issue of the British Trotskyist weekly *Socialist Challenge* erroneously reported that a member of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) had been arrested and executed following clashes at Ahwaz University last month.

This information was later picked up by the newspaper of the sectarian U.S. Spartacist League.

The editors of *Socialist Challenge* have informed us that its information was not correct and that no HKS member has been killed.

Isfahan Steelworkers: 'Power to the Shoras'

[On May 11 some 2,500 steelworkers marched and rallied in the Iranian city of Isfahan to show their support for the transfer of several American hostages to their city.

[Some of the Students Following the Imam's Line, who occupied the U.S. embassy in Tehran, addressed the rally. They stressed the need for unity against U.S. imperialism and spoke about the struggle conducted by the working class during the revolution, contrasting the working class's participation to that of the capitalists.

[The following resolution, from the Islamic Shora of the Isfahan Steel Mill, was approved at the rally. The shora is the factory committee representing the 5,000 Isfahan steel mill workers.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

In the name of God, the protector of the Downtrodden, "Direct all your weapons and words against U.S. imperialism," (Imam Khomeini).

Tell U.S. imperialism that we will work sixteen hours instead of eight. And with tools in our hands and rifles on our shoulders, we will move the wheels of our industries in order to get you off the backs of our people once and for all.

We have aimed our rifles at your heart because the only way to liberate the downtrodden is to put a bullet through imperialism's heart.

The Islamic Shora of the Isfahan Steel Mill gives its full support to the actions of the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line who have sent the American spies to different cities. We duly congratulate the Imam of the community and the heroic nation of Iran for the defeat they have dealt to the evil schemes of American imperialism.

At this time, a year and some months since the victory of our revolution, imperialism still maintains a foothold in our society. And some of its agents are apparently striving to consolidate this base.

Our automotive assembly industry, which depends on imported parts, has not yet been transformed. It continues to waste a considerable part of the national income. This has meant that liberal elements and hirelings of the past regime and foreign powers have been able to keep their positions.

The land issue remains unresolved. The revolutionary land reform program has not been implemented. Despite all the pressures applied by the revolutionary Islamic forces and the Islamic peoples, this revolutionary project is being sabotaged.

Our cultural institutions are still depend-

ent on foreign powers, and the evil system that existed under the monarchy still survives.

The people's Islamic shoras are the most fundamental bases of our ideology. Their formation was ordered by the Imam. And, along with him, our father, Ayatollah Taleghani, stressed their importance. Moreover, their role was ratified by the constitution. But, now the shoras are being disregarded.

Even those who say they believe in the theory of collective leadership of the faithful, once they got into office, have called for centralizing the power. [This is a reference to Iranian president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr and his supporters, who call for centralizing power and abolishing shoras—*IP/I*].

Instead of giving power to the shoras, throughout the country they are trying to turn the shoras into something like unions or city councils.

Every day, those who defend this dependent capitalist system show their hand in different ways. Sometimes they purge revolutionary elements from the revolutionary courts, replacing them with notorious traitors who safeguard the interests of those elements representing the past regime and imperialism.

Our military system has not yet been revolutionized. If it continues to exist in its present form, this will impose a heavy burden on the country's budget.

The activities of the armed so-called left groups have undermined the people's united front and helped to strengthen the liberal and proimperialist elements.

By their reformist measures, the elements that have usurped the position of the revolutionary authorities seek only to preserve the foreign foothold in our country and the dependent capitalist system. Given these and other difficulties, if the revolutionary mobilizations end and if this situation is not changed, we will be left slaves in the clutches of imperialism.

Therefore, the steel mill shora believes that we need a revolution to transform the economy and culture of this society in order to really end the subordination of our country to foreign powers. This is necessary to transform our dependent automotive assembly industry into an independent national industry, and to rescue our agriculture from its disastrous decline and set it on the road to growth so that it can meet the needs of the nation.

We cannot achieve these objectives without breaking the hold of the foreign and dependent native capitalists, without nationalizing their capital, and without implementing an Islamic land reform in the

sense of "to those who till the land belongs the fruit of their labor."

The best way to put an end to dependency is to follow the directives of the Imam concerning the formation of the people's 20-million-strong army.

The Islamic Shora of the Isfahan Steel Mill is convinced that the solution to all these problems and difficulties is possible only through the unity, solidarity, mutual aid, and participation of all the different strata of the population. The best and only means of achieving these objectives is through the Islamic people's shoras, organized in all the organs and institutions of the country.

Therefore in order to implement and realize the anti-imperialist slogans and in order to move toward a united Islamic society, we raise the following demands:

1. Expose and abolish all military, economic, cultural, and political treaties with the criminal U.S. imperialism.
 2. Extradite the traitor shah and return all the wealth stolen by him and his hated family.
 3. If the shah and his wealth are not returned to Iran, the U.S. spies should be tried by the Islamic revolutionary courts.
 4. Expose all agents of the imperialist fifth-column, especially U.S. and SAVAK agents.
 5. Purge all counterrevolutionary elements from the country's organizations, no matter what positions they occupy.
 6. Nationalize all foreign and domestic capital.
 7. Implement the revolutionary Islamic land reform program and divide the land among the peasants.
 8. The fate of all nationalized property should be decided by all organs of the country.
 9. Assure housing for all layers of the country through a government housing construction program.
 10. Full recognition of the Islamic shoras and recognition of their right to exercise executive power and to make decisions in all areas.
 11. Establish a fair wage system and impose revolutionary order in all spheres of life.
 12. The tasks of wage workers should be decided in consultation with their own elected representatives, who are responsible to them.
 13. Organize the 20-million-strong people's army.
- We salute the uncompromising leader of the Islamic revolution!
Down with world imperialism, headed by the United States!
Ever greater unity of all strata of the nation in the framework of the Islamic shoras!
We salute all the glorious martyrs of the Islamic revolution!

The Islamic Shora of the
Isfahan Steel Mill

What a Workers Government Would Do In Iran

[Below are excerpts from an editorial that appeared in the May 5 issue of *Kargar*, the twice-weekly paper of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Imprecor*.]

* * *

Iranian president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr called his government a government of working people in his May Day speech at the Isfahan mosque. This received three big cheers. So, why is the government having problems?

The basic questions and tasks facing the revolution are clear. American imperialism has shown that it has no intention of tolerating the Iranian revolution. The masses remain loyal to the revolution and are prepared to sacrifice for it. The majority of the people are united in their demands.

- They want a total cutting off of the influence of U.S. imperialism through the nationalization of all imperialist property in Iran.

- They want a solution of the land question in the interests of the great majority of poor peasants.

- They want the creation of the army of 20 million to defend the revolution.

- They want an end to the bloodshed in Kurdistan.

- They want the country to be reorganized in the interests of the broad masses of deprived and oppressed people.

It is the accomplishment of these tasks that the Bani-Sadr government, which calls itself a government of the working people, should have already begun taking up.

Despite the confidence of the people in the Bani-Sadr government, the confidence

Iranian Trotskyist Paper Legalized

The legal status of *Kargar*, the twice-weekly paper of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Iran (HKE) was reconfirmed by the National Prosecutor's Office on April 29. The statement said:

"The socialist publication *Kargar* is a licensed one. It can be printed and distributed freely. The inclusion of this publication in the list of banned publications was an error by the Public Relations Desk of the Prosecutor's Office."

Kargar was, nonetheless, included in a list of forty proscribed publications cited in the Iranian mass circulation press on May 12. This report was used as a pretext for harassing sellers of the paper.

Therefore, *Kargar* reproduced the Prosecutor's Office statement in its May 20 issue with a note that paper sellers could use it to establish their rights if they were taken to an Imam's Committee headquarters.

that led the working people of Isfahan to cheer him three times, this government is not a strong revolutionary minded one.

Just imagine for a moment if in the Isfahan mosque or over national television, the president had said that he would put all the powers of his office in the service of organizing the army of 20 million; that from now on it would serve to centralize and coordinate the activity of the factory *shoras* [committees].

Suppose he had said that he would not tolerate the wrecking and sabotage by the native capitalists.

Suppose he had said that from now on he would give full national rights to the nationalities—that he wanted to assure that our Baluchi, Kurdish, Arab, and Azer-

bajani brothers and sisters would join in a common fight against American imperialism.

Then the Iranian revolution would stop with one mighty stroke all forms of wrecking and sabotage. Then the people would be able to push aside all the tricks of the capitalists, all their endless rhetoric about a struggle against the reactionary monopolies and the rest of it.

When the masses of the people are united in this way, and not a day before, then it will not be necessary to worry about any more divisions. Then instead of giving the president three cheers for saying that his government is a government of the working people, all the people of the country will celebrate the victory in the struggle against imperialism, that will be a second revolution greater than the victory over the monarchy. □

Dublin Court Forced to Reverse Frame-Up

The conviction of two leaders of the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) on train robbery charges was thrown out on May 22 by the Dublin Court of Criminal Appeal.

Osgur Breatnach, former editor of the IRSP paper, the *Starry Plough*, had been sentenced to twelve years. Brian McNally, another leading member of the party, had been sentenced to nine. The third IRSP leader convicted with them, Nicky Kelly, fled after it became clear that the court was going to find them guilty. He is still being hunted by police despite the appeal ruling.

The sentences were handed down in December 1978 by a Special Criminal Court, that is, a three-judge tribunal set up to deal with political cases. These courts have no jury and the rules of evidence are designed for the convenience of the prosecution.

The convictions were based solely on "confessions" made while the defendants were detained incommunicado under the repressive Special Powers Act. There was clear and public evidence that the three IRSP members were subjected to severe and prolonged beatings during their detention.

Irish dailies carried pictures of Breatnach's torso after he was released from detention. It was covered with bruises. Kelly suffered brain damage as a result of his "interrogation."

In April 1976, when the IRSP leaders were first picked up on the train robbery charges, the fact that confessions had clearly been beaten out of them created a national scandal.

This case revealed that the police had taken advantage of the prolonged period of detention allowed under the Offences Against the State Act to use a torture team to extort confessions from political suspects.

In fact, the Dublin police were imitating the methods used by the British forces in Northern Ireland after the official end of internment in November 1972. The techniques employed, however, were less sophisticated. The Irish team became known as the "Heavy Gang." It left marks on its victims and permitted some notorious suicides.

The scandal over the Heavy Gang was one of the main factors that led to the unexpected overwhelming defeat of the National Coalition government in June 1977.

However, the new cabinet presided over by Fianna Fáil, the Irish bourgeois party that has the more anti-imperialist image, allowed the case against the IRSP leaders to be reinstated after a lapse of about a year. The court then went ahead to convict them on the basis of the confessions extorted by the torture gang set up by the former government—a government which had been rejected by the Irish people for its open collaboration with British repression.

Since the appeal trial was attended by observers from European civil rights organizations, the Dublin authorities could not continue to stand behind such a blatantly illegal conviction without risking a widening scandal. The evidence on which the conviction was based was ruled inadmissible.

The released IRSP prisoners, however, had already spent seventeen months in jail. They went through the longest trial in the history of the Irish state. They suffered torture, and in at least Kelly's case, irreparable injury. Breatnach has already announced he intends to sue the government for damages.

Although the appeal verdict cannot undo the previous victimization, it is a major victory for civil rights in the formally independent part of Ireland and for the anti-imperialist movement as a whole. □

USA: Another Black Leader Gunned Down

By Jon Hillson

[The following is abridged from an article in the June 13 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly the *Militant*.]

* * *

GARY, Indiana—With National Urban League President Vernon Jordan still hospitalized in Fort Wayne following a sniper attack on May 29, local police and the FBI have yet to produce a single lead in tracking down his would-be assassin.

Immediately following the shooting, a group of Black leaders telegraphed President Carter urging him to "leave no stone unturned in committing the Justice Department and the FBI to a full-scale investigation of the cowardly attack on the life of our friend and colleague, Vernon Jordan."

The civil rights leaders also pressed Carter to "take the strongest possible action to reverse the unconscionable cuts in social programs [made in Carter's budget] and to urge all Americans to refrain from acts of racism and intolerance in these times of the most intense pressure on the economic and social fabric of our nation."

But instead of the vigorous investigation demanded by these leaders, the local and federal authorities have sought to take the heat off.

Dan Gibson, public information officer for the Fort Wayne police, immediately cautioned against calling the attack an assassination attempt.

"We are not completely ruling it out, but we're pushing it aside," he said.

Both Carter, who initially termed the shooting "an assassination effort," and FBI director William Webster, who saw "an apparent conspiracy" at work, have retreated from those early statements.

Carter offered a particularly lame excuse. He said he had looked up the word "assassination" in the dictionary, where it was defined as "the attempted murder of a prominent person."

"This is all I meant," said Carter with feigned innocence. "I was not trying to define the nature of the crime, except [to say] that a prominent person was the subject of an attack."

Official attention is now being focused on Martha Coleman, an executive board member of the Fort Wayne Urban League.

Jordan, who had spoken at the organization's annual banquet earlier in the evening, was returning to his motel after spending about an hour at Coleman's home following the Urban League event. Jordan had just been dropped off by Coleman when he was shot.

Implied in the media coverage is the innuendo that the shooting was connected to some romantic entanglement involving Jordan, Coleman, and mysterious other parties.

Downplaying the obvious political association of Coleman and Jordan, the media accounts center around the fact that Coleman is white and divorced, while Jordan is married.

There is no evidence, however, that Jordan and Coleman even knew each other prior to his arrival in Fort Wayne that day.

Moreover, Jordan was busily involved in public speaking and public social events throughout the evening, until shortly before midnight. If the shooting was committed by someone who had seen Coleman and Jordan together, it could have been decided on only after that.

Accounts by the police themselves say that the grass had been matted down in the spot where the would-be assassin had crouched, indicating that the person had lain in wait for Jordan for a considerable time.

The would-be killer, moreover, must have known the exact layout of the motel. The person waiting in that spot of matted

grass, reported the *New York Times*, "had a relatively clear shot at the outer door to Mr. Jordan's room, the entrance to the ballroom where the dinner had been held and two corridor doors near Mr. Jordan's room."

This evidence is hardly consistent with the idea that the shooting was decided on within the hour.

In addition, Jordan's doctors, who have had extensive experience in treating gunshot wounds, said that he was hit by a bullet that exploded inside him. If a dum-dum bullet was used, it is a further indication of premeditation.

Mayor Winfield Moses, Jr., of Fort Wayne said after the shooting that the attack was the work of an "expert," of "someone who understands guns and knows how to use them."

"It was not a Saturday-night type of shooting," he stressed.

Black leaders Jesse Jackson and Richard Hatcher made the point avoided by police and local officials. They termed the shooting a "very political statement."

"There is a tremendous burden on the nation, the president, and Congress," Jackson stated, "because apparently the issues that Vernon continues to raise represent a real threat."

In his speech to the Urban League banquet in Fort Wayne on the fateful evening, Jordan had blasted Carter and Congress. "The balanced budget," Jordan stated, "is just a figleaf to cover an all-out attack on poor people and working people." □

Socialist Candidate Responds

[The following message was sent to Vernon Jordan by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.]

Dear Brother Jordan,

I am outraged by the assassination attempt on your life.

The U.S. government must share the blame for this attack.

Racists and other right-wing thugs, seeing a pattern of government inaction whenever they commit their crimes, have taken heart.

In Miami, Florida, after the killer cops who murdered Arthur McDuffie were let off, the police were emboldened and went on a rampage; Blacks who protested the verdict were murdered with impunity.

In Wrightsville, Georgia, police thugs regularly beat, shoot, and arrest residents of the Black community.

In Greensboro, North Carolina, the surviving victims of the murderous Klan attack last year are now being framed up, while the perpetrators of the murders are being handled with kid gloves.

This kind of government coddling en-

courages the racists. Anyone who stands up for Black rights becomes a target of attack.

Furthermore, millions of pages of FBI and other government documents show that police agencies carry out extensive surveillance on well-known Black leaders. They watched every move of Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. It must be assumed that you, too, were under surveillance. It is inconceivable that assassins could plot against your life without the government knowing.

I have sent a letter to President Carter demanding an immediate full-scale investigation by the Justice Department and unremitting prosecution of those responsible. I have demanded that the government open its files and make known all the facts surrounding the shooting.

I am urging labor, civil rights, and women's groups to protest this racist assault. We must all campaign to ensure that the investigation goes after the criminals and stop the current efforts to smear you, the victim.

In Struggle,
Andrew Pulley

Statement of the Fourth International

Solidarity With the Mass Struggle in South Korea!

[The following statement was adopted at the June meeting of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Since the assassination of the U.S.-backed dictator Park Chung Hee in October 1979, the South Korean regime has gone into open crisis. There has been a powerful upsurge of the student movement with numerous university occupations. Many strikes have broken out of which the strongest were those of the miners and the steelworkers of Pusan. Militant demonstrations in the streets were held against the military dictatorship. Finally there was the urban insurrection in Kwangju that spread to many other towns in South Cholla Province and the first signs of decomposition were seen in the army during the early street fighting in that town. The U.S. command in South Korea released the troops used by the dictatorship to crush this rebellion. Those were the successive stages in the crisis of the last few weeks.

The immediate cause of the crisis was the practically unanimous rejection by the South Korean masses of a military regime installed by U.S. imperialism two decades ago after the powerful student demonstrations of 1960. Just after the death of General Park the army was divided, one sector wanting to inflate a "presentable" perspective of a certain "liberalization" of the regime. The crisis of bourgeois political leadership was accentuated. It was the return to open military dictatorship and the most brutal repression on May 18, 1980, with the arrest of all leaders of the Christian bourgeois opposition, including former presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung, liberal-Christian politician grotesquely accused of being "in the pay of North Korea," which provoked the big explosions in the second half of May, of which the Kwangju urban insurrection was the culminating point.

But there are deeper causes to this crisis. The South Korea of 1980, is not the same as that of 1960. In the interim, one of the most rapid industrialization processes in the history of capitalism has brought it to become the third most powerful industrial power in capitalist Asia in absolute terms and the second in relation to its population and size. But alongside this ultramodern industry, a large and concentrated proletariat has grown up in the giant metropolises such as Seoul, which today has seven million inhabitants. The basis of this "South Korean economic miracle" was the superexploitation of a proletariat working



Arrested rebel in Kwangju.

for starvation wages and kept atomized by the dictatorship. However, during the last period wages had begun to increase under the very effect of the "boom," provoking a decline in investment and a slowing up of growth rates. 1980 will be a decisive year.

Due to this, the students were no longer alone in front of the army like they were in 1960. A working class that is really beginning to stir will be more and more at their side. This was symbolically expressed by the fact that it was the coal miners that provided the students in Kwangju with the dynamite with which the latter threatened to blow up the government offices if the army attacked the town. The army is no longer made up essentially of peasants as it was in the 1950s and 1960s. These two changes are not very promising for imperialism and the South Korean bourgeoisie.

At the present time, the Kwangju insurrection, in advance of the rest of the country, has not been able to hold out. In order to try and prevent its example inspiring other struggles of the same type the dictatorship and imperialism has unleashed a bloody repression against the student and worker vanguard. It is necessary to mobilize international opinion against this repression, above all the trade-union movement in Japan and the U.S. *In a united way, the international workers and anti-imperialist movements*

must protect the courageous fighters of Kwangju and elsewhere against the torturers of the new dictator Chon.

After the fall of the shah, after the impetuous rise of the mass movement in Brazil, the crisis that is shaking the South Korean regime shows that the imperialist system is not only threatened in its most feeble and backward links but also in some of its "semi-industrialized satellites" that it considered to be the most reliable. Imperialism and the national bourgeoisie will defend tooth and nail their power, profits, and property in this country. The presence of U.S. aircraft carriers in the Sea of Japan, the American troops and bases linked in a unified command with Korean forces in South Korea, and the explicit threats to Pyongyang clearly indicate the resolution of Big Capital to hold onto South Korea—even if it is at an extremely bloody price.

The South Korean masses are focusing their struggle today on the conquest of democratic rights against the military dictatorship. The Fourth International fully supports this struggle. Behind the dictatorship stands imperialism determined to defend its positions in this country. A consistently led struggle against the dictatorship is interlinked with the struggle against imperialism and the U.S. military occupation. The success of this struggle will depend on independent organization and mobilization of the proletariat, the formation of powerful trade-union organizations, the creation of a mass workers party, and the appearance of a revolutionary vanguard party, based on the South Korean working class and grounded in revolutionary Marxism and the program of permanent revolution, culminating in the establishment of a workers and farmers government. This struggle will inevitably raise the objective need for the reunification of Korea, presently split in two for over thirty-five years, opening the perspective of a unified socialist Korea coming out of the social revolution in the South and the political revolution in the North.

Down with the military dictatorship in South Korea! End the state of siege now! Reestablish immediately full democratic rights without any restrictions, including communists!

For the immediate convocation of a sovereign constituent assembly!

For the immediate dismantling of all imperialist bases and the withdrawal of imperialist troops from South Korea!

Active international solidarity with the victims of repression in South Korea!

Salvadoran Junta's Campaign of Genocide

By J. Milan

SAN SALVADOR—At times we forget that the alternative "socialism or barbarism" does not have a merely historical character, but is also a concrete reality. In El Salvador, barbarism is part of everyday life.

The month of May was especially bloody. In only the first two weeks, there were 321 dead and 23 "disappeared" accounted for among the popular forces—more than 25 a day.

In the patio of the Catholic Archdiocese are campesinos who have fled from their homes in the zone of Chalatenango, about eighty kilometers from San Salvador. On May 13 and 14, more than 200 campesinos—out of some 500 that had taken over a hacienda in Yurique—were murdered by the National Guard and the army in a joint operation. Those who could fled to the archbishop's courtyard. They told me what they had suffered:

"The guards and the soldiers were all around in greater numbers than usual. The army moved into Llano Grande and spread out over the mountains to surround the people.

"As we fled, two men were dragged out of their homes in Amates and murdered.

"While we were hiding in the mountains, one child died of the cold. It rained all night. Two pregnant women were with us, and one had to give birth right there in the mountains.

"A contingent of about 200 guards and soldiers came. When we saw them coming for us, we fled out of the mountains. They shot at us. Several children were wounded and one man died from the bullets. As they crossed above us on a hill, they pushed down big rocks.

"The invasion of the guard happened on Tuesday and the eviction on Wednesday, around 10:30 a.m. The soldiers and some guards threw many children and some adults into the river, where they drowned.

"Helicopters were all around, shooting into the ditches where people were hiding. When people climbed out of the ditches, they threw hand grenades at them.

"As we crossed the river, the Salvadoran soldiers behind us were shooting and ahead of us, on the other side, people were being grabbed by the Honduran soldiers.

"We moved up the river. Many children, women, and old people drowned since the river was up after it had rained all Tuesday night. Then we had to sneak back onto the hacienda to hide, waiting for the night in the hopes of finding another way out. When we got there, we found about 100 people dead, tortured, and about 100 alive and crying. So we tried to escape again.



Salvadoran military is carrying out massacres in both cities and countryside.

"About fifteen minutes later we heard more shooting. They murdered the other 100 people there. They were from the towns of Conacaste, Guerrero, Amatillo, Tamarindo, Hacienda Vieja, Las Limas, Yurique, Corral Falso, and San Juan de Abajo. There were at least 200 dead from that eviction. The siege was lifted on Thursday.

"On Sunday, other families from the canton of Yurique came out of hiding, saying they could not stand the smell of dead bodies from the massacre that had happened at Las Aradas, where there had also been a land takeover."

On Wednesday, May 28, at ten in the morning, more than 2,000 soldiers of the combined forces invaded the zone of Volcan de San Vicente about fifty kilometers from San Salvador. They used all types of armaments—artillery, bazookas, tanks. Helicopters and planes bombed the area. I spoke with a campesino, who said:

"Of course we fear death. Of course. But they have been killing us in many ways for a long time, through hunger, sickness, assassinations. They kill our children, rape our women. The guards and the landowners, that's who. But this has to end and that's what we're going to do."

He says this serenely, eyes and mouth dry, face serious and covered with deep wrinkles. He reflects the determination of the Salvadoran people to fight, evidence of a struggle that has been developing since

1932, when 30,000 campesinos were murdered.

What happened in 1932 must not happen again.

In the last few weeks there has been an important increase in the activities of the guerrillas, with fighting all over the country. Greater coordination of its political and military force has strengthened the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses and is helping to prepare for the final insurrection.

The Salvadoran army has been deeply affected by this offensive, not so much because of the losses it has suffered (which have not been many), but because it is a conscript army, recruited in roundups of campesinos, students, and others. The army is the weakest link in the Christian Democratic dictatorship's repressive apparatus.

The presence of North American advisers and pilots is very evident. They are working with the army, but even more with the National Guard and the police.

The presence of two uniformed Yankee soldiers stood out at a press conference held to explain the detention of ex-Minister of Education Samayoa. Numerous denunciations of "Green Berets" have been made in recent days by campesinos from the militarily occupied zones.

American military aid is massive. Everyday the newspapers describe the provision

of U.S. arms. The helicopters, especially designed for counterinsurgency warfare, stand out. Usually, when there is a confrontation between the guerrillas and the guards, the guards do not fight. They try to hide. Then after the shooting stops, the guards come out and begin to murder innocent people at random.

This occurred, for example, on May 27, when nine people were killed, the majority of them employees of AGROMAN who were working on highway construction near San Salvador.

On Friday, May 30, eight people traveling in a car twenty kilometers from the capital were murdered in the same way after a guerrilla attack. Among the eight were two children.

And today, June 2, the guards went out and murdered ten inhabitants of Santa Ana, sixty kilometers from San Salvador, after a guerrilla attack on a guard headquarters there in which one policeman died.

Altogether, there have already been thirty-eight victims of paramilitary bands today. The majority of the bodies show signs of torture. There are never any "wounded" in El Salvador.

All sectors of the people's movement are affected by this veritable genocide, genocide carried out directly by the Christian Democratic military junta or by its paramilitary bands, which enjoy absolute impunity and work openly with the so-called security forces.

Teachers and doctors are currently on strike against the repression, of which they are often the victims. More than thirty teachers have been murdered in recent weeks. An assembly of strikers that was going to take place on Friday was dynamited at 9:30 in the morning. Fortunately the bomb fell outside the fence, preventing another massacre.

Last week, trade-union forces created a coordinating body to assist the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses. This coordinating body is based on a program of struggle, which includes economic, social, and political demands. Its explicit aim is to prepare for a general revolutionary strike to overthrow the Christian Democratic military junta.

FENASTRAS, one of the central trade-union federations, has already begun to mobilize in partial strikes. For the last two weeks, 30,000 workers and state employees have been on strike throughout El Salvador.

Finally, a broad delegation of the Democratic Revolutionary Front has left El Salvador to begin a tour of Europe and the Americas. It will seek to counteract the campaign of imperialist misinformation about what is happening in the country and will appeal for international aid.

International solidarity with El Salvador is more urgent than ever. It is needed to help end this genocidal insanity.

June 2, 1980

Quebec Rights Commission Backs Discrimination Charge

Women Workers in Canada Demand Their Rights

By Janice Lynn

Women workers in Canada have been challenging discriminatory hiring policies and employers' attempts to exclude them from holding production jobs in industry. They have been gaining impressive labor support and winning some important victories for women's rights.

In a recent development, the Quebec Human Rights Commission has ruled that Pratt & Whitney Aircraft Ltd. is guilty of discrimination against three women—Suzanne Chabot, Katy LeRougetel, and Wendy Stevenson—who were fired just days before the end of their probationary period.

In its report the commission refutes company statements that the three women were laid off November 16, 1979, because of a work shortage in the plant. It concludes that Pratt fired them because of their political views and membership in the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

The Human Rights Commission and Pratt now enter a period of negotiations. The commission is urging the company to rehire the three women with full compensation and no loss in seniority. The case may have to go to court.

The three women were victimized a second time on April 11 when all three were fired the same day in two separate plants. These firings, along with that of another union militant, were aimed not just against the right of women to work in the big industrial plants, but against the unions as a whole.

The Committee to Defend the Three Women Fired From Pratt & Whitney has won impressive union support. On May 24 the defense committee organized a public meeting in Montreal. Speakers included Ginette Boursier, a representative of the Montreal Labor Council of the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ); Grant Hargrave, a Pratt worker and member of United Autoworkers Local 510; and well known feminist and civil rights fighter Simone Chartrand.

Chartrand told the meeting, "This battle is very serious because it touches three rights: the right to your political opinions, women's right to non-traditional jobs, and the right to get involved in your union without reprisals."

Present at the meeting was a woman from the Hamilton Women Back Into Stelco Campaign, which recently succeeded in getting five women plaintiffs in a human rights suit, along with some forty other women, hired at the Steel Company of Canada (Stelco). This campaign won

unprecedented support from the labor movement and the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party. United Steelworkers of America Local 1005 played a key role in supporting the women's struggle.

Robert Bouchard, a national staff member of the Communications Workers of Canada (CWC), also spoke. The CWC represents Bell Canada's telephone operators and dining service employees who recently won a ten week strike for higher wages, better job security, and increased maternity leave benefits. Important in winning this strike was the unity of the Bell workers—95 percent of whom are women—and the solidarity they won from other workers.

Such labor solidarity not only enables women to win important gains, but also helps advance the rights of all working people. Winning the rehiring of the three Pratt women will also be a victory for all women and labor. □



Darrel Furlotte/Socialist Voice
Wendy Stevenson, one of fired workers.

Correction

An error crept into the article on the Quebec referendum in the June 2 issue. The article stated that the leaderships of both the New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party) and the Canadian Labor Congress had called for a "no" vote in the referendum. The NDP did, but the CLC did not. The CLC's official position is to recognize Quebec's right to self-determination, a position that was reaffirmed during the course of the referendum campaign.

A Working Class Alternative in Bolivian Elections

By Manuel Aguilar Mora

LA PAZ—Against the backdrop of the worst economic crisis in decades, with government representatives acknowledging that Bolivia has had no net economic growth since 1977, the campaign for the June 29 presidential elections has opened.

A total of seventy-three parties registered with the National Election Board before the May 15 final filing date. These seventy-three parties have in turn set up eighteen electoral blocs and coalitions to field presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Bolivia's two million voters are to choose a replacement for President Lidia Gueiler from among these eighteen tickets. Gueiler was named interim president following an abortive coup by Col. Alberto Natusch Busch in November 1979.

The great majority of the seventy-three registered parties are bourgeois parties and mini-parties. This fact provides striking evidence that in the seven bloody years of Gen. Hugo Banzer's dictatorship, which lasted until July 1978, the bourgeoisie was unable to consolidate a political vehicle that has the support of broad sectors of the population. The bourgeoisie is, in fact, approaching the elections in a state of extreme division and confusion.

The clearest example of the extreme division of the bourgeoisie is the case of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR), historically the most important bourgeois party. The MNR, a populist party, dominated Bolivian politics since the 1952 revolution that broke the power of the tin barons and instituted an extensive land reform.

In the 1950s and 1960s, under the MNR Bolivia went through one of the most significant tests of populist rule seen to date in Latin America. The MNR in fact represented one of the highpoints of Latin American bourgeois nationalism. Its experience could be compared with that of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in Mexico, Peronism in Argentina, the Apristas in Peru, and, to a certain extent, João Goulart's regime in Brazil.

The 1964 coup by Gen. René Barrientos that overthrew MNR leader Víctor Paz Estenssoro was simply the culmination of the MNR's deterioration. Under the aegis of anti-imperialist bourgeois nationalism, the MNR had totally opened Bolivia up to imperialism, and when Paz was overthrown he left behind a country that had become one of the most economically dependent in Latin America.

Fully half the electoral coalitions contesting the June 29 elections are direct offshoots of the MNR's disintegration.

The most serious bourgeois democratic

force running in the elections is the MNR-Alianza, a coalition headed by Paz Estenssoro himself. This coalition also includes the shell that remains of the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist, a Maoist formation that two years ago aspired to be the largest group on the left.

While the MNR-Alianza has a chance of winning the elections, its position is constantly deteriorating as a result of continual splits.

In fact, in recent months all the following coalitions have arisen from splits in the MNR-Alianza: the United Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNRU), which is running Guillermo Bedregal; the MNR-Left Nationalist Line (MNR-LIN), with Abel Ayoroa as its presidential candidate; the Alliance of Nationalist Left Forces of the MNR (AFIN-MNR), led by Roberto Jordán; and the Authentic Revolutionary Party of Independent Vanguard Alliances (PRA-AVI), led by Walter Guevara Arce, who was the interim president overthrown last November by Col. Natusch and replaced by current interim president Gueiler.

Three other electoral blocs also claim to be part of the historic MNR tradition, although they have broken with the main branch represented by Víctor Paz Estenssoro and Hernán Siles Zuazo. These three blocs are also putting forward their own candidates—Walter González Valda for the Bolivian Unity Party (PUB); William Villagra Alvarez for the Party of the Nationalist Revolution (PRN); and Luis Siles Salinas for the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR).

In addition to all these bourgeois democratic candidates, the election will also be contested by two rightist parties that are clearly identified with the military dictatorships and the militant anticommunist, and even fascist, tradition. These rightist candidates are former dictator Hugo Banzer, who is running on the Nationalist Democratic Action (ADN) slate, and Carlos Valverde of the Bolivian Socialist Falange (FSB).

Then there are the peasant-oriented formations, which include the Túpac Katari Revolutionary Movement (MRTK); the MRTK-1; the Túpac Katari Indian Movement (MITK); the MITK-1; and the Indian Party (PI).

The organization of these peasant and Indian groups provides evidence that the traditional bourgeois nationalist hegemony over the peasantry is breaking down. There are growing indications that the possibility exists for establishing a real

alliance between the workers and the peasants.

On May Day this year, for example, enormous peasant contingents took part in the workers demonstrations in various Bolivian cities. In La Paz alone, the peasant contingent in the demonstration numbered some 50,000!

The Left Slates

Three electoral fronts and parties claim to represent the leftist tradition linked to the working class. They are the Democratic People's Unity (UDP), which nominated Hernán Siles Zuazo; the Socialist Party-1 (PS-1), which is running Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz; and the Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left-Alliance (PRIN-Alianza), which is running trade-union federation chief Juan Lechín Oquendo.

The UDP was set up immediately after the overthrow of the Banzer dictatorship in 1978. Since its formation it has been led by Hernán Siles Zuazo and the so-called Left MNR (MNRI) faction that has followed him since he split from the MNR. While still in the MNR Siles Zuazo was president of Bolivia from 1956 to 1960.

The Communist Party, which is the country's largest Stalinist group, has allied itself with Siles Zuazo in the UDP, viewing him as the representative of the "democratic" bourgeoisie. Also in the UDP is the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), which is the Bolivian political formation with direct ties to international Social Democracy.

In the 1979 presidential elections UDP candidate Siles Zuazo came in first, receiving 37 percent of the vote, compared to 29 percent for Paz Estenssoro, and less than 18 percent for Banzer. But since no candidate received 50 percent, the election was thrown to the Congress which elected Walter Guevara Arce as interim president.

Since the 1979 elections there has been some erosion in the broad popular support the UDP enjoyed. Some of the organizations that joined together to found the UDP in 1978 have since left it, although the "big three"—the CP, MIR, and the capitalist MNRI—remain in the bloc.

Developments in the class struggle have placed the UDP in a difficult situation. The UDP's orientation toward collaboration with the bourgeoisie led the UDP's parliamentary deputies, and the CP itself, to flirt with the Natusch coup last November. In this they were joined by Paz Estenssoro forces, who also cooperated with the putschists. In fact, the UDP's

1978 vice presidential candidate, Edil Sandoval Marón, was the main civilian involved in the November 1979 coup with Natusch.

The UDP has also supported President Gueiler's "economic package," which was inspired by the International Monetary Fund and aims to make the workers and peasants shoulder the main burden of solving the economic crisis.

The UDP thus represents a bourgeois democratic slate, which has the support of the CP and MIR, two currents that have an important base of support among the workers, especially within the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB). This base within the COB was amply demonstrated at the COB's congress in Telamayú in March, where the UDP forces had a big majority among the delegates.

The second left-wing slate is the Socialist Party-1. The PS-1, led by Quiroga Santa Cruz, has some similarities to the Bolivian MIR, but with a clear policy in favor of working-class political independence, which the MIR totally lacks.

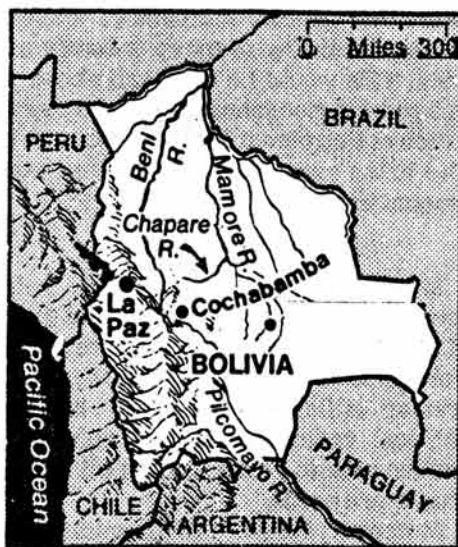
In the 1979 elections the PS-1 received about 80,000 votes, with many of those seeing it as a class-struggle slate. But the PS-1 is still a relatively new formation and does not have much of an organized presence in the workers movement. It certainly cannot compete with the CP and MIR in the COB.

Many people in the PS-1, and broad sectors of the workers movement, hoped that it would forge a class-struggle electoral front with other forces in the present campaign. But Quiroga Santa Cruz was unwilling to subordinate his own personal political vehicle to the needs of the class struggle and the needs of the workers. After refusing to hold discussions with smaller political formations, especially the revolutionary Marxists, Quiroga instead held talks with the UDP. His main concern was how to maintain the PS-1's electoral standing and its parliamentary representation.

The PS-1 did not put forward any kind of program that could have drawn the CP and MIR away from their alliance with Siles Zuazo. In addition, while in parliament Quiroga Santa Cruz became the main defender of the bourgeois constitution.

At the last moment before the deadline for filing slates a third left-wing slate was set up to run Juan Lechín Oquendo, who is the general secretary of the COB, and Aníbal Aguilar Peñarrieta, a labor lawyer, for president and vice-president. This front, the PRIN-Alianza, is made up of the PRIN; the Revolutionary Workers Party-*Combate* (POR-C—the Bolivian section of the Fourth International); the Communist Vanguard of the POR (VC-POR), another Bolivian Trotskyist group; and the Revolutionary Party of Bolivian Workers (PRTB). In addition, on May 20 the peasant-based MRTK also decided to join the coalition.

The establishment of the PRIN-Alianza



slate is very significant because through it the major force that had been missing from the electoral line-up, the COB, is making its presence felt, albeit in an indirect way.

The COB is the key organization of the Bolivian working class, and there is tremendous sentiment among the workers for unity of the workers organizations and parties to be achieved around the pole of the COB.

The resistance to the November 1979 coup, for example, was organized through the COB, and the workers and peasants are increasingly looking to the COB to organize the response to the attacks by the bourgeoisie, and to solve the perennial crisis of the Bolivian economy.

The PRIN is largely composed of trade-union leaders of the COB, headed, of course, by Lechín who is the principal Bolivian workers leader. The PRIN's importance in Bolivian politics rests solely on the fact that it is seen as the political expression of the COB leadership.

The union bureaucracy that Lechín heads is, from an objective point of view, the Bolivian counterpart to the Peronist trade-union leaders in Argentina, the Aprista unionists in Peru, and even, to a certain extent, the Mexican bureaucrats tied to the PRI. But Bolivia is an extremely poor country where capitalism does not have the resources it has in Argentina, Mexico, or even Peru. Because of that, the Lechínist bureaucracy, which has controlled the COB since its formation in 1952, has not enjoyed the same exorbitant privileges as its Latin American counterparts. As a result, the broad mass of Bolivian workers still look to Lechín as the true representative and final spokesman of the COB.

This could be clearly seen at the COB's March congress in Telamayú. Although the majority of delegates were from the CP and MIR and wanted to line up the COB behind the UDP campaign, Lechín was able to turn that around in a final speech where he proposed a "united front of the

left and its parties around the COB."

Although the UDP was thwarted in that instance, it did not accept the COB proposal and is going ahead with its own campaign.

One leftist group that has criticized the PRIN-Alianza slate is the Workers Vanguard (VO) group, which ran Filemón Escobar for president in 1979 on an independent working-class platform. VO's main criticism of the PRIN, POR-C, VC-POR, PRTB, MRTK coalition is that it will "benefit Paz Estenssoroism and the fascist right" by dividing the opposition to fascism. In VO's view the main opposition to fascism will flow through UDP, and they call for a vote for the UDP to stop Paz.

VO is wrong to identify Paz with fascism. But even if that were not the case, they are falling into the classic trap that the Stalinists have projected for decades with their "antifascist fronts."

VO acknowledges that the UDP is "a rightist front," that is "not anticapitalist or anti-imperialist." But despite all that, VO sees the UDP as the "retaining wall" holding back fascism, and calls for a vote for the UDP rather than the PRIN-Alianza bloc.

VO starts from totally subjective criteria. They point to Lechín's old friendship with Paz Estenssoro (which may or may not be true); they speculate about his intentions in running, and so forth. But they do not deal with the *objective* political criteria of the program of the front running Lechín, or the forces supporting it.

The founding document of PRIN-Alianza calls for "building a national political leadership" to respond to the social, political, and economic problems stemming from Bolivia's subjection to imperialism and the failures of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie. It stresses the bankruptcy of class collaboration and proposes "a programmatic and political response that puts the working class and the majority sectors of the workers of the countryside and cities in charge of the present process, along the political lines laid out by the workers in the COB's theses."

The PRIN-Alianza document also calls for defending and extending the Committees to Defend Democracy that arose in the struggle against Natusch's coup.

Events in Bolivia have already shown very clearly that it won't be the UDP, or any bourgeois democrat, or even the CP that will stop the very real danger of fascism. The COB is the only real power center the Bolivian masses turn to when they must smash a coup, as was so clearly shown last November.

The key task now is to strengthen the COB by every means possible, including indirect means such as running its general secretary for president. The political vehicle that will express the historic and class needs of the Bolivian proletariat will emerge from the COB, not from the UDP. □

Grenada—Thousands Mobilize Against 'Marijuana Capitalists'

By Ernest Harsch

Large-scale growers of marijuana in Grenada are resisting the government's campaign to suppress cultivation of the drug. Faced with this opposition, thousands of Grenadians have repeatedly demonstrated in support of the revolution and the government's campaign.

The ruling New Jewel Movement (NJM) and the People's Revolutionary Government headed by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop have encouraged these actions. They insist that only through the organization and mobilization of the toiling population can the revolution be adequately defended. (See accompanying article.)

The campaign against marijuana cultivation began in early April, when Police Commissioner James Clarkson revealed a sharp increase in the activities of the marijuana growers. He said that they had cleared large areas of land for growing marijuana—known in Grenada as "ganja"—in some cases seizing farmers' lands and cutting down trees. This, he said, "can only be considered as counterrevolutionary," especially at a time when the government was seeking to boost food production. (Grenada imports much of its food.)

The government warned the large-scale growers to cut down their marijuana fields and offered to assist them in planting other crops.

Support for this campaign was widespread. Rallies and meetings were held around the country to discuss the issue and to mobilize popular sentiment against marijuana cultivation.

The NJM National Youth Organisation backed the government's proposal to implement a land reform program for those growers who voluntarily ceased cultivation—and urged firm action against those who did not. NJM Women's Groups in Duquesne, Gouyave, Concord, and other towns condemned the cultivation and sale of marijuana, emphasizing that all land should be used for food production.

On April 22, a meeting of the Grenada Trade Union Council—which includes Grenada's major trade unions—issued a statement condemning "any attempts to make the use of marijuana or any other narcotic drug widespread in our country." It continued, "The Trade Union Council is also extremely concerned about the threats to honest and hard working farmers, the thievery of farmers' crops, the prevention of those farmers from cultivating their land, and other acts of vandalism against the farming community."

In face of this challenge to their business, the marijuana growers sought to stir up opposition to the government by playing on local grievances. In some cases they adopted a leftist guise, accusing the government of not moving quickly enough on social reform or of being corrupt.

One grouping, led by Kenny "Buck" Budhlall, prompted agricultural workers and local residents to seize the River Antoine Estate near La Poterie in eastern Grenada. In doing so, Budhlall took advantage of discontent over wages and working conditions among the agricultural workers, at the same time leading them to believe that their action had the support of the People's Revolutionary Government.

The agitation of the marijuana cultivators for the "freedom to grow" found an echo among some Rastafarians—members of a Caribbean-wide religious and cultural movement who use marijuana—and even among some members of the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA) and the NJM.

In late April, the government arrested former NJM activist Kennedy Budhlall—one of Kenny's brothers, who was also active in the marijuana trade—and dismissed a number of his supporters from the PRA camp at Pearls Airport. They were charged with plotting to overthrow the government on April 26.

The authorities pointed to a possible link between the plotters and imperialist inter-

Why Grenadians Should March

[The following appeared as an editorial in the May 17 issue of the *New Jewel*, the weekly organ of Grenada's New Jewel Movement.]

* * *

Some of our people are asking why don't we just pick up the Ganja leaders instead of organizing marches against them. We say that *anytime imperialism organizes counter-revolutionaries against the Revolution the people must answer them by showing the strength of the Revolution.*

The strength of the Grenada Revolution lies in its popularity among the people, not only in the strength of the armed forces. We do not depend on our Army alone to defend the Revolution.

Now let us face it. *Everyday, imperialism is arguing counter-revolution. Everyday, more and more plans are being drawn up to destabilize our Revolution. Imperialism does not rest for one minute.*

We must never for one minute forget what happened in Chile. The C.I.A. organized small marches at first. They paid a few women to come out in the streets.

But it was not answered by the people. The people left everything up to the Government. Gradually, the C.I.A. was able to organize bigger and bigger marches. They would organize an article of food to be scarce and then organize a march about it. They would get a factory owner to close down his factory and pay corrupt trade union

leaders to organize a march. They organized a strike of all truck owners so that no vegetables could get to the cities and then they would organize a march on that! Gradually, there were marches and confusion every day. This was one of the most important things leading to the fall of the Allende Government.

If the people just sit by and allow the counter-revolutionaries to organize, and we do not organize, *their strength will increase while ours decreases.* If we allowed them to be in political control of the streets, it would appear as though the people are weak and it would encourage other opportunists and criminal elements to join them. We must *demonstrate* our strength as the majority.

We can pick up the leaders, yes! But the people have to be out there in the streets. Remember who picked up the three ganja leaders last week? It was the masses. It is the strength and power of the people which must be felt in any real Revolution. The Army is there to support and back up the people, but it cannot replace the people.

Our Revolution will show the counter-revolutionaries that the people are strong. We have to let imperialism know that it is not only the PRA [People's Revolutionary Army] they will meet when they come. They will meet the wrath of the masses. They will have to fight 100,000 people.

That is why we march. Our people are our Revolution. *Long live the Revolution!*

ests, noting that an unidentified helicopter had flown over the Pearls army camp on the night of April 26 and that the Budhlall brothers had previous ties with Stanley Cyrus, an opponent of the Grenada revolution who is said to be working with Washington and who was detained for a time for his counterrevolutionary activities (Cyrus left Grenada after his release).

The next provocation came on Sunday, May 4. In the morning, about 200 persons marched out of the village of Tivoli, in eastern Grenada, and demonstrated through the streets of Paradise and Grenville, the island's second largest town. They marched to Pearls Airport, openly smoking marijuana and shouting slogans in support of the Budhlall brothers. "Give us our freedom" was one of their chants.

This action prompted an immediate counterdemonstration. By noon, about 300 persons began circling through Grenville, shouting their support for the government and their opposition to the marijuana growers. Later that afternoon, more than 1,000 supporters of the revolution rallied in Paradise and then marched through Pearls, Moyah, Conference, Tivoli, and La Poterie. They chanted, "Tell President Carter, Bishop is we leader!" and "CIA no way!"

Several days later, the government issued a statement calling on the People's Militia to step up their vigilance against the possibility of an imperialist-inspired attack. "The people of Grenada," it stated, "are not going to see their revolution turned back by the selfish desire of a few get-rich-quick marijuana growers who would stoop so low as to sell their country to the CIA."

The same day the government issued its statement, May 7, three counterrevolutionary prisoners at Richmond Hill Prison attempted to escape, including Dennis Charles, a member of the Budhlall grouping; Antonio Langdon, a supporter of ousted dictator Eric Gairy; and Rasta Nang Nang, a Rastafarian figure who was jailed in October 1979 for conspiring to overthrow the revolutionary government. All three were shot and wounded during their escape attempt.

On May 8, a second promarijuana demonstration was held by 200 persons in Tivoli. Again, government supporters mobilized. Their action began with 300 persons in Grenville and was joined by high school students and Grenville workers who had just gotten off work at mid-day. They marched through several towns to Tivoli, where the crowd, then numbering more than 1,000, held a rally to condemn the marijuana growers.

One antigovernment protester, who had been openly selling marijuana, was seized by the progovernment demonstrators. They paraded him through the villages before handing him and two others over to the police.

The government and NJM then called

another mass mobilization to answer the marijuana growers. The May 10 issue of the NJM's weekly *New Jewel*, in a front-page article headlined, "March Against Counter-Revolutionaries," declared, "The Revolution now calls on all the people of Grenada to come out in your thousands to Grenville this Sunday [May 11] at 1:00 p.m. for a massive march against counter-revolution. . . . The marijuana capitalists will see where the people stand on this issue! We will march to Tivoli and we will put counter-revolution under heavy, heavy manners!"

The next day, about 5,000 persons responded to this call and gathered in Grenville for the beginning of the five-mile march. They marched at a rapid pace to Tivoli, led by five of the top leaders of the NJM: Bernard Coard, Unison Whiteman, Kendrick Radix, George Louison, and Vincent Noel. At Tivoli they were joined by another 1,000 persons.

The Tivoli rally was addressed by all five of the NJM leaders, as well as by NJM Chairman Cacadero "Demo" Grant, who

had been ill for the past year. "I am supposed to be taking it easy still," Grant told the crowd, "but these 'counters' juke me and get me real mad, so I come out to show them that if they touch the Revo, they go have to face Demo!"

In addition to mobilizing the population against the marijuana growers, the government has also responded by moving to alleviate the conditions of agricultural workers. It set up a commission of inquiry to investigate the working conditions of the laborers at the River Antoine Estate.

On May 12, the commission held its first sitting. Gellineau James, the general secretary of the Agricultural and General Workers Union, testified that workers on the estate had no running water, medical facilities, or pension scheme and were not paid overtime for working on holidays.

The government and NJM have made their sympathy with the grievances of the workers evident and have linked the need to improve their conditions with the struggle against marijuana cultivation. □

Free Haydée Beltrán!

Puerto Rican Nationalist Sentenced to Life in Prison

By Fernando Torres

[The following article appeared in the June 16 issue of the U.S. Spanish-language socialist fortnightly *Perspectiva Mundial*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

NEW YORK—Haydée Beltrán Torres, a young Puerto Rican nationalist accused of terrorist acts that the U.S. government attributes to the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) of Puerto Rico, was sentenced to life imprisonment by a federal judge here on May 23. The sentence was handed down after a trial that lasted only four days. The accused refused to present a defense—she declared that her being tried by a Yankee court was "absolutely illegal."

Beltrán Torres is one of eleven supporters of Puerto Rican independence—six men and five women—accused of belonging to the FALN. They were arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the local police in Evanston, Illinois, on April 4 of this year. All those detained have demanded that they be treated as prisoners of war and tried by an international court.

The arrests were accompanied by a disgusting campaign of sensationalist journalism: the eleven were accused, tried, and found guilty of all kinds of real and imagined atrocities in the pages of the

capitalist press. But the government's "evidence" was nil.

Beltrán Torres was transferred to New York to be tried on criminal charges related to a bombing of the Mobil Oil Company's offices, in which one person died. The other ten remained in Illinois, where they are to go on trial on June 16.

Despite the fact that the government's strongest evidence against Beltrán Torres was one alleged fingerprint on an employment application found in the building where the bombing occurred, she was sentenced to life in prison. The prosecutor had originally requested the death penalty; the only Puerto Rican who might have served on the jury was excluded on the government's demand.

Through the case of the eleven, the U.S. government is seeking to terrorize all those who are struggling for or who support Puerto Rican independence. Nonetheless, the courtroom was filled to capacity with defenders of Puerto Rico's right to independence when Beltrán Torres's trial began May 19.

Among those present were Lolita Lebrón, Oscar Collazo, and Irving Flores, all of whom served sentences of more than twenty-five years for their intransigence in struggling against Yankee imperialism.

When Beltrán Torres entered the courtroom, the audience rose to its feet and

broke out in vigorous proindependence chants. Everyone sat down when the judge arrived.

Beltrán Torres spoke directly to the audience, her back to the judge. She explained that, like her ten comrades, she considered herself a prisoner of the war for national liberation and thus refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the Yankee courts. She was removed from the court-

room by federal marshals.

Interviewed by *Claridad*, the weekly paper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Beltrán Torres explained why she had refused to take part in the trial: "If I were a criminal I would defend myself. But I am a prisoner of war—the criminals and terrorists are those who keep our people in chains."

Against the ridiculously weak and

phony "evidence" of the government against the nationalists, the truth of this young woman's words is backed up by nearly a century of the most brutal colonial oppression against Puerto Rico. It's enough to recall the U.S. Marines' "war games" on the island of Vieques, which endanger the lives and livelihoods of its inhabitants; and the repression—including murder—against those who struggle against such barbarism. □

Is Washington Really Backing Fidel Castro?

Sectarians Discover a Machiavellian Plot

By Felipe García C.

[The following article appeared in the May 19 issue of *Bandera Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

To sectarians, what happens in the real world is unimportant. In fact, for them reality must coincide with their schemas, and if it does not, so much the worse for reality. Sects, which thrive on ideas and not on contact with the actual movement, cannot permit themselves the luxury of recognizing that their ideological schemas are mistaken. They would rather adjust reality to fit their schemas than correct those schemas.

For this reason, sects that claim to be Marxist are forced to abandon the materialist analysis of social reality for other methods. One of their preferred methods is the policeman's conception of history.

Thanks to the recurrent contribution of our friends of the Marxist Workers League (LOM), the Mexican section of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI), we are able to offer some new political humor. The LOM is a part of the Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International together with the Bolshevik Faction (represented in Mexico by the Socialist Labor Party [POS]) and the Leninist Trotskyist Tendency (we apologize to the reader for having to cite such a profusion of pretentious names).

In the last issue of *Boletín Obrero*, the LOM newspaper, their explanation of what is happening in Cuba today provides a good example of the method of analysis referred to above.

The title of the article in *Boletín Obrero* summarizes the LOM's position: "Exodus of Cubans: Attempt to Repair Castro's Deteriorating Façade." Although our readers might not believe it, the LOM's Machiavellian "explanation" of the affair of the Peruvian embassy in Havana comes down

to asserting that a deal (secret, of course) was cooked up between Fidel Castro and Washington to set up the embassy mess in order to strengthen Castro's image in Latin America. The reason for this, you see, is that Carter feels that he has no other recourse for stopping the Latin American revolution except the collaboration of Castro, so he has agreed to help improve the leader's image.

Since I can already hear the shouts of my friends from the LOM accusing me—with lots of capital letters and exclamation

points—of being a Pabloite slanderer, a distorter, a little provocateur, a capitulator to Castroism, a revisionist, and other characterizations suitable to the Maoist church, permit me to quote from that article, which appeared in number 125 of *Boletín Obrero*.

"The Peruvian ambassador in Cuba has accused Fidel Castro's government of 'having provoked the situation in the Peruvian embassy.'

"In effect, it is the Cuban government in collusion with imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy who have provoked this situation. . . .

"One of the objectives of this whole present production is thus to awaken the healthy and natural reaction of the Cuban masses in defense of the revolution.

"It is an attempt to quiet the first stirrings of discontent, to call for the closing of ranks around Fidel Castro.



Bandera Socialista

About 10,000 people marched in Mexico City May 15 to express support for the Cuban revolution. Sectarians think that such mobilizations are the result of manipulation by imperialism and Stalinism, rather than manifestations of the deepening class struggle.

Cuban Emigrés Get Their Welcome to 'Free World'

By Suzanne Haig

[The following article appeared in the June 13 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly the *Militant*.]

* * *

In the harshest action yet taken against Cubans arriving here, immigration officials on June 3 arrested Peter Phillip, owner of a freighter carrying 731 Cubans and their relatives.

Sixty-six crew members and an undisclosed number of relatives were arrested. The ship was confiscated.

All were charged with "transporting illegal aliens." In addition, Phillip was also charged with "trading with the enemy," even though he is a West Indian and not a U.S. citizen.

The 731 Cubans were searched and then sent to join the thousands held in camps while waiting to be processed.

This violation of civil liberties was the latest attempt to close the door to further Cuban immigration. On May 14 Carter had ordered that no more private boats be allowed to bring Cubans into the country, but many ignored him.

The government fears that unless this "open door" policy is stopped it will be unable to justify preventing Haitians, Mexicans, and others from entering this country.

The racist attack against Cuban immigration was highlighted by a weekend of violence at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas, one of the four processing centers where Cubans are being held.

State troopers opened fire on 300 Cubans attempting to flee the camp on Sunday night, June 1. Three were wounded, sixty-seven injured. Federal police and soldiers, brought in from Fort Sill, Oklahoma, tear-gassed and clubbed the Cubans once they had been forced back inside the base.

Earlier that afternoon, several hundred Cubans shouting "Libertad" had attempted to leave the base. They were beaten back with blows to the head, back, and legs by armed soldiers and military police in riot gear.

The Cubans were accused of rock throwing and setting fire to barracks. More than eighty were arrested and thrown into the stockade.

These attempts to escape from concentration-camp conditions in which many Cubans have been held for weeks came after several days of demonstrations by hundreds demanding their freedom. Outside the base, relatives and other Cuban-Americans have protested against the confinement of the immigrants.

The government's response to their jus-

tifiable outrage has been to bring 2,000 troops armed with M-16 rifles and riot sticks into Fort Chaffee to ensure that the 19,000 Cubans remain penned up.

A similar attempt to free themselves was made by Cubans at Elgin Air Force Base in Florida on May 24.

For weeks, tens of thousands of Cubans have been held in such camps, isolated from the rest of the Cuban community.

They have been processed at a snail's pace—about 100 daily at Fort Chaffee. They are forced to go through long security checks and find a sponsor or relative before they can leave. Those who have neither are threatened with deportation or expulsion.

The government refuses to allocate the necessary funds to help any of the immigrants get jobs.

Added to this "free world" welcome has been a barrage of racist attacks by the media. Cubans have been called everything from mental patients to spies.

But while such claims fill the air waves and newspapers, immigration officials have not been able to show any significant number of criminals among the refugees. And their physical and mental health was reported to be excellent when they arrived in Florida.

The image of the Cuban immigrants that the government wants to broadcast was provided by Senate majority leader Robert Byrd—a former member of the Ku Klux Klan. He warned that the United States shouldn't become a "dumping ground" for Cuban criminals.

White House press secretary Jody Powell has called those who tried to leave Fort Chaffee "ringleaders and troublemakers," and the *New York Times* suggested editorially that these "chronic criminals" should be deported back to Cuba.

So much for the "open arms" Carter promised only a few weeks ago to the Cubans who wanted to come to this country. □

"American imperialism, for its part, is trying to play a double game—on the one hand, it is trying to use Fidel Castro, reclothed in the prestige of the revolutionary movement of the Cuban masses, and on the other hand it is trying to step up and deepen the pressures against the Cuban revolution and to carry out a worldwide anticommunist campaign.

"What's involved is an attempt to restore the battered façade of the 'revolutionary Fidel.' The reason is simple: revolution is sweeping Latin America and all the forces of counterrevolution are trembling because all their traditional recourses—from repression to 'democratic reforms'—have been shown to be unable to stop it. They have to use every option! Fidel Castro is their ace in the hole.

"... this Peruvian embassy operation is intended to repair his damaged reputation so that he can be used in the fight against the revolution in Latin America and the world.

"Vain hope! The Latin American revolution is on the march, and Fidel cannot ward it off."

This is how far the LOM's sectarian sickness has gone. In its frenetic sectarianism, the LOM doesn't mind that it has a common stand with the reactionary Peruvian government. The LOM agrees with the Peruvian regime that the Cuban government (in collusion with Washington and Moscow!) provoked the occupation of the Peruvian embassy.

Blinded by Stalinophobia and furious anti-Castroism, the LOM article does not take a single class position on the imperialist threats—including threats of armed attacks—against Cuba. On this basis, it is hard to predict what the LOM will do, what side it will be on, if Yankee military aggression against Cuba takes place. Will the LOM continue to maintain it is all a deal with imperialism to strengthen Castro's image?

Or perhaps everything is explained by the LOM's characterization of the Cuban state. Unless they explain how they characterize the Cuban state, their use of terms such as revolution and counterrevolution becomes obscure, ambiguous, abstract. The LOM must clearly say whether it still agrees with the position held by the OC-RFI for twenty years—that in Cuba there has not been a revolution that overturned capitalism, that there is no "qualitative difference between Castro and Batista." They should begin there before offering us their police novels.

Finally, we repeat our invitation to devotees of political humor to subscribe to *Boletín Obrero*. They are missing something unique. They should seize the time, now that *Boletín Obrero* is celebrating its tenth year of existence with a campaign to get a thousand subscriptions. While it doesn't come out very regularly, when it does appear it contains plenty of political humor—albeit involuntarily. □

Copies Missing?

Keep your files complete and up-to-date. Missing issues for the current year may be ordered by sending \$1 per copy. Write for information about previous years

Intercontinental Press/Inprecor
410 West Street
New York, New York 10014

Cuba Replies to Carter's Call for Negotiations

'We Are Not Going to Renounce Our Just Demands'

[The following article was published May 19 in the Cuban daily, *Granma*. The text is taken from the May 25 issue of the *Granma* English-language weekly review.]

* * *

A few days ago U.S. President James Carter publicly called on Cuba to establish what he called "an orderly boat or airlift" to take to the United States those Cubans who want to leave the country. Then, of course, he established a series of limitations saying that they would only accept those with relatives in the United States, etc. Nobody knows which country is willing to take the others! In short, the United States Government wants to pick and choose, take people with a certain degree of skill or training and a clean record—except for those with a counterrevolutionary record—and leave all the other antisocial elements here.

However, the lumpen and all the antisocial elements in general want to emigrate to the United States. None of them want to go to Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador or Peru; nor do they want to go to India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nigeria, Zaire, Gabon, the Ivory Coast or, in short, to any underdeveloped country in Latin America, Asia or Africa. They all want to go to the United States or, as a last resort, to some developed country in Europe. Some of the antisocial elements who went to Costa Rica tried to hijack a plane to Miami, and others in Peru tried to escape as stowaways on a ship heading for the United States. Which is why we feel that some of these governments' talk about receiving "refugees" was a big bluff.

The main issue at stake is not the form or route by which antisocial Cubans travel to the United States. The important thing is to analyze and eliminate the causes which have given rise to these people and Cuban emigration to the United States.

Economic emigration from underdeveloped to developed countries results from the poverty which the brutal system of colonial and imperialist exploitation created in the Third World. It is also due to the unequal distribution of the world's natural resources. That is why millions of Mexicans have emigrated to the United States and it is reported that a million cross the border every year into the former Mexican territories taken over by the United States; that is why millions of Haitians

want to go to the United States, along with many millions more from the rest of Latin America, in view of the wretched socioeconomic conditions in which they live. Nobody claims they are dissidents. Is this not the result of imperialist domination and exploitation in our hemisphere?

In Cuba there was also economic emigration before the Revolution, but the United States set strict limits on the entry of Cubans into that country.

In these last 21 years no country in this hemisphere has done more to eliminate unemployment, poverty, ignorance, disease, gambling, drugs and prostitution; no country in this hemisphere has done more to eliminate the socioeconomic factors which give rise to lumpen and emigration; no country has struggled with greater dedication to overcome economic and social underdevelopment. We have fulfilled our most sacred duties as a nation, for the benefit of its sons and daughters.

However, the United States has made the greatest efforts known to history to sabotage our economic development programs and our tenacious struggle in the field of social development, to keep our country underdeveloped and poverty-stricken, to destabilize the Revolutionary Government and starve us into submission.

After the victory of the Revolution, a new immigration policy was applied to Cuba for strictly counterrevolutionary purposes.

The story began with the mass asylum granted by the United States to criminals and torturers of the Batista regime. Now they are worried about having a common criminal guilty of an act of bloodshed entering their country, but in 1959 they gave a warm welcome to Masferrer, Calviño and Ventura, along with hundreds of other killers and torturers responsible for the deaths of many thousands of Cubans. They welcomed all the Batista supporters, including officials who had plundered the national treasury, stealing hundreds of millions of pesos from the people. Then they opened their doors to all the urban and rural landlords, the big bourgeoisie and all others affected by the Revolution. They encouraged the departure of doctors, engineers, architects, accountants, artists, teachers and professors, and intellectual workers of all sorts. They took 3,000 of the 6,000 doctors in a country that was initiat-

ing a true saga against disease. They opened their doors wide in order to deprive the country of not only university graduates but also skilled workers and technicians. Never before has there been such a gigantic and systematic effort to deprive a country of its skilled personnel, destroy its economy and politically destabilize it as part of a counterrevolutionary strategy. This is what laid the foundation for a real community of residents of Cuban origin in the United States, dividing scores of families who later tried to reunite in that country.

In October 1962, there was an abrupt about-face. The United States halted all flights. Why? To create unrest and promote counterrevolutionary activity among the hundreds of thousands of people left in Cuba with their passports in order and ready to go.

The opening of the port of Camarioca and the willingness of the Cuban Government to negotiate the matter allowed for a partial solution to the situation.

The United States, however, continued its policy of destabilization and counterrevolution towards our country. It once again put restrictions on emigration and, to make matters worse, encouraged illegal departures from Cuba as a tool for filthy imperialist propaganda. Any common criminal, lumpen or antisocial element who could not get a visa through normal channels was given a hero's welcome in the United States and great publicity. At times they seized boats and took the crew hostage. The United States Government was repeatedly warned of the negative consequences of these acts.

Thousands of former counterrevolutionary prisoners were out roaming the streets and the United States, which had encouraged and directed their counterrevolutionary activities, refused to accept them, despite the fact the Cuban Government had given them and their relatives permission to leave.

But the United States did not limit its action against Cuba to the sphere of migration alone. A ferocious economic blockade was set up to keep our country in a state of underdevelopment and poverty and foil our economic and social development programs. Mercenary invasions, pirate attacks, armed bands, terrorist acts, sabotage of industries and agricultural blights are but a few of the criminal

measures used by imperialism against our country.

The United States did all it could to block our participation in international credit agencies and deprive us of access to loans from international commercial banks.

The United States forced our country to funnel large sums of money and human energy into national defense due to its constant military threats.

The United States maintains a naval base in our country against our will, contrary to the principles of international law; a base of no overall military value, but which constitutes a beachhead in our country and a deliberate and flagrant attempt to humiliate us.

The United States assumes the right to violate our airspace as it pleases, using and abusing its technological resources with complete disregard for international norms.

Nevertheless, Cuba has repeatedly displayed its willingness to come up with solutions even if only partial. At the time of Camarioca it agreed to talks and a partial settlement. During the airplane hijackings which spread like wildfire and due to the fact that they were used by the United States as a weapon against Cuba at the start of the Revolution, we once again agreed to a partial settlement of problems and signed the agreement which was revoked following the monstrous Barbados sabotage.

What has been gained by these partial solutions?

Unfortunately, the socioeconomic conditions of our country still give rise to lumpen and emigration.

Seven thousand families in Havana live in temporary dwellings, 43,000 homes have to be propped up and tens of thousands of families, many of them exemplary and dedicated people of humble origin, live in overcrowded conditions. And this only covers the situation of our capital.

In spite of our enormous efforts and great progress in education and public health, in our struggle against unemployment, begging, prostitution, gambling and drugs, we are still an underdeveloped country and this in turn gives rise to lumpen and emigration. Developed capitalism also produces lumpen and on a much larger scale, for capitalism, with its corruption and vices, is the natural breeding ground for lumpen; socialism isn't.

The United States still makes great efforts to obstruct our development plans; the United States still maintains in full after 21 years of Revolution its ferocious economic blockade which outlaws the sale of even food and medicine to Cuba.

It's clear that today it's not the doctors, engineers, architects, artists, professors and technicians who want to leave for the United States. Many have been trained by the Revolution, and it is to their credit and a source of pride to the country that the overwhelming majority chose to stand



José G. Pérez/Perspectiva Mundial

Placard at May 17 March of the Fighting People in Havana. "At our country's call, we are all present. Against the Blockade. Against the [Guantánamo] Naval Base. Against the Spy Flights. We Will Win!"

firm and struggle alongside the people. The few exceptions only serve to confirm the rule. There are very few landlords or refined bourgeois elements left. There are very few vacillating petty bourgeois elements. The only allies imperialism now has left in our country are the lumpen and antisocial elements, including in the latter category those who are not strictly speaking lumpen but lack all national pride and love for their country, and we are not opposed to having such people leave the country to live in the Yankee "paradise."

The imperialist blockade against Cuba gives rise to lumpen and emigration.

The United States' constant and systematic hostility against Cuba, obstructing our economic and social development, gives rise to lumpen and therefore emigration.

The imperialist policy of terror against Cuba gives rise to fear, problems, lumpen and therefore emigration.

The exploitation of Cuba for nearly 60 years by imperialist monopolies gave rise to poverty and underdevelopment and therefore lumpen and emigration.

The counterrevolutionary Yankee policy against Cuba encourages lumpen and therefore their emigration to the United States.

Why does the United States want to discuss the means of emigration from Cuba to the United States and not the causes of the problem?

We are willing to discuss and negotiate our overall problems and relations with the United States, but not isolated and partial problems which are only of interest to them and their strategy against Cuba.

The Mariel-Florida route has proven to be efficient, responsible and safe. At times there were 1800 boats in port, but it could

not have been more orderly. All claims to the contrary are pure demagoguery. We did not violate any law of any kind; entry to and departure from the port is unhampered. If the United States wants to assert its authority it should do so in Florida because in Mariel it can't do a thing.

We realize that the United States is in the midst of hot and heavy electoral demagoguery. But one must also understand the difficulties facing a small, underdeveloped country in dealing with a strong neighbor whose state is unprincipled and whose governments are unethical.

We are not personally against Carter or for Reagan. That would never enter our minds. Recently a prominent black leader from the United States told a Cuban representative: "Reagan is very reactionary, he's crazy and a fascist. If Reagan wins the elections, the black leaders in the United States might have to take refuge in Cuba."

Reagan is one of those who have talked about a naval blockade of Cuba. But that wouldn't be our problem. We will withstand any kind of blockade or aggression. If they elect a fascist or a madman, that's their problem. Hitler was also "crazy" and you know how he ended up.

Should we now help Carter solve the problem of Mariel as he sees fit—a problem created by the previous inept policy of the United States and the residents in that country—and that of the Interests Section—provoked with the help of the former counterrevolutionary prisoners—only bearing in mind the internal situation in the United States?

And who can guarantee Carter's victory? Even if he does win, who can guarantee that there will be a change in policy towards Cuba?

And even if we wanted to, how can we stand for the United States taking upon itself the right to grant asylum when it has always refused to sign the corresponding convention? What would happen if the other Western capitalist states did likewise?

We are not worried or afraid of Reagan or anybody else. We have struggled against six Yankee presidents and none of them could ever or will ever intimidate us. We are not going to fold up our flags or renounce our just demands in deference to U.S. domestic problems. We demand an end to the blockade and the spy flights, and the return of the base. We refuse to make concessions in the hope of more common sense or better times to come.

Peoples ready to struggle and die do not beg for their rights.

We don't want to be inflexible, we don't want to become involved in or be pawns in U.S. domestic strife. We are even willing to consider continued discussion of the important issue of the consequences of the present electoral contest on the foreign policy of the United States. But we must clearly outline our position. □

Chemical Nightmare at Love Canal

By Suzanne Haig

[The following is abridged from an article in the June 6 issue of the U.S. socialist newsweekly the *Militant*.]

* * *

NIAGARA FALLS, New York—Children are born with birth defects, their growth stunted. Signs warning motorists to watch out for deaf children dot the street corners. They and their parents suffer from nervous disorders, kidney and liver failure, leukemia, and cancer.

People have died at Love Canal.

This is the legacy of the Hooker Chemical and Plastics Company.

In 1953 Hooker, now a subsidiary of Occidental Petroleum, sold the canal property—into which it and the U.S. Army had dumped 21,800 tons of toxic waste—to the school board for one dollar.

The deed included a clause disclaiming liability for injuries or deaths that might occur at the site.

Modest homes and a school were then built on the land.

From 1971 to the present, some eighty-two identified industrial chemicals, including dioxin and other toxic and radioactive materials, have bubbled to the surface, seeped into basement walls, entered creeks and drainage ditches, and flowed into underground streams, contaminating the land and air and carrying disease and death in their path.

Today, 800 families—some 2,000 people—are still here unable to leave permanently because they lack the money. The city, state, and federal governments refuse to provide it.

The tragedy of Love Canal—with its destroyed lives, its ruined dreams—is, as one resident put it, “a criminal act perpetrated by industry in concert with the elected officials.”

From the beginning, residents ran up against lies, evasions, and cover-ups from government officials at all levels, as well as from Hooker.

Most people weren't even aware that they lived on a former canal and dump.

They watched unknowingly when the area glowed green at night. The barrels that surfaced in their backyards was just their problem. They saw the black oily slime and red syrupy liquid seeping through cinder blocks in their basement as just a nuisance.

Lenice Betton, a Black homeowner, told the *Militant*, she “spent hours in the basement scrubbing at the black liquid that gave off noxious odors and would not go away,” little knowing that it contained carcinogens.

At first the county health department refused to conduct a formal study of people's health. Department officials responded to the concern of several residents about noxious fumes by installing fifteen-dollar window fans in their basements.

The state even wanted to hire mentally retarded youths to dig drainage ditches in the canal area until residents protested.

Black Creek, which many children played in, was found in 1979 to contain dioxin, one of the most dangerous chemicals known to science.

Many people here cite government and industry complicity.

“Tourist trade would suffer if we got too much attention,” explained Lenice Betton.

“And,” she continued, “if Hooker left Niagara Falls, the city would lose thousands of tax dollars.”

A few years ago, the city gave Hooker land at a low price to build its national headquarters, said James Clark, a Love Canal resident. Clark is co-chair of the Niagara Frontier Coalition, a group of labor, citizens, and environmental organizations fighting industrial pollution.

“Now the city is hoping that Hooker will build a multi-million-dollar vinyl chloride plant here. Then everyone can get cancer,” he added.

His conclusion: “This is a government of industry, for industry, by industry.”

The homeowners and renters have fought back, forcing the government to test residents, release information on contamination, close two schools, and in 1978 to permanently evacuate 237 families nearest the canal.

The Love Canal Homeowners Association, founded in 1978, is at the center of the fight. It is led by Lois Gibbs and other women, who just a few years ago were average working mothers and housewives.

They have organized public protests, rallies, marches, motorcades, and petitioning campaigns.

Unions—in particular the teachers and the United Auto Workers—and religious and campus groups have rallied to their cause, explained resident Phyllis White-night. She staffs the association office—one of the abandoned houses.

The residents are demanding to see the results of soil, air, and blood tests; funds for medical expenses; and permanent evacuation of all residents, which means government purchase of homes and relocation subsidies for renters.

The recent findings of chromosome damage to 30 percent of a test group has only brought funds for temporary evacuation. And this came only after the homeowners

protested by locking up two officials of the Environmental Protection Agency in the association's office, while 200 residents rallied in the yard.

Sarah Herbert, president of the Love Canal Renters Association, charges the state with ignoring residents of the La-Salle Housing Project. “We've been overlooked just because we don't own homes and because we are 80 percent Black,” she told the *Militant*.

“Right now some of the children need to have tests. They have seizures, nausea, nose bleeds. Women are losing babies,” Herbert continued.

Herbert and her family have also been stricken. Her grandchild has a deformed ear. Her son has hearing damage. She said for four days she could not sleep because of a burning pain on her body.

“The frightening thing,” she said, “is not knowing what's wrong.”

James Clark is angry. A former Green Beret who fought in Vietnam, Clark was radically changed his views. “I was on the wrong side for a long time,” he said, “but now my eyes are open. I believed America was a ship of light in a total sea of darkness. Now I believe it's our inalienable right as Americans to protest.”

Clark has had his share of personal tragedies here. One son's growth is stunted. His German wife has had “her American dream turned into a chemical nightmare.” She just entered the hospital. They don't know what's wrong, but she has a condition shared by seven other neighborhood women—a slipped disc and rib joints.

He has seen his friend, a native American, have his bladder and half his brain removed. “Before he died,” Clark said, “he paid for his house here and squared things away so his wife would be secure.”

One of Clark's kidneys, he says, “has atrophied to stone.”

Clark knows Love Canal is just the tip of the iceberg and believes that “we have to involve citizens groups, labor, and others to build a mass movement.”

The revelation about Love Canal and the residents' demands for permanent housing and reparations come at a time when industry and government are rushing headlong to ditch “costly” pollution controls.

But Love Canal will not go away. And the American people are going to want to know where the 50,000 other dangerous waste dumps are located. They will look to the courage of the people of Love Canal and to their fight for inspiration. □

Intercontinental Press/Inprecor
will give you a week by week
analysis of the most important
world events.
Subscribe now!

Founder of Japanese Trotskyist Movement Dies

By A. Miyamoto

Kyoji Nishi, a founder of the Trotskyist movement in Japan, died April 29 of cancer of the gallbladder. A memorial meeting for Nishi has been scheduled by the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (JRCL), the Japanese section of the Fourth International, for June 7.

Nishi joined the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) when it was rebuilt after the Second World War. He was one of the founders of the Kyoto University cell of the JCP in 1946.

Since the JCP was the only political party that maintained its opposition to the monarchy during the war, its influence spread rapidly and it soon became the majority current in the workers movement.

But the JCP regarded the U.S. army of occupation as "the liberation army." This criminal stance disarmed the working class politically. When the cold war began and the U.S. occupation army started to repress the workers movement and the JCP, the party suffered great losses. In response to this defeat, the JCP leadership made a sharp turn toward ultraleft tactics.

This resulted in a split in the JCP in the

early 1950s. Nishi belonged to the minority faction, which criticized the ultraleft tactics, and for that reason he was expelled from the party.

When the two factions arrived at an agreement and fused in 1955, Nishi was allowed to return to the JCP. He soon became a member of the Kyoto Prefectural Committee of the party.

Due to the failure of its previous ultraleft tactics and to the split in the party, the JCP's central leadership had lost much of its prestige among the party rank and file. The Hungarian revolution in 1956 was also a big ideological blow to the JCP's bureaucratic leadership. As a result, the JCP leaders could not establish a strong bureaucratic apparatus and firm ideological control of the party during the latter half of the 1950s.

At the same time, Zengakuren, the national student-union movement, was winning massive support among students with its militantly anti-imperialist actions. Although the Zengakuren was led wholly by student members of the JCP, it came into conflict with the JCP's central leader-

ship, who did not want the student movement to take up political issues and to develop independently.

The disputes over Hungary and the Zengakuren, and the difficulties of the JCP leadership, resulted in a short-lived period in which there were programmatic debates within the JCP, and favorable conditions for the growth of a Trotskyist movement in Japan.

Only a few of Trotsky's articles had been translated into Japanese at that time. There had never been any organized Trotskyist groups until several small ones were formed around 1956. These fused and set up a Japanese section of the Fourth International in January 1957. Nishi, after reading Trotsky's articles, was convinced of his ideas and joined the JRCL early in 1957.

At the same time, Nishi remained in the JCP to organize within it as a Trotskyist. He wrote an article—"For the Leninist Program"—criticizing the draft of the JCP's new program. He defended the perspective of world revolution against the policy of peaceful coexistence and the theory of socialism in one country. He upheld the necessity of armed revolution by the masses, organized in Soviet-type organs, against the strategy of a peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism. Nishi also defended the program of socialist revolution against the theory of a two-stage revolution.

This article had a big influence, especially among the student militants who were beginning to have doubts about Stalinism. At first, the central leadership of the JCP published Nishi's article in the party's internal discussion bulletin, but then they suddenly changed their stance, halting publication of the article and suspending Nishi's membership in the party.

In 1958, after launching a massive anti-Trotskyist campaign against Nishi and the leadership of the Zengakuren, the JCP expelled Nishi along with most of the Zengakuren leadership. But a significant number of the student militants had already been influenced by Trotskyism. When the thirteenth national congress of the Zengakuren was held in December 1958, the JRCL won a majority in the Zengakuren central leadership.

Nishi also carried out a consistent ideological struggle against the centrist currents that developed in the student movement. (Not all the student militants who left the JCP at that time became Trotskyists. Some of them organized the Communist League, whose positions were spontaneist and sectarian. They also maintained that the Soviet Union is a capitalist state, not a workers state.)

Thus, Comrade Nishi played a big role in the formation of the Japanese Trotskyist movement. He continued to struggle for Trotskyism as a member of the JRCL until his death. □



Nishi was expelled from Communist Party in 1958.

'New Winds Are Blowing and All Things Are Possible'

By Leslie Evans

[The following is the introduction to the forthcoming Chinese-language edition of Leslie Evans's *China After Mao* (New York: Monad Press, 1978). The Chinese edition will be published by October Review Press in Hong Kong.*]

* * *

It was a great honor to learn that a Chinese publisher was preparing a translation of *China After Mao*. Few books written in the West about China have the opportunity to be submitted to the people of China in their own language, to receive their criticism and to carry on an exchange of views on the future of the Chinese nation. Least of all does this happen with works written by Marxists, whose defense of the interests of working people against their privileged rulers, and of a perspective of a world socialist society surmounting today's national divisions, is met with unbridled hostility by entrenched power the world over.

When this book was completed in the fall of 1978 it was, of necessity, aimed at a Western audience—to bring together in one brief compass a dossier on the Mao era, now euphemistically referred to in the People's Republic as the period of "Lin Biao and the 'Gang of Four.'" It was too much to hope at that time that it would be possible so quickly to present this material to the working people of China. It is a measure of the depth of the changes that have taken place in China in the last two years that some of you who will read these words will do so within the borders of the People's Republic. Conversely, it is a measure of the distance that separates Deng Xiaoping's promises of democratic rights and socialist legality from today's reality that uncompromising champions of these ideas in China, such as Wei Jingsheng and other leaders of the new democracy movement, have been imprisoned, while no official publisher under the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regime dares to reprint the articles and manifestoes of the "underground" press.

How can we sum up the last two years, since the summer of 1978? Although the situation in China today is far from stable, many of the trends that were still tentative or in their preliminary stages when *China After Mao* was completed have taken more definite shape. We might begin with a historical analogy: that of the Khrushchev era in the Soviet Union following the

death of Stalin. Although there are important differences, the broad parallels are striking. (We must set aside here Mao Zedong's factional contention that Khrushchev carried out a restoration of capitalism in the USSR, an event that did not in fact take place in the Soviet Union and that is not taking place in China under Deng Xiaoping.)

The rise of Khrushchev in the CPSU leadership was conditioned by two factors: First was a deep outrage among Soviet working people at the long years of the Stalin tyranny—the opulent living standards of the party leadership, the repression of dissent, the labor camps, and Russia's relative backwardness, exacerbated by party attempts to prevent debate over even scientific and technical ideas. Second was a reassessment in the capitals of world imperialism of capitalism's previously held assumption that it would be possible in the short term to deal decisive blows to the Soviet planned economy and even to overthrow the Soviet government.

At the outset of the cold war, the American invasion of Korea in 1950 reached the brink of a nuclear catastrophe when Washington weighed General MacArthur's request for permission to cross the Yalu River and begin an assault on the Chinese revolution on its home ground. The U.S.

stalemate in Korea at the hands of the Chinese volunteers led the strategists in Washington to modify (not abandon) their plans for world domination. President Eisenhower and his advisers sought instead to split the workers' camp, offering the Kremlin a truce in the cold war in exchange for Moscow's collaboration in stifling new revolutions elsewhere and isolating the still-living revolution in China. Washington calculated correctly that Moscow would accept this reactionary proposal for defense of the international status quo. Despite imperialism's anticommunist rhetoric, Washington understood that the Kremlin bureaucracy was founded on entrenched privilege and therefore feared the dispossessed masses as much or even more than it feared its capitalist enemy.

Thus the Khrushchev period was marked by a domestic retreat by the bureaucracy under mass pressure: the release of millions of political prisoners, a relaxation of the restrictions on scientific debate, a certain revival of cultural activities, a raising of the standard of living of the workers, and even, for a time, the uneasy toleration of outspoken dissent from the strictures of Stalinist orthodoxy. This was fused internationally with a more openly right-wing stand than in the cold war

Glossary of Names

All names in this article are given in the Pinyin transliteration system, introduced in the People's Republic of China in January 1979. *China After Mao* and most other books published before 1979 use the older Wade-Giles system. The following is a list of Pinyin names referred to in the article, followed by their Wade-Giles spelling.

Ai Qing Ai Ch'ing
 Ba Jin Pa Chin
 Chen Boda Ch'en Po-ta
 Chen Xilian Ch'en Hsi-lien
 Chen Yiyang Ch'en I-yang
 Deng Tou Teng To
 Deng Xiaoping Teng Hsiao-p'ing
 Ding Ling Ting Ling
 Fu Yuehua Fu Yue-hua
 Hu Feng Hu Feng
 Hu Yaobang Hu Yao-pang
 Hu Yebin Hu Yeh-p'in
 Hua Guofeng Hua Kuo-feng
 Huang Kecheng Huang K'o-ch'eng
 Ji Dengkui Chi Teng-k'uei
 Jiang Qing Chiang Ch'ing

Kang Shien Kang Sh'ien
 Lao She Lao She
 "Li Yizhe" "Li I-che"
 Li Zhengtian Li Cheng-t'ien
 Liao Mosha Liao Mo-sha
 Lin Biao Lin Piao
 Liu Lantao Liu Lan-t'ao
 Liu Qing Liu Ch'ing
 Liu Shaoqi Liu Shao-ch'i
 Lu Dingyi Lu Ting-i
 Lu Xun Lu Hsun
 Mao Zedong Mao Tse-tung
 Peng Dehuai P'eng Te-huai
 Peng Zhen P'eng Chen
 Wang Dongxing .. Wang Tung-hsing
 Wang Guangmei .. Wang Kuang-mei
 Wang Hongwen Wang Hung-wen
 Wang Xizhe Wang Hsi-che
 Wei Jingsheng Wei Jing-sheng
 Wu De Wu Te
 Wu Han Wu han
 Yao Wenyuan Yao Wen-yuan
 Zhang Chunqiao . Chang Ch'un-ch'iao
 Zheng Chaolin Cheng Ch'ao-lin
 Zhou Enlai Chou En-lai
 Zhou Yang Chou Yang

*The English-language edition is available for \$3.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

years, later codified in the catchword *détente*. What was involved was not a fundamental change from the time of Stalin but a tactical shift, predicated on rising mass discontent at home and improved relations with imperialism abroad. The bureaucracy would retain its political and economic monopoly of power. The masses were to be placated through the economic benefits that would trickle down to them as a result of increased trade with the capitalist West, combined with a relative, not absolute, loosening of the regimentation on which the bureaucracy depends for its survival.

Something similar has taken place in China twenty-five years later. The roots of the present conjuncture must be sought in the CCP's and Washington's reactions to the Indonesian debacle in 1965 and the war in Vietnam, the counterpart on a greater scale of the Korean War of the early 1950s. Stung by Moscow's abandonment of China in 1960, Mao Zedong and those around him in the CCP hierarchy sought to protect China from deepening isolation at the hands of a Washington-Moscow bloc by searching out allies in the colonial and semicolonial world. Unfortunately this was done in the manner of timid, class-collaborationist bureaucrats and not in the manner of revolutionary internationalists. The allies that were courted by Peking were, above all, existing bourgeois governments.

This policy produced its most disastrous results in Indonesia. There in October 1965 a multimillion member Communist Party was massacred by the capitalist government it had been encouraged by Peking to trust. The defeat of the Indonesian working class revealed the fundamental weakness of the CCP's strategy, prompting Washington to drive ahead with its war of conquest in Vietnam. Mao's response was no less revealing of the social axis of the CCP regime. Behind a sudden cloud of revolutionary verbiage, the CCP hastily

severed its contacts with revolutionary movements in most of the rest of the world—and with many bourgeois governments as well—retreating into national isolation to ride out the storm. Hence the Cultural Revolution. Not believing in the potential of the working class internationally, and temporarily at a loss to persuade imperialism to accept a *détente* agreement, the Mao faction led a fight for control of the party apparatus around the slogans of “self-reliance,” xenophobic distrust of foreigners, a return to the land, unreserved faith in Mao's personal leadership, and the extermination of dissent.

'China's Khrushchev Number Two'

China After Mao seeks to document the effects of Mao's “Cultural Revolution” on the economy, on science and culture, and on the democratic rights of ordinary citizens. Unquestionably, as the upheaval following the fall of the “Gang of Four” testifies, the measures implemented in Mao's last years provoked a profound backlash from China's working class. It is in this context that Deng Xiaoping, whom Mao once aptly labeled “China's Khrushchev Number Two,” has sought to rebuild the CCP's tarnished image and to restore “unity and stability” for the ruling bureaucratic caste.

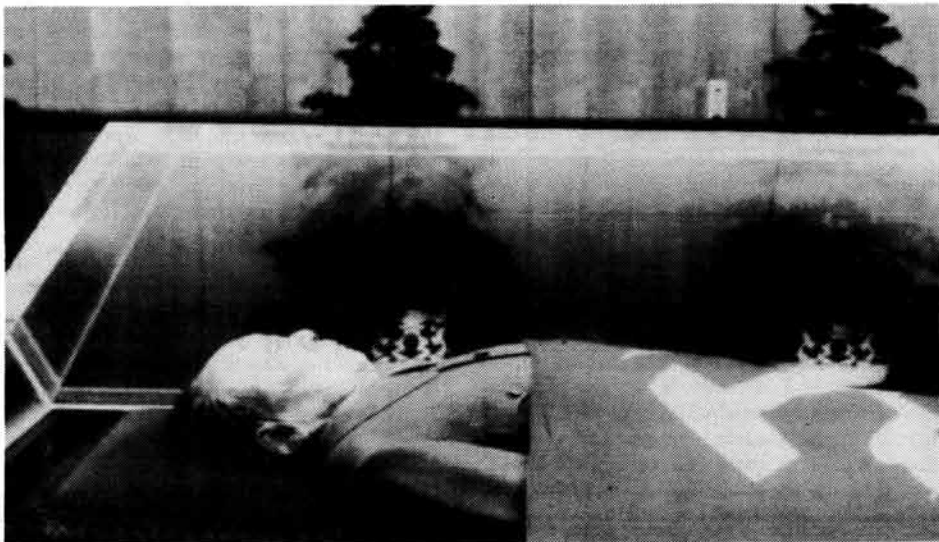
As in the Khrushchev period in Russia, the appearance of a weakened party leadership, confronted with a wave of mass discontent, has resulted in a policy of domestic reforms tied to an international push for closer ties with world capitalism, staking the bureaucracy's future on a more or less rapid infusion of Western technology and trade.

This development was predicted in *China After Mao*, which traces the preliminary steps in this direction over the first two years after Mao's death. These tendencies have hardened and become clearer still over the last year, particularly since

Deng succeeded in capturing a majority in the Politburo at the leadership meetings in December 1978.

There were a number of circumstances that explain why it took the post-Mao CCP leadership almost three years to define its membership and its course of action. Above all was the fact that not one but two different factions inherited the control of the CCP after Mao's death and the arrest of his immediate circle—Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Wang Hongwen. Those who actually carried out the palace coup that arrested the “Gang of Four” were men who, like the “gang” itself, mostly rose to power in the course of the Cultural Revolution and had been part of the Mao faction in the struggle to disgrace and eliminate the wing of the bureaucracy led by Deng Xiaoping and former head of state Liu Shaoqi in the late 1960s. After the Tiananmen (Tien An Men) demonstrations of April 1976, it became clear to even the majority of the Mao faction that further pursuit of the repressive line of the Cultural Revolution period would spell a direct confrontation with the masses. But without Mao these renegade ex-Maoists lacked an effective base in the apparatus, while being deeply distrusted by the masses for their role in the Mao era. Consequently the remnants of the old Liu Shaoqi faction, bolstered by its reputation as victims of the injustices of the last years of the Mao era, was reconstructed, in alliance with the forces around former Premier Zhou Enlai. Led by Vice-premier Deng, this grouping has slowly whittled away at the position of the ex-Maoists around Hua Guofeng. At the end of 1978 we saw the removal of Wu De as head of the Peking Municipal Government, the quiet retiring of Wang Dongxing, Mao's former bodyguard, from command of the infamous 8341 Security Regiment, and the cloud that settled over the head of Peking Garrison commander Chen Xilian. All three of these men, plus Politburo member Ji Dengkui, were officially stripped of all of their posts because of “grave mistakes” at the Central Committee plenum at the end of February 1980. This marked a decisive consolidation of Deng Xiaoping's hold on the party Politburo and its seven-member Standing Committee. This plenum placed Hu Yaobang, a Deng protégé purged in 1966 and rehabilitated only in December 1978, on the Standing Committee as well as naming him to head the revived party Secretariat, the CCP's organizational nerve center.

Fittingly, this same plenum finally acted to officially exonerate Liu Shaoqi of all of the charges laid against him by Mao in the Cultural Revolution. Mao's persecution of Liu was declared a “frame-up,” and Liu was described in a February 29, 1980, communiqué as “a great Marxist.” With a stroke, all the millions of words in the Chinese press for a decade and the countless meetings attended by every Chinese



Mao era is now euphemistically being called period of “Lin Biao and Gang of Four.”

from grammar-school age on to vilify Liu were branded as a campaign of lies perpetrated by the previous government of China.

This might all be dismissed as a mere changing of the guard within the tiny inner circle of party leadership—were it not for the millions of Chinese citizens caught up in the Cultural Revolution and purged along with Liu, or in the subsequent repression of the Red Guard purgers. These are issues that personally affect untold millions, in the form of labor camp sentences, bad political records, old injuries and, often, continuing job discrimination.

Consequences of Rehabilitation

Hence there are important consequences for the decision to move toward the rehabilitation of the "counterrevolutionaries" of the 1960s. Old cases are reopened, admissions of government injustice must and have been made. And enormous numbers of political prisoners and semipolitical prisoners from a surprisingly wide range of political backgrounds and views have been able to return to active life. Most prominent, of course, has been Deng's reassembling of his own disgraced faction, many of whom have come almost directly from the labor camps and rural exile into high government office. We have seen a steady stream of "rehabilitated rightists" reappear in prominent posts. Some of these fell from grace not only in the Cultural Revolution but even earlier, in the Great Leap Forward of 1958-60.

It would appear that there was a struggle over this policy between Deng's people and the ex-Maoists around Hua. At least, it was not until July 1977, nine months after the arrest of Jiang Qing, that Deng was himself publicly returned to the party leadership, and another year and a half, until the end of 1978, before many of the present central figures of the government of China reappeared in public. From December 1978 through the spring and summer of 1979, the most significant series of rehabilitations took place. Many of these implicitly repudiated the justice of Mao's rule, not only in the 1960s but for the 1950s as well.

Mao's most famous critic within the CCP in the 1950s was undoubtedly Defense Minister Peng Dehuai. Peng was purged in 1959 for his opposition to the Great Leap Forward. We now know that he died while under house arrest during the Cultural Revolution. Efforts to clear Peng's name—and thereby to legitimize a certain level of dissent—played a big part in criticism of CCP rule in China in the early 1960s. It was the attack on Peng's supporters in 1965 that marked the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. Consequently it was an important political indicator when in December 1978 Peng Dehuai's close friend and best-known supporter in the military, former General

Huang Kecheng, arose, from the dead as it were, and began giving public speeches in defense of his old commander. Huang was then put in charge of a special party commission entrusted with reopening the cases of thousands of high-ranking party cadres falsely accused and imprisoned since the late 1950s. This was another slap at Mao and an admission of what everyone in China already knew: that widespread violations of democratic rights began long before the Cultural Revolution and the appearance on the scene of the "Gang of Four."

Reversing the Verdicts

This parade of ghosts became a veritable mass march in 1979, beginning with the first public appearance in twelve years by Wang Guangmei, Liu Shaoqi's widow, at Hua Guofeng's New Year's celebration. Then came the rehabilitation of pre-Cultural Revolution propaganda chief Lu Dingyi in the spring, and the use of the June 1979 National People's Congress and People's Political Consultative Conference to offer new posts to purged General Liu Lantao and former Peking Mayor Peng Zhen (since elevated to the Politburo). A roster of the top officials in Peking today reads like nothing less than a reunion of the defeated Liu Shaoqi faction against whom Mao waged war—successfully, he thought—back in 1966.

Certainly, Deng is employing the rehabilitations of Mao's bureaucratic opposition to marshal his own troops and "reverse the verdicts" placed against them by the Maoists in 1966-69. But more is involved. This conclusion becomes inescapable if we turn from the reconstruction of the CCP's top echelons to the field of culture.

Culture and the Arts

It should be noted that culture and the arts have never been genuinely independent of the CCP. Because of that, many individuals in the cultural apparatus that disappeared in 1966 were more truly party functionaries than artists. But total control of the arts always proved elusive for the Stalinist bureaucrats. There were gradations among the novelists, playwrights, and film directors. Most of them would concede certain things to party expediency, but draw the line at others. As long as literature and art existed, there remained figures to one degree or another distant from the CCP's conception of "politics." This relative independence was eliminated only in Mao's last years through the expedient of having only "politics" and no culture at all. (Today, Jiang Qing's degraded "Eight Model Operas," which Western sycophants such as Lois Wheeler Snow wrote gushy books about, have been mercifully laid to rest.)

The lifting of the ban on many cultural figures has brought back a few villains as well as a number of heroes. For example,

the resurrection of former cultural commissar Zhou Yang at the end of 1978 is not exactly a breath of fresh air. Zhou, it is true, proved not quite supple enough to bend himself into the literary contortions required by Jiang Qing's comic-book art. But before his fall in 1966 he had accumulated a thirty-year record as a Stalinist literary hatchetman, beginning with his attempts—unsuccessful—to impose party conformity on the famous short story writer and essayist Lu Xun in the League of Left-Wing Writers in Shanghai in the late 1930s and continuing up through the purges of writers Hu Feng and Ding Ling in the 1950s.

If Zhou Yang's restoration did not hold out much promise, the same cannot be said of some of those that followed. First were the group of reformist-minded Stalinist intellectuals in Peking, who had dared to mount a satirical although indirect attack on Mao's authoritarianism in the years following the disaster of the Great Leap Forward. These men had so galled the old tyrant that he took them as the first target of the Cultural Revolution at the end of 1965. The most prominent of them was Peking's then vice-mayor Wu Han, also a playwright, whose historical drama *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office* used the ancient tale of an upright official wrongly dismissed from his post for daring to criticize an unjust emperor to argue the case for deposed Defense Minister Peng Dehuai. Next to receive Mao's scourge were Wu Han's collaborators, Deng Tou and Liao Mosha, who together with him wrote the satirical column "Notes from Three Family Village" in the early 1960s in the Peking party press. Assailed by "Gang of Four" member Yao Wenyuan in 1965 and 1966, both Wu Han and Deng Tuo died in prison. But in 1979 they were posthumously rehabilitated and their works republished. Liao Mosha has been recalled from exile in a rural village.

A number of contemporary China's best known left-wing novelists have had their works brought back from the ashes this last year. These are mostly men and women of the older generation, whose creative years were spent in Shanghai in the 1930s. Then the CCP approved the sharp edge of their pens, wielded against the corrupt Kuomintang regime. Without exception these writers were forced into near silence by the mid-1950s and then felled in successive purges on the cultural front, all of their works finally being destroyed in the Cultural Revolution. Thus it was a major sign of the new winds blowing when Lao She's *Camel Hsiang-tzu* (translated in the West under the title *Rickshaw Boy*) reappeared in print in 1979 despite the old man's demonstrative suicide in 1966 while undergoing persecution by Mao's Red Guards. Among the living, the one-time anarchist Ba Jin, who has lived in obscurity in Shanghai since the Cultural Revolution, is now read again,



Jiang Qing's "Eight Model Operas" have been laid to rest. Above, scene from *Red Detachment of Women*.

while Ai Qing is once more publishing his verses.

The most dramatic of these literary rehabilitations came with Ding Ling's election to the People's Political Consultative Conference in June 1979, after twenty-two years in prison and exile. Ding Ling holds a special place among those Communist writers of independent mind who sought over many years to defend the principles the CCP proclaimed against the party's actual practice. Since she was denounced in 1957 her name has disappeared from the CCP press and her works have been banned, so many of the younger generation may not even know her name. She was born in Hunan in 1907 and at the age of twenty was already famous as a short story writer. Her lover, Hu Yebin, also a writer and a member of the Communist Party, was seized by the Kuomintang in 1931 and executed. Ding Ling was placed under house arrest in 1933 and held until 1935, when she escaped and made her way from Shanghai to the liberated area at Yen-an.

In the CCP capital she taught literature at the Red Army University and wrote prolifically. An ardent feminist as well as a Communist, most of Ding Ling's short stories dealt with the oppression of women. Here, her honesty and sensitivity compelled her to go beyond the approved themes of CCP propaganda and to touch on the unequal place of women in the CCP-

held territories as well as the more brutal and obvious mistreatment that women received in the old society. For a time, this was permitted by the CCP hierarchy, in deference to her stature as a nationally famous Communist novelist. But in 1942 an inevitable clash erupted between the increasingly privileged and narrow-minded party bureaucracy and the critical intellectuals. In honor of International Women's Day, March 8, Ding Ling in 1942 published her essay "Reflections on the March Eighth Anniversary" in the party press at Yen-an. She criticized the party's insistence in that period that women marry and have children at the cost of removing themselves from political life; the many difficulties placed in the way of women who desired abortions or divorce and who were urged instead to abandon their aspirations to contribute to society and instead to close themselves off in the narrow world of home and family. And she pointed out the material inequality that prevailed even in the self-proclaimed Communist territory:

"Some children are wrapped in soft woolen sweaters and flowery flannel, and are carried by nurses. Other children are wrapped in dirty rags and are left crying on the bed while the parents eat the baby's food rations (25 yuan per month, enough for 1¼ kilograms of pork). If not for the baby's food ration, the parents would probably not get a taste of meat at all."

It was in response to these criticisms that Mao Zedong, two months later, delivered his "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art," lectures that aimed, not to establish a Marxist framework for literary work but to silence the sharp tongues of Communist writers who insisted on telling the truth about a harsh reality. Ding Ling was submitted to a campaign of public criticism and "struggle meetings," a pattern that was to become all-too familiar after the CCP came to power. She underwent several years of "thought reform" before being permitted, in the late 1940s, to resume her work. (The organizer of this campaign, incidentally, was none other than Mao Zedong's personal secretary, Chen Boda, who was later to become infamous for his persecutions of dissent during the Cultural Revolution.)

Nevertheless, Ding Ling's spirit was not broken. In 1948 she published her best and most famous novel, *The Sun Shines Over Sanghan River*, a rich account of the land reform in a rural village. One of the cultural high points of the early years of the People's Republic, this novel was widely read and acclaimed both inside and outside of China.

But by 1955 the CCP began to reconsider the "united front" policy it had used to draw many strata of Chinese society into supporting the consolidation of its rule. The expansion and institutionalization of the hierarchy's privileges drew increasing hostility and criticism from the working masses. The CCP apparatus retaliated, but found it expedient to make the radical intellectuals its most publicized target. Although the intellectuals were, for the most part, merely articulating the grievances of the working class and the peasants, they could more easily be portrayed as petty-bourgeois individualists unable to adjust to the needs of a collectivist society, as elitists who looked down on the true representatives of the masses, the party cadres. Ding Ling survived the 1955 campaign against the writer Hu Feng, but in 1957 in the so-called antirightist campaign that put an end to the "Hundred Flowers Bloom" movement, she was struck down. After a prolonged campaign against her in the press, she was exiled in 1958 to a state farm in Heilungkiang Province in the northeast. There she remained until 1970, when she was imprisoned for five years in Qincheng Prison in Peking. In 1975 she was once more exiled, this time to a small village in Shanxi Province. Her release and rehabilitation in 1979 is an important sign of new winds blowing in China, of the government's need in face of an aroused populace to dissociate itself from its own past crimes.

Release of the Chinese Trotskyists

Still more remarkable was the unpublicized release from prison in June 1979 of a number of leaders of the Chinese Trotskyist movement. (The ordeal of these men

and women, who spent almost twenty-seven years in captivity under the CCP, is described in Chapter 13.) This was the first major concession to the CCP's organized working-class opposition. Because, despite its fifty-year campaign of vilification of the followers of the Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky, the CCP leaders know very well that the only crime of the Trotskyists was their uncompromising defense of equality, of socialist legality and democracy, and proletarian internationalism. The CCP stands for all of these things in words but violates them at every turn in its actual practice. That makes the Trotskyists, as an organized Marxist current, an unassimilable danger to the bureaucratic status quo.

The release of Zheng Chaolin, the best known of the imprisoned Trotskyists, and of his comrades poses in a microcosm the dilemma that confronts the Stalinist regime: On the one hand the policy of imprisoning every critic and opponent led inexorably to the stifling conformity and mass resentment now referred to as the period of the "Gang of Four." But just as little is the CCP prepared to engage in an actual debate with its opponents. Every rehabilitation, every loosening of the political and cultural controls, opens wider the door to an inevitable conflict between the regime and the masses. In this case, the release of the imprisoned Trotskyists is undoubtedly meant to demonstrate to the Chinese public that the government means seriously its promises of a new respect for individual rights and democratic reforms. The individuals involved are few in number and old in years. Moreover they are still denied access to the press to present their views and to participate in the debate over their country's future. And yet, even with these qualifications, the move was not without risk for the government. It is symptomatic of a change in the relationship of forces between the working class and the government in which the government has been forced onto the defensive.

The most important turning point in this process was the Tiananmen demonstrations of April 1976. Initially the regime, then under the firm control of Mao and his lieutenants, believed that it could simply crush the "April 5 movement," as it had dealt before with outbursts of dissidence in 1957 and in the mid-1960s. It dispersed the crowds and declared the demonstrations "counterrevolutionary." Since then the movement for democratic rights, which has taken the name of April 5 for its banner, has become so strong that we are witness to the incongruous sight of the old men who hold the power today in China making heroes of the April 5 demonstrators and seeking to drape themselves in the flag of the April 5 movement. This costume is ill-fitting, to say the least. Sticking out from under the red flag are the old policeman's trousers and boots. But

the policeman is trapped for the moment in his own pose and cannot bring his club down too sharply on the heads of those who seriously seek to carry forward the "spirit of April 5" without revealing to everyone that he has not changed after all. It is in this situation that the most important single event in post-Mao China has taken place: the emergence of the democracy movement, with its own organizations and its own press.

In *China After Mao* I noted "a new mood of independence from the bureaucratic hierarchy" and commented that "The death of Mao was in some ways like the breaking up of a logjam, in which the waters of social life, dammed up and stagnant, began to flow again." The signs of this development were at that time in their earliest stages—the most recent documents of the communist opposition to the CCP then available in the West were the "Li Yizhe" wall poster of 1974 and a single poem from Tiananmen Square. How much has changed since then! In November 1978 the world witnessed the appearance of Democracy Wall in Peking, followed by a proliferation of spontaneous democratic organizations and tiny magazines primitively produced in individual apartments. Political life had returned to China.

The themes raised by these fighters for workers democracy confirm that the outlook of the "Li Yizhe" group in Canton in the mid-1970s was not an isolated expression of individual views, but rather the forerunner and prototype of today's democratic opposition. In turn, the democratic movement has succeeded in compelling the release from prison of the three authors of the "Li Yizhe" manifesto—Li Zhengtian, Chen Yiyang, and Wang Xizhe—whose latest arrest and trial had taken place not under the "Gang of Four" but under the Hua Guofeng regime. And in the last year Wang Xizhe of this group has emerged as an important figure in the democratic movement in Canton, contributing a significant article to the opposition magazine *Voice of the People* that called for moving toward the withering away of the state promised by the founding fathers of Marxism and pointing out that the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be reduced to the dictatorship of a single party.

The Dissident Movement Today

The Chinese dissident movement is in its majority prosocialist and opposes any perspective of the restoration of capitalism. It supports the many genuine material advances that have taken place in China as a result of the abolition of capitalism and the institution of a nationalized, planned economy. It appears divided over whether or not the Chinese Communist Party is capable of being reformed. But even the most cautious adherents of the democracy movement advocate sweeping reforms of the ruling party and state apparatus.

To date, the oppositionists have not developed a significant base in the working class. But from all accounts the active, day-to-day membership of the small Chinese dissent organizations is composed mainly of industrial workers. That is a source of initial strength compared to the more isolated intellectual dissenters who comprised the first contingents of the new opposition in the USSR from the late 1950s to the present. In addition to the home-publishing operations and the human rights groups, however, there is a significantly larger milieu in the major Chinese cities prepared to go into the streets in support of rallies for democratic reform. The last year has seen public meetings called outside of official channels in Peking and Shanghai with up to 10,000 persons present. At the least, the majority of these participants have been sympathetic to the right of the oppositionists to publicly air their views, and large sectors of these crowds undoubtedly agree outright with the spokespeople for democratic reform.

To this sector must be added the many hundreds and even thousands of peasants who have continued for the last year to make pilgrimages to Peking to air their grievances, and the untold millions of "rusticated youth" who have been and continue to be arbitrarily sent to settle in the countryside since the end of the Cultural Revolution. Some fourteen million were sent all told during the Mao years, but some of those have since been permitted to resettle in urban areas or have returned without permission. Demonstrations by up to 1,000 peasants in Peking at the Chinese New Year in 1979 prodded the government into action—not to rectify the injustices committed against the peasants, but to arrest leaders of the local dissident movement such as the woman Fu Yuehua who aided and helped to organize the peasant visitors to the capital. In the spring of 1979 in Shanghai, tens of thousands of young people who had been sent to the countryside occupied the offices of the municipal party committee, seized the railroad yards, and clashed with police to make their protest known.

The government has retaliated against this ferment with a wave of arrests of democracy activists, combined with promises of reform. This was an important test for the new movement. Until then, there was a certain unclarity, deliberately encouraged by Deng Xiaoping and his associates, as to whether the government shared the goals of the democracy movement. A certain number of those who attended demonstrations, circulated the unofficial magazines, and even wrote for the democratic press did so believing that they had the tacit support of Deng Xiaoping and of the other officials who had been persecuted in the Mao era. If they sought to prod Deng into acting on his reform promises faster than he had intended, what was involved still seemed a

matter of friendly pressure between sides that shared a common agreement on where China should be going.

Deng Xiaoping's Role

The repressions of the spring of 1979 compelled a rethinking of these harmonious assumptions. It was true that Deng was interested in a certain kind of reform—particularly in the loosening of party controls over scientific research and the encouragement of rapid technological and industrial development. But it was not true that Deng and his colleagues at any time accepted the proposition that control over party and government affairs should be placed in the hands of the working class or that the masses should be allowed to form their own political organizations separate from the CCP. The reasons for Deng's disagreement with the democracy movement are not ideological. They will not be resolved by argument, nor by the application of Deng's famous slogan that "Practice is the only criterion of truth."

Deng will not be persuaded to adopt the program of the democracy movement because his power and authority, indeed his whole political past and future, rest on serving the same privileged bureaucratic caste that Mao and the "Gang of Four" served. Deng prides himself on being a more enlightened administrator, a more cultured man, a more practical politician and technician than the representatives of the regime that preceded him. That may be true. But it does not take him one step beyond the bounds of the social interests that he defends in common with the previous regime, and which he will and must defend against the aspirations of the Chinese workers and peasants. The CCP bureaucracy in China is not part of the working class, even a privileged part, but instead is a petty-bourgeois layer alien to the workers. It is a transmission belt for imperialist pressures against the Chinese workers.

An Important Step Forward

The arrests of the spring of 1979 had a dampening effect on the various opposition currents in China. This helped to dispel some illusions in the Deng government. It marked an important step forward, then, when the movement revived again in the fall. On September 13, 1979, 1,000 people took part in a protest rally in Tiananmen Square. A September 16 dispatch from Peking in the Hong Kong *South China Morning Post* reported:

"The majority of the protesters represented the poor and jobless who gather periodically in Peking to protest against injustices and to demand work. Many were former city dwellers banished to the countryside for their activities in political movements. Others were peasants reduced to begging because they had displeased some work brigade bureaucrat. . . . As one demonstrator said during the Thursday

gathering: 'Democracy has to come before modernisation. The absence of democracy can only hinder the forward march of modernisation.'"

The September 14 *New York Times* quoted one of the speakers at the rally as saying: "We have wiped out capitalists, landlords and rich peasants, but now we have a new rich class."

That same week, some 300 writers held an unofficial meeting in a Peking park to discuss the state of current Chinese literature, and several hundred students who had passed the college entrance examinations but been denied admission staged a march on the municipal party committee offices.

On September 20, about 100 unemployed railroad workers held a protest meeting outside the party leadership compound at Zhongnanhai, leading to a clash with police in which about 40 of the demonstrators were arrested.

And on October 10, more than 2,000 students from the Peking People's University staged a sit-in at the entrance to Zhongnanhai to demand an end to the use of their university's buildings by the People's Liberation Army. According to accounts in the U.S. and Canadian press, the students chanted, "Oppose the warlords" and "Down with bureaucracy."

The Trial of Wei Jingsheng

The government responded to this mood by bringing to trial two of the most prominent dissident leaders who had been arrested the previous spring: Wei Jingsheng and Fu Yuehua. Wei, the editor of the unofficial *Explorations* magazine, was charged with "counterrevolutionary agitation" and "supplying a foreigner with Chinese military intelligence." Wei refused to concede the government's case and spoke boldly in his own defense. He directly challenged the government's premise, still maintained from the days of Mao and the "Gang of Four," that it is treasonable for Chinese citizens to discuss their country's affairs with foreigners:

"On the first charge, the indictment states that a counterrevolutionary crime is committed when our country's military intelligence is given to a foreigner. The word military intelligence is a very broad concept. Citizens have the duty to keep secrets, but the premise is that citizens must know what secrets are to be kept.

"I was never told of the secrets I must keep. After the outbreak of the Chinese-Vietnamese war, I had no access to anything classified as secret.

"I am an ordinary man in the street and my source of information was hearsay and not any official government documents. The news I talked about could not cause any harm to the situation on the front line." (*New York Times*, November 15, 1979)

Wei was equally adamant in denying that the prosecutor had any right to equate

his writings in defense of democratic rights with "counterrevolutionary agitation":

"Because of the policy of hoodwinking the people adopted by the Gang of Four, some people have the following view: It is revolutionary to act in accordance with the will of the leaders in power and counterrevolutionary to oppose the will of the people in power.

"I cannot agree with this debasing of the concept of revolution. Revolution is the struggle between the old and the new. . . .

"Criticism cannot possibly be nice and appealing to the ear or all correct. To require criticism to be entirely correct and to inflict punishment if it is not is the same as prohibiting criticism and reforms and elevating the leaders to the position of deities. Is it really true that we must again take the path of superstition of the Gang of Four?"

Wei's trial took place October 16. It purported to be a public trial and an example of the new legal code promising due process. In fact, the 400-seat courtroom was packed with government supporters while almost all of Wei's supporters were barred from attending. The official press went on a venomous campaign of character assassination to brand its young critic an enemy of the people. In this lynch-mob atmosphere, Wei Jingsheng was sentenced to fifteen years in prison.

But this time, despite the threat implied to other critics by the severity of the sentence, the democracy movement did not fall silent as it had in the spring. While the official press interviewed individuals who denounced Wei as "scum," posters went up at Peking's Democracy Wall declaring: "He was condemned because he criticized the high leaders." Within a week of the trial the dissident journal *April 5 Forum* began publishing and pasting up the complete transcript of the trial, based, evidently, on a tape recording that a spectator succeeded in smuggling out of the courtroom. On November 11 this transcript, published as a pamphlet, went on sale at Democracy Wall.

This time the police waded into the crowd of several hundred persons, seizing the pamphlets and arresting four people. Activists afterward sent a delegation to the police station to demand to know what law prohibited them from circulating the transcript of a public trial. The police could not answer them. But the editor of the *April 5 Forum*, Liu Qing, was arrested.

There was evidence, however, that the government was not in a confident and belligerent mood. A few days after Wei Jingsheng's day in court, Fu Yuehua was brought to trial. She had been arrested on January 17, 1979, principally for her aid to peasant squatters in Peking who were living in the railroad station waiting for someone in authority to hear their cases. Since her arrest the flow of distressed peasants to Peking and other major cities

had persisted and even grown. The September 26, 1979, Peking *People's Daily* referred to hundreds of thousands who had left the land without permission. Fu, who is thirty-two years old, was charged with "libel and violation of public order." The "violation of public order" referred to the January 1979 peasant demonstrations at Tiananmen Square. The other charge was revenge for Fu's refusing to retract her allegation that the brigade secretary of her unit raped her in 1972. This official was exonerated by the party hierarchy, and this seven-year-old case was dragged up by the prosecution after Fu's arrest in 1979. After a day-long proceeding October 17, the government decided to adjourn Fu's case. Two months later, on December 23, she was sentenced to two years in prison, a substantially lighter sentence than that given to Wei Jingsheng.

Where do things stand now? The growth of the democracy movement has seemingly resulted in a certain drawing together and compromise of the two main factions in the CCP leadership. While still avoiding a head-on confrontation with the ranks of the democracy movement through widespread arrests, Deng in the spring of 1980 felt bold enough to order the closing of Democracy Wall and to withdraw the official sanction for the posting of wall posters.

Trade and Modernization

The present government minces no words in declaring that its economic prospects are founded on the hope of a massive infusion of technology, patents, and modern management techniques from the major imperialist powers, particularly from the United States and Japan. The combined effects of the withdrawal of Soviet aid in 1960, the U.S. trade embargo, and the political fanaticism of the Mao era has left China with an industrial plant that is thirty to fifty years behind current world standards. Deng's efforts at more rational planning can speed growth rates but cannot by themselves close that gap. The current strategy of the ruling group in China was summed up by Kang Shien, chairman of the State Economic Commission, in an interview with the editors of the U.S. magazine *Business Week* in April 1980:

"... there are two ways we want the collaboration of foreign firms: technical modernization of existing plants and development of natural resources. Those are the two areas of emphasis. . . ."

"We welcome collaboration with American companies to modify our existing plants. In the machinery and chemical industries and the railway system, we already have a wide range of collaboration with foreign companies. We offer different types and means of collaboration. We can have a joint venture: You can invest your knowhow, your technology, and your equipment; our existing plant can be our

investment. In that way, we can modernize an existing obsolete plant into a modern one. We will be able to produce a new generation of products from our existing plants. We think there is the opportunity for hundreds or even thousands of such collaborations." (*Business Week*, May 19, 1980.)

This schema envisages a setup where foreign corporations will invest capital in the form of modern machinery and skilled technicians to modernize China's existing factories and train the Chinese workforce. They are to be repaid in a portion of the output, with the Chinese government retaining essential control. One problem with this plan is that capitalist companies are, with good reason, afraid to take the risks of investing in the nationalized economy of a workers state. (The only major exception is in oil exploration, where the expected profit is big and quick enough that a Japanese-French consortium in December 1979 signed a contract for a \$400 million investment for oil drilling in the Gulf of Bo Hai.) Very few joint ventures have reached the contract stage in industrial projects. After several years of talk, hard deals have been concluded for a few hotels, a catering service, a shirt factory in Xinjiang Province, an electronic watch factory in Canton. In negotiation but not signed are deals for a joint tractor plant with Fiat and several heavy truck plants with General Motors, Mercedes-Benz, and Renault. (On paper, Peking in 1979 legalized 100 percent foreign ownership of factories on Chinese soil, but this is almost certainly just a come-on for the joint-venture supplying of technology that Peking is mainly after. There is no report of anyone applying for a license to open such a company.)

Deng's Proimperialist Policy

In keeping with his economic strategy, Deng Xiaoping is on a campaign to reassure potential suppliers of modern technology from the capitalist countries of China's political reliability and stability. Deng is deepening the openly proimperialist direction of Peking's foreign policy already evident in Mao's last decade. This policy is in the most glaring contradiction to the real needs of the working people of China and the rest of the world. It can be seen most dramatically in Peking's armed invasion of Vietnam in early 1979, an action in direct collusion with American imperialism and aimed at undermining the Vietnamese revolution and the struggle against the reactionary Pol Pot dictatorship in Kampuchea—a political formation that today is little more than an armed appendage of the capitalist government of Thailand, armed and abetted by Washington.

The same procapitalist bent is evident in Peking's reaction to the intervention of Soviet troops in Afghanistan in the opening days of 1980. The CCP regime judges

this event by its "anti-Soviet" (more accurately: pro-American imperialist) bias. This is a departure from the most elementary principle of Marxism: that the *class forces* engaged in a war or a civil war must be examined first. And who is engaged in the combat in Afghanistan today? On one side is the regime of Babrak Karmal, put in power at the end of December 1979 in a Soviet-backed coup. This government, based on the revolution of April 1978, is continuing the policy of land reform, cancellation of peasant indebtedness, legalization of trade unions, outlawing of child marriage, the massive promotion of education and literacy, and the building of schools and hospitals. On the other side are fighting the country's traditional rulers—landlords and capitalists, U.S.-backed exploiters who are struggling to halt and roll back the reforms that have been carried out to date and deal a deadly blow to the Afghan working class.

The government of China has taken the side of the counterrevolution in this conflict. The fact of Soviet intervention is no justification for such a stand. It is true that Moscow intervenes for its own reasons, which are ultimately concerned with the defense of the power and privileges of the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union. But because the Soviet Union, like China, remains a workers state based on nationalized property and a planned economy, it occasionally finds itself, despite its corrupt bureaucracy, on the right side in a battle of the world class struggle. For example, Moscow, like Peking, supplied aid to the heroic people of Vietnam in their battle against U.S. aggression. Despite the Kremlin's antirevolutionary aims and Stalinist methods, its troops in Afghanistan are fighting on the side of the working masses, while Peking directly supports the enemies of the Afghan working class.

We have seen how poorly Deng Xiaoping has been rewarded by world imperialism for his cynical betrayal of "foreign" revolutions. The flood of capital investment and sales of technology that Peking counted on two years ago has failed to materialize. On the political side Washington was not much impressed with Deng's ability to throw his weight around in Southeast Asia on behalf of American interests. The general assessment of Peking's invasion of Vietnam as a disastrous military failure has dramatically illustrated the limits of the bureaucracy's usefulness as a direct agent of counterrevolution. On the economic side, even the lure of a guaranteed profit has failed to move foreign investors, who prefer hard cash purchases when dealing with a workers state. And cash is still something China is painfully short of.

Economic Recovery

At the same time, relying mainly on its own resources and on what it has been able to purchase on the world market, the Chinese economy has shown a definite

recovery in the last two years in comparison with the previous twenty. (See Part II of this book for a summary of the previous accomplishments and difficulties of the Chinese economy under the CCP.) The fact that this occurs at a time when the economies of most of the capitalist world have entered a period of recession and decline indicates one of the great strengths and hopes of the planned economy. On June 28, 1979, Xinhua news agency reported important improvements in production of steel, coal, and electric power. The 1978 steel output reportedly reached 31.7 million tons, after stagnating for a decade in the 21 to 25 million ton range. The government claimed an overall growth in Gross National Product of 8 percent in 1977 and 12.3 percent in 1978. This compared to an average GNP growth of only 5.5 percent for the period 1957-76. The 1978 figures are actually the highest in the history of the People's Republic with the exception of the first years after the revolution, 1949-52, when one-time advances were made by putting millions of unemployed to work.

These rates were not sustained into 1979-80, with 1979 industrial growth claimed at 8.5 percent (implying a GNP growth of 5 or 6 percent). (*Business Week*, May 19, 1980). One reason was a shift in government policy toward large investment in agriculture for the first time, and a new priority on light industry and consumer goods. It is reasonable to assume that a trade-off in immediate growth rates for a more proportional development of the economy—a retreat from the exclusive preoccupation with heavy industry—will result in faster growth rates later on, with the advance in steel laying the industrial basis for it. In any case, even a return to the 5.5 GNP growth rates of recent years, until recently the average for the semicolonial countries, will look better as the crisis of the capitalist countries deepens and the world recession forces capitalist growth rates downward.

The Chinese workers state remains a contradictory phenomenon. Its relative surmounting of the stagnation and misery of countries at a comparable technological level that remain under the rule of capitalism holds out a hope to the oppressed of the world. But while the privileged caste remains in power the potential of the postcapitalist system remains thwarted more than realized.

The present economic recovery confirms one of the theses developed in this book: that the CCP bureaucracy's political repression, exemplified by the cult of Mao Zedong's personality, substantially lowered China's potential growth rate. The new government's rehabilitation of science and technology, its encouragement of rational industrial organization, and its downplaying of the time spent on what it falsely labelled "political education," i.e., the drive for ideological conformity, are all contributing factors to the improved eco-



Chinese Army Deputy Chief of Staff Yang Yong heading military delegation to Britain in 1979.

nomie situation. But two things should be kept in mind here. First, that the "Gang of Four" did not give such priority to political controls at the expense of production out of arbitrary whim. As the bureaucracy's high living standards and special privileges became more odious to the working population, the bureaucracy, in reflex self-defense, increased its efforts to stamp out dissent. This basic clash of material interests has not been eliminated in China today. And while it is doubtful that the Deng leadership would adopt the same obscurantist stand so discredited by the "Gang of Four," the bureaucracy cannot abandon its political police or its thought-control measures. As the government's momentary popularity as the reformers of the evils of the recent past fades, the bureaucracy will inevitably seek to protect itself by an increase in all forms of political and social repression. Its success in this and just how far it will be able to go in this direction in actual practice depends on the level of combativity of the Chinese masses.

Attitude of the Masses

The second factor to be considered in estimating the stability of the present economic recovery is the attitude of the masses as a major contributing factor. Mao Zedong often misused Karl Marx's saying that the workers are themselves the most powerful productive force. Mao's quoting of this saying had as its aim making a virtue of China's enforced isolation from the world market at the hands of a hostile imperialism. Marx envisioned socialism as founded on a world government, drawing on the resources of all of the industrially advanced nations of the world to solve the problems of the world as a whole. It would never have occurred to Marx to propose that the enthusiasm of the workers alone could permit the establishment of an isolated "socialist" state in one industrially backward country. Nevertheless, within that peculiar hybrid, the bureaucratized workers states, where the bureaucracy seeks for its own selfish reasons to maintain indefinitely "its own" separate nation-state, the conjunctural attitude of the workers toward the regime can have a big impact in determining

economic growth. In the 1950s, when the memory of the country's emancipation from the hated Kuomintang dictatorship was fresh in everyone's mind, mass enthusiasm fueled very high growth rates. Something similar is happening today, where the end of the Mao era and its fanatic Cultural Revolution has produced an outburst of energy among the masses and great hopes for a better future. But without genuine mass control over the state, and especially with the rise of the democracy movement as a vocal critic of the regime calling attention to the gap between the government's promises and the reality, the period of general relief and enthusiasm can only be short-lived.

In addition to these structural limitations on China's uninhibited economic growth rooted in the class struggle itself, there are also some immediate signs of weakness in the recovery. The first is the new statistic on China's population, also given by the June 28, 1979, Xinhua. This was 975 million, including Taiwan—far higher than previous figures. If we eliminated the approximately 17 million population of Taiwan, that leaves some 958 million people in China as of 1978. That is 58 million higher than the figures released in mid-1977. Naturally that means that economic output of the last two years will be lower on a per capita basis when measured against the new, higher population statistics. This affects China most immediately in food production.

The 1978 harvest was 304.75 million metric tons of grain. On a per capita basis that comes to just about 700 pounds of grain per person. That is about the same as the 1975 harvest and lower than the harvest in 1976. (For the significance of these figures in the actual diet of the Chinese people, see Chapter 7: "Agricultural Production and Population.") Fundamentally this shows that China has not yet succeeded in making the country self-sufficient in food or in overcoming the bare subsistence diet of a large percentage of the rural population. This remains an explosive issue in a country where there is significant inequality in distribution, favoring the party cadres and the government bureaucrats.

We are in the midst of an exciting period for China, especially for its youth. The new rise of the class struggle on a world scale, exemplified by the revolutions in Ethiopia, Iran, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and Nicaragua have not left China untouched. The issue in China as elsewhere is the struggle of the mass of working people for control over their own lives, for the elimination of repression and special privilege, and for participation in the battle to create a world socialist society. It must be said that today in China new revolutionary forces are stirring, new winds are blowing, and all things are possible.

May 1980

Australian Metalworkers Fight for 35-Hour Week

By Nita Keig

[The following article appeared in the May 28 issue of the Australian socialist weekly *Direct Action*.]

* * *

Metalworkers around the country voted overwhelmingly last week—by some 23,000 to 5,500—to endorse the Metal Trades Federation's campaign for a 35-hour workweek. An estimated 30,000 workers came together at metropolitan and country meetings to hear and discuss reports from their officials and to vote on proposals for the campaign.

The reports preceding the moving of the resolution were given over to an explanation of all the factors favoring the introduction of a 35-hour working week.

It was pointed out that technological change and the consolidation of companies had resulted in the loss of 63,000 jobs in the metal industry alone since 1974. At the same time that workers were losing their jobs and wage levels were slipping, company profits had hit record levels.

The campaign for the 35-hour week was not the "selfish" campaign the government and employers were trying to make out, but was a vital campaign for Australian workers if they are to successfully protect jobs and conditions. The introduction of a 35-hour week would dramatically reduce unemployment as well as give workers more leisure time.

Furthermore, there was no question that the bosses could afford this measure. Speakers said the 35-hour week had been a policy of the ACTU for 20 years and it was an idea whose time had well and truly come. They stressed that workers could not afford to wait until they no longer had the strength to fight back—when they were already on the dole queues, and the ranks of the unions had shrunk.

When the official resolution was put—proposing the working of a 35-hour week once a month with a ban on overtime in that week—opposition largely came, not from those opposing the campaign, but from workers wanting stronger tactics for this fight.

In just about every meeting there were rank-and-file speakers who were able to point out some of the glaring weaknesses of the campaign. A once-a-month approach would take its toll on workers before it would hit the employers.

What was the point, many workers asked, of working a 35-hour week and placing bans on overtime one week in four, when the bosses would only compensate by doubling up on overtime in the other

three weeks?

In some cases where production was lagging, other workers explained, a reduction in hours and pay would be a blessing in disguise for the bosses.

And how was the demand for full pay for 35 hours to be carried through? What were the tactics to be pursued here? These and other important questions were raised in discussion time, and proposals for a harder hitting campaign clearly struck a sympathetic note.

It was significant, for example, that

Queensland delegates had voted in advance of the mass meetings to put forward an alternative proposal for a 35-hour week to be worked every week, with a total overtime ban until the campaign was won.

While the votes for the proposal everywhere indicated some 80 per cent support for the campaign, the fairly flat mood of the meetings seemed to indicate a lack of confidence in the leadership of the campaign and the wisdom of the tactics advocated.

It is clear that if this campaign is allowed to drag on over many months it will lose rather than gain support. Only an immediate, solid, and intensive campaign which drives hard against the employers, can ensure its success in the face of all forms of intimidation from government and employers, and faint-heartedness and even opposition from some key Labor leaders. □



Wu Sze-hai/*Direct Action*
Metalworkers in Sydney met May 20 to discuss campaign for shorter workweek.