

Operation Angola Turning Sour

Ford and Kissinger

Worried About

'Domestic Divisions'



FORD: Blames Congress for causing "serious harm" to Washington's security interests.

Healy's Road to the Gutter

The Frame-up of Joseph Hansen and George Novack

Washington's 'Humanitarian Aid' for Guatemala

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Behind the Walls of a Soviet Psychiatric Prison

NEWS ANALYSIS

Washington's 'Humanitarian Aid' for Guatemala

By David Frankel

Guatemala was struck by a powerful earthquake February 4. In the days that followed, new tremors added to the original devastation. According to official estimates as of February 8, 15,000 persons were left dead and more than 40,000 were injured. The number of homeless is thought to be as high as 300,000.

In Guatemala City whole neighborhoods were destroyed. The country's largest hospital, the 197-year-old San Juan de Dios Hospital, was made unusable by quake damage. "The morgue is full. Please don't bring any more bodies to the morgue," was the plea of one radio broadcast quoted in an Associated Press dispatch.

But the devastation was worse outside the capital. Gen. Kjell Laugured García, the president of Guatemala, said February 5 that "it is evident that the provinces have been worst hit and have the most urgent needs."

A February 6 Associated Press dispatch from Guatemala said, "Reporters who flew over the interior reported landslides on all major roads. They said that scattered sheets of tin and broken adobe walls marked the spots of towns.

"Patzicía, with a population of 11,000, was flattened, [they] said. Whole blocks of Chilmaltenango were razed and Zumpango was in ruins."

Earthquakes, like all other tragedies in capitalist society, hit the poor hardest. "The high casualties in Guatemala presumably can be attributed as much to vulnerable home construction in poorer areas of the country as to the severity of the quake," Walter Sullivan noted in the February 7 *New York Times*.

Another dispatch in the same issue of the *Times* explained that "at El Progreso, where more than 600 people died . . . only cement and brick buildings are still standing."

The same thing was observed in the

capital. Alan Riding said in the February 5 *Times* that the quake "seemed to have hit hardest in slum areas in the old part of Guatemala City. Rubble from adobe houses covered many streets and blocked rescue vehicles."

In contrast, "The wealthy residential area in the southern part of town was largely spared, although some high rise condominiums were cracked."

The regime was able to respond well to some aspects of the emergency. For example, one dispatch reported, "Heavily armed guards were posted around the airport to bar any attempt to board planes without tickets."

Doubtlessly, starving persons will be dealt with just as they were in Managua, Nicaragua, after the devastating earthquake of December 1972. There, soldiers were ordered to shoot down "looters."

Alan Riding reported February 6, "One difficulty stems from the refusal of the local military commander to allow international relief agencies to distribute their own food.

"The army says it will receive all the food and other supplies and will do its own distribution," one aid official said, "but naturally enough this could open the way for hoarding by some soldiers."

An indication that officers in the army are waiting for the price of food to rise even

higher was given by Riding the following day. He reported that "a well-placed diplomatic source said he was 'unaware' that any food was being distributed by the Guatemalan Army outside the capital, although a Government official here said there were sufficient stocks in the country to meet the immediate crisis."

While officials in Guatemala devise schemes to make a fast buck out of the misery around them in accordance with traditional capitalist virtues, the U.S. imperialists have been playing the humanitarian aid game. Washington announced February 6 that things in Guatemala were so bad that it was upping its aid commitment to \$1 million—less than one-thirtieth of what it has given to stoke the fires of civil war in Angola.

The 300,000 homeless in Guatemala were surely overjoyed to hear that the Ford administration had ordered 500 family tents flown to their stricken country. And the tens of thousands of persons cut off from food and medical care by shattered bridges and roads buried by landslides were not forgotten either. Washington announced that it was sending eight helicopters. In contrast, it left 625 behind when U.S. forces withdrew from Vietnam.

It is only a matter of time until scientists learn how to predict disasters like the Guatemala earthquake. They would probably already be able to do so if the American rulers spent even a fraction of their yearly military budget on useful scientific research instead of on new ways to spread death.

In light of their past record and present capabilities, the "humanitarian" aid sent to Guatemala by the imperialist rulers in Washington is comparable to a cobra offering one of its victims a band-aid. □

'Peanuts' From Lockheed

"I thought the text of the paper was funny and I was unable to understand what it meant," said Hiroshi Ito, an executive of the Marubeni Corporation in Japan.

Ito was trying to explain to reporters why he signed a receipt from the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation for "one hundred peanuts."

"As I think back on it now, I was careless to do so," Ito added.

According to the Senate Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations, each one of Lockheed's "peanuts" was worth \$1,000. But the total of \$3.2 million paid out to Marubeni really was peanuts compared with the total amount of money involved.

Even the \$7 million that went to Yoshio Kodama between 1958 and 1975 was only an incidental expense for Lockheed, which has sold nearly \$800 million worth of

aircraft in Japan during the last fifteen years. Kodama, a powerful ultrarightist who helped finance the founding of Japan's ruling Liberal-Democratic party and who had a hand in naming several Japanese premiers, received money packed in shipping crates for his services to Lockheed.

Kakuei Tanaka and Nobusuke Kishi, both former Japanese premiers, have been linked to the Lockheed payoffs as well. Since the two are still members of the Japanese parliament and leaders of the Liberal-Democratic party, other party leaders have announced that it will be "difficult" to hold the general election scheduled for this spring. It will be put off as long as possible.

The information on Lockheed's foreign connections was made public by accident. Lockheed and its lawyers announced last

Next Week . . .

Did Engels distort Marx's teachings on philosophy, as Lukács, Korsch, Marcuse, Horkheimer, Adorno, Fromm, and many other contemporary philosophers have charged?

Read George Novack's answer, "In Defense of Engels," in next week's IP.



Conrad/Los Angeles Times

summer that they would ignore subpoenas from the Senate subcommittee on multinationals for information on the company's sales of civilian aircraft. Ordinary mortals would be put in jail for defying a subpoena, but Lockheed is the largest military contractor in the United States. Its defense of "business secrets" would have doubtlessly stood had the information not been mistakenly included in files dealing with military sales that were sent to the Senate subcommittee.

Lockheed's lawyers demanded the return of the material, but subcommittee Chairman Frank Church—who has announced his availability for the Democratic party presidential nomination—knew a good issue when he saw one and refused. Perhaps Church thought that Lockheed owed something to Congress in view of the \$195 million federal loan guarantees that saved it from bankruptcy in 1971.

A.C. Kotchian, Lockheed's president, explained to the subcommittee February 6 that the crates of money shipped overseas were intended to create "a climate of goodwill." Like Santa Claus, Lockheed spread "goodwill" all over the world, to the tune of at least \$24.2 million. More than \$1.4 million is reported to have gone to government figures in Italy in 1970. Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands has been identified as the recipient of \$1.1 million between 1961 and 1962.

The sixty-five-year-old prince has also been linked with the Northrop Corporation. However, before he can be prosecuted, a special act of parliament will have to be passed and signed by his wife, Queen Juliana.

Lockheed has also bribed government and industry officials in Turkey, South Africa, Greece, West Germany, and Nigeria, not to mention the United States. □

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White House Worried About 'Domestic Divisions' Over Angola

By Ernest Harsch

Despite repeated denials in Washington, there is mounting evidence that the White House encouraged the South African imperialists to intervene in the civil war in Angola.

South African Defense Minister Pieter W. Botha strongly hinted as much during an interview in Cape Town February 3.

As reported by *Washington Post* correspondent Bernard D. Nossiter, Botha declared that the South African intervention had the blessing of several African countries (presumably the regimes in Zaïre and Zambia), as well as at least one "free world" power.

Although repeatedly questioned, Botha refused to identify that power as Washington, stating, "I would be the last man to destroy our diplomatic relations with the United States."

When asked about reports in the press that the intervention in Angola was arranged between the Central Intelligence Agency and the South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS), Botha remarked, "If it were so, it was not the only channel."

An unnamed South African "high official," cited by *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm in a February 5 dispatch, spoke more freely, indicating that Washington had in fact encouraged Pretoria to intervene. The South African drive into Angola, Kamm reported, was initiated "on the understanding that the United States would rush sufficient supplies to make it possible to counter the Soviet-supported movement," the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

That understanding, the official added, had been based on contacts with American officials. "We had been in touch," he said. "We felt if we could give them a lapse of time they could find ways and means."

Earlier in the interview the South African remarked, "We accepted the utterances of Mr. Kissinger and others. We felt surely he has the necessary pull to come forward with the goods."

Although the official quoted by Kamm did not name the American authorities who had been in direct contact with Pretoria, Nossiter reported in his February 3 dispatch from Cape Town, "Informed sources here say that the U.S. encouragement was delivered by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the resigning U.S. ambassador [to the United Nations], to his South African opposite

number, Pik Botha, and also by U.S. Ambassador [to South Africa] William Bowdler to Prime Minister John Vorster."

The U.S.-South African collaboration in the imperialist intervention in the Angolan civil war is not limited to diplomatic contacts. According to Senator Richard Clark, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa, Washington and Pretoria are exchanging intelligence information on the Angola war. And citing "high sources in the Defense Department," Sean Gervasi, an adviser to the Center for National Security Studies, revealed in a December 19 report that U.S. cargo planes were air-dropping supplies to South African columns operating in Angola.

In his February 3 interview, Defense Minister Botha declared that between 4,000 and 5,000 South African troops were still occupying a strip of territory up to fifty miles deep along the entire length of Angola's southern border. He said they would remain there until Pretoria received guarantees that Angola would not be used as a base for guerrillas of the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for Namibia's (South-West Africa) independence from South African rule.

"We are prepared to withdraw from Angola," Botha said, "when we are satisfied that Angola won't be used to overrun the Ovambo with independent elements and refugees." The Ovambos are the largest ethnic group in Namibia and comprise SWAPO's principal base of support. They inhabit northern Namibia, with about 100,000 Ovambos living in southern Angola as well. Some of the earliest South African military incursions into Angola, in June and July 1975, were directed against the SWAPO guerrilla bases in that country.

The continued South African presence in southern Angola also remains a direct threat to the Angolan independence struggle. Pretoria's revelations of the scope of its Angola intervention are a warning to the Angolan nationalists that South African troops are ready to intervene in the civil war again if necessary.

The seriousness of that threat was underscored by the manner in which Pretoria pulled its forces back from the front lines in central Angola in late January. The South African troops remained on alert in "nonoperational areas." And according to Kamm

in a February 3 dispatch from Pretoria, there are indications that South Africa is continuing "logistical support" to the UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), which is fighting in central Angola against the advancing MPLA forces.

"The feeling in well-informed circles here," Kamm said, "is that South Africa will not return to offensive actions if the Popular Movement troops approach no closer than about 100 miles from Angola's border with South-West Africa."

To make the threat more explicit, Defense Minister Botha declared January 26, at the time of the South African pullback, "If we are attacked, we will retaliate effectively. In the past we hit back with small forces. If necessary, we will retaliate with greater force."

Washington has also sought to keep the MPLA under constant pressure to prevent it from winning a military victory. To bolster the strength of the MPLA's rivals following the pullback of South African forces, Kissinger greatly escalated the recruitment of American and European mercenaries to fight with the UNITA and FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—Angolan National Liberation Front).

Kissinger has continued to deny that the CIA is directly recruiting these mercenaries, despite repeated revelations that it was behind the operation (see *Intercontinental Press*, January 12, 19, 26, and February 9). However, during testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa January 29, Kissinger refused to rule out that CIA money was being used for that purpose.

"It is of course possible," he said, "that in a very indirect way, that is to say, that the money given to UNITA is then used by UNITA and not by the CIA to recruit these people."

Kissinger was then asked by Senator Charles Percy, "Are U.S. funds being used, though, directly or indirectly, to recruit American mercenaries?" He replied: "It depends how you define 'indirect.'"

Kissinger apparently had a very flexible definition for the word. According to British newspaper reports February 1, more than \$20 million, mainly from the CIA, was being used to recruit British mercenaries to fight in Angola. (Cited in the February 3 *Christian Science Monitor*.)

After describing the operations of a mercenary recruiting organization in London called the Security Advisory Services, London *Sunday Times* reporter Tony Geraghty stated in the January 25 issue, "What makes Security Advisory Services viable is huge American money."

At least 320 foreign mercenaries arrived in Kinshasa, Zaïre, by early February. According to intelligence sources cited by Robin Wright in the February 4 *Christian Science Monitor*, about 180 British mercenaries had already entered northern Angola, where the positions held by the FNLA had been reduced to a small area along the border with Zaïre.

The February 7 London *Economist* reported, "The total mercenary draft of the past 10 days, including those recruited on the continent, probably amounts to more than 1,000. Besides these some 200 (mostly black) ex-servicemen have been recruited in the United States and are either on their way or soon will be—even though they are thereby breaking American law."

According to some observers, the use of hundreds of mercenaries would not be sufficient to turn the tide of the war back against the MPLA.

David B. Ottaway, one of the *Washington Post's* leading Africa correspondents, pointed out in a February 3 dispatch from Johannesburg, "The presence of mercenaries would presumably stiffen their [FNLA and UNITA] defenses, but without the input of more sophisticated weapons as well, it appears doubtful that either army will regain the offensive from the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola."

While the effectiveness of the mercenaries may be limited, they could nevertheless perpetuate the civil war. In seeking to wear down the Angolan nationalists, one of Washington's aims may be to force the MPLA into agreeing to a coalition with one or both of its rivals. A weak and divided coalition regime would facilitate Washington's efforts to advance its political and economic interests in Angola.

In his January 29 testimony before the Senate subcommittee, Kissinger outlined another reason for Washington's intervention against the MPLA. He said it was necessary to maintain a "balance on the ground" in Angola to strengthen Washington's bargaining hand with Moscow. One of the White House's principal goals in intervening in Angola is to prevent the Soviet Union from gaining increased international political influence.

President Ford stressed this aspect of U.S. imperialism's aims when he declared January 27, "I believe that resistance to Soviet expansion by military means must be a fundamental element of United States foreign policy." Ford added that the congressional vote cutting off funds for Angola



Sanders/Milwaukee Sentinel

from a defense appropriations bill caused "serious harm" to Washington's security interests.

In a February 4 speech, Kissinger focused on the handicap that the antiwar sentiment among the American population placed on Washington's war drive. Warning that "an atmosphere of suspicion" and "acrimonious controversy" was jeopardizing a "strong, coherent and effective international role," Kissinger declared that "the principal danger we face is our domestic divisions. . . ."

These "domestic divisions" have heightened differences within U.S. ruling circles over what approach in Angola would best advance American imperialism's interests. Many congressional leaders, business interests with operations in Angola, and even officials within Kissinger's own State Department have indicated that they see no qualitative differences in the economic or political policies of the three contending nationalist groups in Angola. Nor do they foresee a significant or long-term diplomatic gain for Moscow if the MPLA wins.

After describing Moscow's past failures in attempting to gain political leverage in Africa, Senator Robert Byrd, the Democratic party majority whip, stated in the Senate February 2 that if Moscow learned anything, "it should have been that African political groups will accept military and economic support from any source. Once in power, however, this past support will buy no influence with the new government. . . ."

"The Popular Movement forces that the Soviets are supporting in Angola are no more Marxist than the opposing forces are pro-Western."

The editors of the conservative *Christian Science Monitor*, in their January 27 issue, advised the White House to reach an accommodation with the MPLA: "Washing-

ton should be laying out lines to the MPLA with a view to strengthening the hands of its moderate factions. It is not a foregone conclusion that this Marxist-oriented group will impose a Soviet-style regime on the country or give the Russians the naval or other facilities they want. But the U.S. cannot rule out doing business with the MPLA if it is to encourage a reasonable policy in Luanda."

The MPLA has been doing its best to encourage such a shift in Washington's policy. According to a January 26 United Press International dispatch from Lusaka, Zambia, "Diplomatic sources said the Popular Movement has put out feelers to the U.S. for help in reconstructing the country after the civil war ended."

The MPLA minister of economic planning, Carlos Rocha, said in an interview in Luanda, "It appears that the attitude of the American Congress is not that hostile to our republic. Now this is very important."

He then said, "We accept the presence of private firms in our territory but they must be subject to the laws of the country. We think that in (1976) we will be signing some agreements for companies to open in our republic." (Quoted in a report by Caryle Murphy in the January 27 *Washington Post*.)

One of the American companies the MPLA has sought to maintain relations with is Gulf Oil, the largest foreign investor in Angola. Until the State Department pressured Gulf into suspending its operations in the Cabinda enclave, it was also the MPLA's largest source of revenue, paying the Luanda regime \$116 million in royalties and taxes in September and October 1975.

The February 3 *New York Post* reported that A.J. McIlroy, a journalist for the *London Daily Telegraph*, was expelled from Angola for inaccurately reporting that the MPLA planned to take over the Gulf facilities. The *Telegraph* said the MPLA "denied categorically that the government of the People's Republic of Angola was considering the nationalization of Gulf's operations, and it also denied it was seeking any form of compensatory payment from Gulf."

The MPLA general director of information, Luis de Almeida, said, according to a report by Caryle Murphy in the February 1 *London Sunday Times*, "If we were really anti-American, we would have nationalised the Cabinda Gulf operations. But we didn't because we would be called communists."

The MPLA has even advised Washington on how to prevent increased Soviet political influence in Angola. According to Murphy, MPLA leaders have told Washington that "the way to counter Russian influence 'is not by fomenting aggression, but rather by being actively present in the country alongside your rivals.'" □

Gandhi Ousts Opposition Government in Tamil Nadu

By Ernest Harsch

In a move to extend her dictatorial control, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ousted the elected state government of Tamil Nadu, in southern India, on January 31. The order imposing president's rule—direct federal control over the state—was issued by President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed on Gandhi's behalf.

The ordinance deposed the state government, which was controlled by the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK—Dravidian Advancement Association). It also dissolved the state legislative assembly, in which the DMK held a solid majority (out of 234 seats, the DMK held more than 160, compared with 15 for Gandhi's Congress party).

According to "reliable sources" cited in a February 1 Associated Press dispatch from Madras, the capital of Tamil Nadu, about 100 DMK members were arrested in that city immediately after the take-over and about 600 members of the DMK and other parties were rounded up throughout the state. Public meetings and processions were banned.

The DMK state officials reportedly complied with the imposition of president's rule, turning over powers to representatives of the central government. In a censored statement, DMK Chief Minister Muthuvel Karunanidhi called on the state's 45 million inhabitants to avoid violence.

Some Tamils actively opposed the federal take-over. According to a DMK member of Parliament, cited in a February 3 United Press International dispatch from New Delhi, troops of the paramilitary Border Security Force and the Central Reserve Police were sent into Tamil Nadu to intervene in clashes between police and political opponents of the Gandhi regime.

Tamil Nadu was one of only two states in India controlled by parties opposed to the Gandhi regime. The other is Gujarat. Both state governments organized protests against Gandhi's June 1975 declaration of a state of emergency, the suspension of democratic rights, and the arrests of tens of thousands of political opponents.

The DMK regime staged a rally of about 100,000 persons in Madras in early July 1975 against the dictatorial coup. The Janata Morcha (People's Front) coalition regime in Gujarat also organized rallies, marches, and other protests.

Although Tamil Nadu and Gujarat state officials took measures to prevent those protests from escaping their control, and



INDIAN DICTATOR INDIRA GANDHI

later complied with some of Gandhi's dictates, they nevertheless presented a nettlesome obstacle to Gandhi's attempts to stifle all dissent throughout the country.

"Press censorship, which is rigid in most of the country, is lax in those two states, and public demonstrations and protests against Mrs. Gandhi's Government, which are banned elsewhere, have been commonplace," a report in the February 1 *New York Times* commented. Arrests of political activists were rare in Gujarat and Tamil Nadu.

The DMK's lukewarm compliance with the state of emergency and its failure to follow censorship regulations or arrest dissidents were used as justifications for the take-over. For the first time in India's history, New Delhi also raised the charge of "secessionism" as a reason for the imposition of president's rule. (It is illegal under the Indian constitution to call for the secession of any state or territory.)

A dispatch in the February 1 *Washington*

Post reported, "Official sources said that the central Cabinet approved the imposition of president's rule—control by the federal government—after receiving a report that the Tamil Nadu government was encouraging secessionist activities 'under the cover of a demand for state autonomy.'"

The DMK, which arose from the Dravidian nationalist movements of southern India and which is based predominantly on the Tamils (a Dravidian people), did in fact advocate the secession of Tamil Nadu and other Dravidian areas (Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, and Karnataka states) in the past. Although it dropped the demand after coming to power in 1967, it continued to oppose the domination of the Dravidian peoples by the northern Aryans and carried out a campaign against the imposition of Hindi as India's official language.

The promulgation of president's rule in Tamil Nadu poses a threat to the Gujarat regime, which is now the only remaining opposition-controlled state government. In fact, within days of the DMK ouster, Gandhi began laying the groundwork for a possible seizure of power in Gujarat as well.

New York Times correspondent William Borders, in a February 2 dispatch from New Delhi, reported that Hitendra Desai, the head of the Gujarat Congress party, "released a party report charging that the opposition state government had been unable to keep order in Gujarat, and that political violence was on the increase there." Borders also reported that Desai was in New Delhi consulting with Gandhi, her son Sanjay, Defense Minister Bansi Lal, and Congress party President D.K. Barooah.

At the time of the Tamil Nadu take-over, the Congress party-dominated Parliament was in session passing new laws that institutionalized some of the authoritarian powers Gandhi had assumed in June 1975.

Three of those laws, passed January 28 and 29 to replace temporary presidential ordinances issued December 8, make censorship permanent, even if the state of emergency is eventually lifted.

The opposition parties in Parliament denounced the new repressive legislation. One of the opposition leaders, Erasmo de Sequeira of the United Goans party, declared January 28, "Step by step the structures and the organs of our free society are being first muzzled and then destroyed." A few days later Sequeira accused the regime of having arrested more than

100,000 political opponents since June. (Other opposition estimates range in the tens of thousands.)

To ensure that it has the power to keep these political prisoners in jail indefinitely, the Gandhi regime also enacted an amendment to the Maintenance of Internal Security

Act January 22.

The revised act allows the regime to detain anyone without having to disclose the reason, even to the courts. It also permits the rearrest of persons whose detention orders are revoked or have expired. □

Denies 'Lurch to the Right'

Gandhi Fashions New Muzzle for the Press

NEW DELHI—Speaking before a convention of the ruling Congress party on December 30, Indira Gandhi insisted that she did not intend to deviate from the path of "socialist" development and denied charges of "a lurch to the right."

But in practice, Gandhi has continued her attack on the democratic rights won by the people after great struggles.

On December 8 her government promulgated three ordinances that armed it with special powers to prevent the publication of "objectionable matter," including material from proceedings of Parliament. The regime was in such a hurry that a special courier was sent to Cairo, to secure the formal assent of the president of India, who was then on a tour of West Asia.

Gandhi's new attack on freedom of the press provides "for action mainly against publications which are likely to excite disaffection against the constitutionally established government, incite interference with production, supply or distribution of essential commodities or services, create disharmony amongst different sections of society and indecent or scurrilous or obscene writings."

"Objectionable matter" will also include material "defamatory" to the president of India, the vice-president, the prime minister, the speaker of the Lok Sabha (lower house of Parliament), or the governor of any state.

Under the new ordinances, the government can demand that the printer, publisher, or editor responsible for the publication of any matter deemed objectionable put up security. On the second offence the security can be forfeited or further security demanded.

The regime has also revived some of the provisions of The Press (Objectionable Matter) Act of 1951, which was repealed in 1957. These enable the government to

confiscate an "objectionable" publication, detain it in transit, and close down or confiscate its press.

Gandhi's new press decrees have also repealed the Parliamentary Proceedings (Protection of Publication) Act of 1956, under which the immunity enjoyed by

Brazilian Students Hold 'Human Rights Week'

[The following article appeared in the November-December 1975 issue of *Independência Operária*, the underground publication of a Trotskyist group in Brazil. It was written by the publication's correspondent in Rio de Janeiro. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

As we already reported various times in previous issues of *Independência Operária*, the student groups in Greater Rio organized a Human Rights Week for November 3-7 as a way of exposing the oppressive situation we live under.

The funds collected from the week were to be turned over to the families of the political prisoners.

What happened?

Some days before the beginning of the program, students from the Universidade Federal Fluminense [UFF—Federal University of Rio de Janeiro] were imprisoned at the instigation of the rector to prevent them from carrying out the week's activities.

On November 3 the repressive forces staged a great "spectacle," closing down the offices of the UFF Diretório Central dos Estudantes [Central Student Board of Directors], where the week of activities was to take place. That same night the students gathered in the UFF Institute of Humanities and Philosophy, but once again the repressive forces made their presence felt. A shock force of the military police invaded the institute, dispersing the gathering.

During the week new arbitrary measures were carried out. The handicrafts made by

members of Parliament while speaking on the floor of the House was extended to newspapers. Now, persons reporting on parliamentary proceedings no longer have immunity.

On December 29 Gandhi ruled out lifting the "emergency" on the grounds that it was necessary "to safeguard the unity and integrity of the nation." She asked her assembled supporters to approve the extension of the state of emergency and the postponement for one year of the general elections due in March. Both measures were approved.

Another change sought by the regime would end the power of the courts to release prisoners who have not been charged with any crime and to act on complaints of violations committed by the authorities. These remedies were available to a certain extent even under the British imperial regime. Their abolition will directly affect the thousands of political prisoners rotting in Gandhi's jails. January 2, 1976

the political prisoners were confiscated. Classes were suspended and all meetings were held under the constant threat of new invasions. Niterói became a city swarming with police during those days.

Despite the entire repressive offensive, the week took place. Not as we had planned it, but with discussions in the principal schools of Greater Rio on the violations of the rights of freedom of expression and organization. These discussions culminated in the closing assembly of the week at the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro in Fundão. At this assembly delegates from several schools were present and voted to issue an open letter to the population containing a balance sheet of the week and condemnations of the arbitrary actions carried out against the participants.

Thus, in spite of the repression, the first Human Rights Week was held, discussed, and commented on—not only among the students, but also in the streets and the bourgeois press. And the students came out of this mobilization strengthened. The degree of unity reached was not broken and doubtless will develop. But this makes it urgent to unite and interrelate the struggles with other sectors of the middle class and the workers.

For freedom of expression, demonstration, and organization!

For a general amnesty for all political prisoners!

For the return of all those exiled and excluded from the country!

Down with the blood-soaked military dictatorship! □

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Check rates inside cover.

Zionists Back Discriminatory System in Lebanon

By David Frankel

"The P.L.O. [Palestine Liberation Organization] has just succeeded in hijacking something much larger than an airplane."

This caption appeared in bold type in an advertisement in the January 19 *New York Times*, under a half-page photograph of the United Nations building.

The attempt to dismiss the Palestinian liberation struggle as the work of a handful of terrorists is an old theme in Zionist propaganda. But because the appearance of PLO representatives at the UN Security Council debate on Palestine in mid-January coincided with the most recent—and the most savage—fighting in the Lebanese civil war, the Zionists also attempted to score some points from this angle. The result is rather revealing.

In the advertisement the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith said that "while the delegation for the Palestine Liberation Organization is here with an olive branch in its hands, the rest of their organization is carrying out still another war of extermination in the Middle East.

"And this time it is not Jews they are murdering in Israel, but the Christians in Lebanon."

A similar argument was used by Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin, who said, "It is shameful for the world, and especially the Vatican, to keep silent in view of the massacre of the Christian community in Lebanon by intolerant Muslims." (Quoted in the *Christian Science Monitor*, January 26.)

This characterization of the events in Lebanon is a self-serving lie.

- The warfare in Lebanon was touched off last April when Christian rightists of the Phalange party machine-gunned a busload of Palestinians returning from a rally.

- The latest round of fighting began when Phalangist militia blockaded one, and later two more, Palestinian refugee camps.

- Although reporters have documented extensive looting by both Muslims and Christians and numerous instances of sectarian murders on both sides in the fighting, there has been nothing to compare with the systematic massacre carried out by the Phalangists in the Quarantina section of Beirut. (See *Intercontinental Press*, February 9, p. 194.)

Behind the lie that the civil war in Lebanon was provoked by a Muslim drive to eliminate the Christian community is an attempt to peddle a second lie: that the



PHALANGIST LEADER GEMAYEL: Admirer of Hitler is backed by Zionists.

Arab world will not tolerate any minorities and therefore the only way Jews in the Middle East can preserve themselves from being massacred is by maintaining their own exclusive state.

Thus, in reporting on a speech by Chaim Herzog, the Israeli ambassador to the United Nations, *New York Times* correspondent Kathleen Teltsch said January 13 that Herzog "complained that many naive and well-meaning people had been deluded by the PLO argument that they sought to create a 'democratic and secular state.' He attacked this as a 'transparent propaganda gimmick,' which was belied by P.L.O. actions, including the attacks on the Christian community in Lebanon. . . ."

But the governmental system in Lebanon is based on denial of majority rule and a system of religious quotas that are the opposite of democracy and secularism. For more than thirty years the Christian community has been guaranteed political domination of the country, even though it has long been a minority. The communal struggle in Lebanon does not stem from the unwillingness of the Muslim majority to live together with the Christians on an

equal basis, but rather from the fact that this majority has been denied its basic democratic rights.

Furthermore, the communal divisions are accentuated by severe social and economic divisions that tend to follow religious lines. Although there are Muslim capitalists in Lebanon, the Christian community is by and large more prosperous than the Muslim and the bulk of Lebanese-owned commerce is in Christian hands. The degree of social polarization is indicated by the fact that the richest 4 percent of the Lebanese population has 32 percent of the national income, while the poorest 50 percent has only 18 percent.

However, all this is ignored by the Zionists, who advance the thesis that Lebanon's civil strife has simply been stirred up by "intolerant Muslims," particularly the 300,000 to 400,000 Palestinian refugees living in the country. The logic of the Zionist argument was spelled out by Jon Kimche in the January 31 issue of the *New Republic*.

Kimche, a well-known liberal Zionist writer who took part in the 1948 war to establish Israel, says, "The war in Lebanon . . . is a warning to the world that we have entered the twilight period for such familiar political ideas as democracy, nationalism and especially for the multiracial or multinational state."

Echoing Rabin's cry of "intolerant Muslims," Kimche claims, "As one of the oldest established communities in the Middle East, the Lebanese Christians, especially the Maronites, understood that there was no future for them once they became an unprotected and defenseless minority in a country ruled by an Islamic majority."

This position leads Kimche to hail "the increasingly powerful and popular Christian *Phalange*," the "sharp edge of Christian resistance."

The Phalange, named after Franco's Falange in Spain, was founded as an unabashedly fascist party, taking its inspiration from Hitlerism as well as Francoism. It was established by Pierre Gemayel after he returned to Lebanon from the 1936 Olympic Games, held in Berlin. Kimche's admiration for this party, whose reason for existence is to preserve the privileged position of the Christian community in Lebanon, is in keeping with his outright rejection of the principle of majority rule.

In Kimche's view, it is necessary "to take a hard look again at the realities of majority rule and at the implication of multinational societies once there is no longer the safeguard of either toleration or self-defense."

He points to a number of examples of multinational countries where the various nationalities have been locked in sharp conflict, with the obvious implication that the Zionists are justified in their insistence on an exclusive Jewish state in Palestine.

But Kimche leaves out of consideration the real basis for national conflict: the oppression of one nationality by another. (This omission is understandable in view of the Zionist record in Palestine.)

Although he insists "there are no angels and no devils" in the Lebanese conflict, Kimche's phony impartiality does not extend far enough for him to openly label the discriminatory arrangement there for what it is. On the contrary, he argues that the cease-fire accord now in effect will do away with the Christian domination and therefore: "This is as much a peace plan as the Munich agreement in 1938 was a peace plan for the Czechs. It gives everything to the Moslems that they demanded and, in the words of the Palestinian news agency dispatch, 'will create conditions under which further political reforms can be made in an orderly manner.'"

Kimche goes on to say that the plan may provide for direct Syrian military supervision of the truce, and "if this is correct then the Americans will have to do a great deal of persuading and arm twisting when Premier Rabin comes to Washington this week. Like the Munich agreement of 1938, the Syrian peace plan will have to be judged by what follows; Munich was followed by the occupation of Prague and then the attack on Poland."

What is important here is not Kimche's evaluation of the truce, which in fact leaves the sectarian system in Lebanon basically intact, but his claim that Syria is moving to take over Lebanon, and the threat of war that lies behind his words. This is the line of the Israeli government.

The Rabin regime was restrained by Washington during the recent fighting in Lebanon, but it has been laying the groundwork for a future move by denouncing Palestinian fighters in Lebanon as simply an arm of the Syrian government.

In a January 26 dispatch from Jerusalem, *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith said:

Western diplomats here believe Israeli intervention remains a possibility, especially if a new round of fighting develops. The Israelis held back during the last round mainly because of American warnings and a desire not to poison the atmosphere before the 11-day visit to the United States by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, which began today.

After that visit, however, and after Congress has acted on Israel's pending \$2.3 billion aid request, the Government will have considerably more freedom of action on Lebanon. Noting this today, a senior military source stressed that Israel's basic warning remains unchanged: it will not permit overt and direct Syrian intervention in the internal affairs of Lebanon.

Intervention in Lebanon holds out the multiple lure for Israel of a chance to grab more Arab territory, a chance to attack the Palestinian organizations in the one country where they have freedom of action, and

a chance to attack Syria and by defeating it relieve the pressure for territorial concessions.

Disappointment that this opportunity has not yet been seized was reflected in the January 25 issue of the Israeli daily *Yediot Aharonot*, which said in an editorial, "What has actually happened in Lebanon is an

invasion by Syria, of which we Israelis were well aware. We simply ran away from the scene, losing the little credibility we had left after the repeated warnings."

Clearly, there are many in Israel who are hoping for a chance to reestablish the regime's "credibility" through a new Middle East war. □

Helms Does a Favor for the Shah

Ex-CIA Chief Helped Suppress 'Iran Free Press'



HELMS: Specialist in "dirty tricks."

There is startling new evidence that former Central Intelligence Agency chief Richard Helms conspired with the shah of Iran to suppress an antishah newspaper in the United States, columnist Jack Anderson revealed January 20.

Helms, who has been U.S. ambassador to Iran since February 1973, cabled the State Department early that year to report on a conversation he had with the shah. According to Anderson, "the Shah was preparing for a July trip to the U.S., and he let Helms know that he wanted an orderly reception." Helms cabled:

It occurs to us that GOI [Government of Iran] is putting us on notice and indirectly suggesting that we tidy up as much as possible anti-Shah elements in U.S. to reduce or avoid untoward incidents or anti-Shah demonstrations during his forthcoming visit to U.S.

In the same cable Helms requested information about Nasser Afshar, an American citizen who published the *Iran Free Press*, a newspaper critical of the shah's regime.

Although Afshar's protest activities were completely legal, the cable indicated not only that Helms intended to give the shah information about Afshar but that the State Department had examined ways of closing down his newspaper. Helms cabled:

DCM [Deputy Chief of Mission] said that embassy was generally aware of Afshar's activities in U.S., including *Iran Free Press*, and agreed that Afshar's performance was scandalous and his efforts to mount anti-Iranian campaign in U.S. extremely unfortunate.

In fact, in last two years embassy had several times raised with Department question whether *Iran Free Press* could be closed down. Matter had been carefully studied but lawyers had concluded that under U.S. laws there was regrettably no basis for such action.

Helms eventually found a way to keep *Iran Free Press* out of the country, however. Afshar customarily mailed issues of the newspaper to U.S. embassy employees in Iran, and some copies subsequently made their way to the streets of Tehran.

In defiance of postal regulations, Helms simply returned all the newspapers to Washington unopened. Each was stamped with the notice: "Refused by addressee. Return to sender." □

Pope Paul VI Linked to CIA

Pope Paul VI worked closely with the Central Intelligence Agency and its predecessor, the Office of Strategic Services, for seven years, according to a new book excerpted in the Milan weekly *Panorama*.

According to the authors of the book, entitled *The Americans in Italy*, Pope Paul's collaboration with the American intelligence services began in 1942, when he was a monsignor, and continued until 1949. Following World War II, the authors report, the Vatican played a major role in the CIA-orchestrated anti-Communist campaign.

Growing Protests Against Marcos Dictatorship

By Steve Clark

The dictatorial regime of Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos is continuing its crackdown on the recent wave of strikes and protests.

On January 30, 200 striking workers at a metal factory of the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific Construction Company in Manila were arrested by what *New York Times* correspondent Fox Butterfield called "an estimated battalion of soldiers."

Workers at two other installations of the construction company were also reportedly on strike. "Few details of the strike were immediately available," Butterfield cabled January 30 from Manila, "but long-standing demand for higher wages was said to be involved."

During the past decade, wages of Filipino workers fell by as much as two-thirds. Prices climbed steadily during that period, while the minimum wage level remained frozen at eight pesos (about US \$1) a day. Even that was not enforced.

Last October, workers at La Tondena Incorporated, the country's largest distillery, staged a successful sit-down strike, the first major strike since the declaration of martial law in 1972. Job actions at a large textile mill and rubber-sandal factory followed soon after.

In an attempt to quell further protests, Marcos on November 3 issued Presidential Decree No. 823, in which he stated, in his customary straightforward manner, "It is the policy of the State to encourage trade unionism and free collective bargaining within the framework of compulsory and voluntary arbitration and therefore all forms of strikes, picketing and lockouts are hereby strictly prohibited."

The decree also made it illegal for foreign individuals or groups to participate in or give financial support to Philippine unions or other workers organizations. These provisions were aimed at liberal Catholic and other missionaries who have aided various protests against policies of the Marcos government.

The decree backfired on Marcos, fueling further strikes and agitation. In December he modified the decree slightly to allow strikes in "nonvital industries," but protests continued nonetheless.

Out of this ferment about 120 Manila-area union branches began to pull together a loose federation to plan coordinated activities. The federation won the backing of students at the University of the Philip-



PHILIPPINE TYRANT MARCOS: Calls out troops to break metalworkers' strike.

ines, squatter (slum dweller) community groups, and Catholic activists.

These organizations scheduled a January 25 march on the presidential palace to demand the repeal of the strike ban, full reinstatement of fired strikers, and a doubling of the minimum wage. To head off the planned demonstration, Marcos stepped up attacks on all the groups involved, beginning with the unions. The army and police in and around Manila were placed on full alert.

The government detained union activist Felix Mananzala January 10 but refused to confirm his arrest. Three days later more than 100 workers took over the General Electric Philippines plant where Mananzala worked, demanding to know his whereabouts. Many of these workers were also arrested.

The regime then turned on the squatters, who have been protesting the razing of slum dwellings in Manila before decent alternative housing has been constructed. According to a report in the February 6 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, nearly 10,000 of Manila's one million squatters have been forcibly returned to their home provinces or

sent to "relocation sites" outside Manila since last November.

Imelda Marcos, newly appointed governor of Manila and wife of the president, met with twenty squatter leaders January 21 and promised a temporary halt to the demolition project. To defuse squatter support for the proposed march on the presidential palace, she also pledged to hold another larger meeting with the squatters January 25.

The squatter leaders, taken in by the ruse, pulled out of the protest. Having accomplished its aims, the government arrested six of the leaders, launched a search for several others, and reneged on its pledge for the January 25 follow-up meeting. Instead, police surrounded the building where the meeting was to have taken place, holding an estimated 4,000 squatters in hostage for some time.

The Marcos regime also sent its repressive forces onto the campus, arresting six student leaders, including several staff members of the campus newspaper, the *Collegian*. Fifteen more students were arrested January 23 at a rally of 2,000 at the University of the Philippines called to protest the initial arrests. According to the report in the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "Following the dispersal of the crowd . . . approximately 5,000 students packed the campus auditorium to cheer speeches by a workers' representative and by former senator Jovito Salonga. That night, a bonfire rally was held to support both worker and student demands."

Marcos also arrested and summarily deported two Italian priests suspected of ties with organizers of the planned January 25 protest.

This wave of repression succeeded in preventing the demonstration. ". . . busloads of workers coming from the provinces were intercepted by the military and sent home," the *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported.

On January 23 the Marcos government also announced the arrest of seven members of the Philippine Communist party. The announcement said that five were Central Committee members of the CP.

The mounting protests among Filipino workers have evidently caused a stir in the bureaucracy of the government-backed Trade Union Congress of the Philippines. TUCP leaders recently reversed their support for Marcos's strike ban and called for an increase of ten pesos in the minimum wage. □

Naturally

"Lebanese reconstruction: banks first priority"—headline in the February 3 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Intercontinental Press

Demand British Troops Out of Ireland

2,000 in London Commemorate Bloody Sunday

By Skip Ball

LONDON—Two thousand marchers turned out here February 1 to commemorate the fourth anniversary of Bloody Sunday—the 1972 massacre of Irish civil-rights activists in Derry. Braving physical assaults by the fascist National Front, harassment by London authorities, and freezing temperatures, the demonstrators demanded, “British troops out of Ireland now,” and “Repeal the PTA [Prevention of Terrorism Act], Free Frank Stagg.”

The march was a much-needed answer to the vicious campaign of the Labour government against the Irish national liberation movement. Supporters of self-determination for Ireland have been branded as advocates of terrorism by the government, which has itself terrorized the Irish community in Britain. Using the PTA, the Wilson government has arrested almost 1,000 persons for questioning in the past year. At the same time, it has indicated its willingness to let hunger striker Frank Stagg die in Wakefield prison rather than grant his request to be transferred to an Irish prison.

The climate facing the movement against the British occupation of Ireland was indicated by the report of the Bloody Sunday Commemoration Committee that forty-four halls were denied them because of the topic of the meeting. The rally had to be held outside.

The traditional rally site for political marches in London, Trafalgar Square, is banned by law from use for rallies on Northern Ireland. A route through central London was also denied the Bloody Sunday commemoration demonstration.

As the march began to assemble at Shepherd's Bush Green, about fifty thugs from the National Front charged across the field with British flags aimed like lances. All along the march and throughout the rally, demonstrators had to be warned to leave only in groups, since National Front goons had been beating up lone activists.

Only three National Front thugs were arrested, but pacifist Bill Hetherington was arrested on charges of “using threatening words and behaviour” for trying to talk to National Front members behind a police cordon. Hetherington was one of fourteen activists in the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign who were tried last year for simply passing out leaflets advising soldiers of their rights. They won their case and were on the march.

But in spite of this climate, Ted Coxhead, secretary of the Bloody Sunday Commemor-

ation Committee, summed up the spirit of those present when he said at the beginning of the rally, “These provocations are not going to stop us. This meeting is serving warning on the British government that we are going to take the message of Troops Out Now to the trade-union movement, the student movement, and into the Labour party and build a massive movement for self-determination for the Irish people.”

Marchers came from all over the country. Banners were visible from branches of the Troops Out Movement, student unions and trade-union bodies in London, and various political tendencies, including the International Socialists, Workers Socialist League, and the International Marxist Group (British section of the Fourth International).

Among those who spoke were Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, who was at the 1972 Derry massacre, and Eamonn McCann, author of the best-selling book *War and an Irish Town*. In addition, the rally heard speakers from trade unions, the Troops Out Movement, and a branch of the Labour party.

McAliskey reminded the rally that the thirteen deaths of Bloody Sunday were singled out from the hundreds of others that have occurred over the past seven years because “the paratroopers’ attack on that march in Derry was planned in the highest levels of Whitehall—it was a clear attempt by the British government to stop the movement for self-determination by the Irish people.”

Notable in its absence was the British Communist party and the groups in the Irish movement that it strongly influences. The CP is opposed to building mass actions in Britain for immediate withdrawal of the imperialist troops from Northern Ireland. It calls instead for a “Bill of Rights” to be drawn up and enforced by the British government, and for the troops only to be “withdrawn to barracks.”

But as McAliskey and McCann stressed, this violation of the right of the Irish people to run their own country is also a direct threat to the British working class. The same troops and repressive legislation used against the Irish today will be turned against the British workers tomorrow. □

Kissinger and the Kurds

“Covert action should not be confused with missionary work.”

That was Henry Kissinger's view of why Washington should cut off aid to the Kurds in Iraq, according to columnist William Safire in the February 5 *New York Times*.

The Kurdish struggle for national autonomy was used by both Washington and the shah of Iran as a pawn in their diplomatic maneuvers. Although the Kurdish leaders expected as much from the shah, they apparently had illusions in Washington's good intentions. According to Safire, the secret report of the House Committee on Intelligence said: “. . . the U.S. acted in effect as guarantor that the insurgent group” [the Kurds] “would not be summarily dropped by the foreign head of state” [the shah].

Safire's column apparently drew blood. It was attacked by the State Department on February 5 as “a collection of distortions and untruths. . . .”

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The Formation of the Scottish Labour Party

By Alan Jones and James MacAllister

[The following article appeared in the January 22 issue of *Red Weekly*, newspaper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The split between the leadership of the Scottish Labour Party¹ and the mainstream of the Labour bureaucracy is not over how to fight for socialism but on how to save their bureaucratic necks in the face of the rise of the Scottish National Party.

The line of the old leadership of the Labour Party in Scotland was simply to bluff it out. They stuck to this line even after the elections in February and October 1974 boosted the SNP's seats in Parliament from one to seven to eleven. It took the direct intervention of British Labour Party Secretary Roy Hayward at the 1975 Scottish Labour Party Conference to end the openly suicidal course adopted by the hacks of the Scottish Council of the Labour Party.

Despite the machinations of the bureaucracy, however, the Labour vote remained fairly firm in 1974. The domination of the SNP by an astute finance capital clique which supplied the party with a viciously anti-working class economic policy for independence (see the exposure of SNP secret documents in *Red Weekly*, 4 September 1975) was sufficient to scare off most workers. The SNP won eight seats from the Tories and built massive petit-bourgeois support, but it did not break Labour's hold on working class votes.

Eighteen months later the situation is very different. The open right-wing policies of the Wilson Government—whose effects are especially vicious in Scotland—have increasingly led sections of Scottish workers to identify them with some form of “national discrimination.” The SNP believes it can win a massive working class vote, and inflict a 1931-style defeat on Labour.

Confronted with the SNP threat the Labour bureaucrats naturally did not come forward with the only policy capable of defending the working class—the struggle for a socialist solution to the crisis in Scotland. Instead it produced its White

Paper on devolution.² This was meant as a sop to nationalism. But on that field the SNP holds all the aces—as Scottish miners secretary Bill Maclean commented: “It gives the SNP a stick to break the back of the Labour Party in Scotland.”

The results of this disastrous policy were seen in the Central Regional Council by-election in the mining town of Bo'ness, where a Labour majority of 300 was turned into a Nationalist majority of 1,500. A leading opinion poll a few days later projected a rise in the SNP's poll to 57 per cent, which would lose Labour at least 17 seats.

Confronted with the threat of a catastrophic electoral defeat, a section of the Labour bureaucracy in Scotland decided to stop following this suicidal path and do what every other bureaucracy does in similar circumstances—make a demagogic “left” turn. This didn't mean the adoption of class struggle politics—Sillars,³ for example, is noted for having written a centre-spread article for the *Scottish Daily Express* viciously attacking the 1973 Glasgow firemen's strike—but a turn towards an attempt to combine nationalist demagoguery with Bennite economic policies.⁴

Around this project a motley collection has assembled—notably John Robertson, MP for Paisley, who is a long time associate of AUEW⁵ right-winger John Boyd and who broke Labour Party discipline to act as a House of Commons sponsor of SNP member Margo MacDonald after she had defeated the Labour Party in the Govan by-election. Also prominent are a collection of journalists, including the Scottish correspondent of the *Financial Times* and the gossip columnist of the *Daily Record*.

These people probably calculate that Labour will be annihilated at the next election while Sillars retains his seat, and that they will then be able to dominate a revamped Labour Party which includes a

2. The term used to describe the transferring of certain governmental powers to local authorities in Scotland and Wales.—IP

3. James Sillars, a Scottish member of Parliament and founder of the Scottish Labour party.—IP

4. Left Social Democratic policies associated with Wilson cabinet member Anthony Wedgewood Benn.—IP

5. Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.—IP

1. Founded at a January 18 meeting in Glasgow.—IP

majority of the bureaucracy. Failing this, many of them are quite capable of breaking their links with the workers' movement altogether and joining the SNP. It is this group which dominates the SLP and provided the platform at its founding conference.

The policies which these people are trying to impose on the new organisation are of course reformist, confused, and in some cases reactionary. The membership card of the SLP carries a twofold statement of aims: “(1) The creation of a powerful Scottish Parliament working in full democratic partnership with the rest of the UK and representing Scotland in the EEC. (2) To ensure that the Scottish Parliament is a socialist Parliament applying modern socialist policies in Scotland.”

Sillars' main argument is that the Government has not implemented the Labour Party election manifesto—particularly on devolution, unemployment, and social expenditure cuts. But the SLP's only solution to this is that put forward by Alex Neil, a former Labour Party research officer, who has stated that the core of the party's policy is to secure wide powers for the proposed Scottish Assembly and control over oil revenues.

Such a line in no way marks off the SLP from the SNP's radical demagoguery: in fact, by suggesting that cuts and unemployment can be solved by controlling the oil resources, they merely reinforce the nationalist mirage of an “oil-rich independent Scotland.”

But despite the reformism and confusion, the development of a political organisation doesn't depend just on what its leadership wants. Despite all these manoeuvres, the formation of the SLP is potentially a positive development.

Scotland is in a massive economic, social and political crisis. The line of the Labour Party leadership is patently bankrupt, and the present line of bureaucratic threats against the SLP is utterly reactionary and must be strongly condemned in the labour movement. Under these circumstances, not only bureaucrats seeking to save their necks but also workers seeking a left alternative will join the SLP.

Most of those attending the founding meeting were undoubtedly opponents of Wilson's right-wing policies rather than supporters of “nationalism” in any reactionary sense. The SLP therefore starts as a current with a left social democratic leadership and a centrist membership ranging from abject reformists to revolutionaries.

The evolution of the SLP after its formation depends not just on Sillars and the course of the class struggle in Scotland. It also depends on the intervention of revolutionary socialists. An IMG statement put out at the conference pointed out that: “The essential task of this and future meetings of

the SLP is to work out concrete proposals for the widest possible unity in action of the labour movement against mass unemployment, against the £6 [wage increase] limit, against the destruction of the welfare state and against attempts to settle in advance the powers of an Assembly."

It is also necessary for the SLP to adopt other crucial policies such as the nationalisation of oil. Here the right approach was shown by a former member of the Communist Party, who said that the chief tasks of the SLP must be to fully implement Clause Four and to oppose bans and proscriptions. This point was also supported by IMG speaker Stewart MacLennan, who pointed out that to work out its policies and break with bureaucratic labourism the SLP had to have the fullest internal democracy.

Once the question of programme is decided, then of course the attitude towards the Labour Party falls into place. *The* most important thing is to begin to organise for a fight against Wilson. Given the choice of organising for a fight but being forced out of the Labour Party, or being in the Labour Party but unable to organise for the struggle, it is much better to form a group and run the risk of being thrown out. But this is true only if there is no other choice. There is no sense in *provoking* it.

If it is possible to organise openly for a programme of struggle against Wilson and for the interests of the working class in Scotland and Britain, then the support of the mass of workers for the Labour Party means that this is the place to be. Here the manoeuvres of Sillars are having a ruinous effect. On 11 January he stated that the SLP had no plans to field candidates in elections. The following day he said he recognised that he would have to fight the next election as an SLP candidate.

The effect of such behaviour is to convince people that he is a left-wing Prentice.⁶ His attitude in refusing to discuss his views with all members of his constituency party can only put people off.

The only way to win over members of the Labour Party is to take a principled position without any hint of manoeuvres. This means saying openly: "We intend to organise to fight the policies of Wilson on devolution and everything else, which are leading the working class to a crushing defeat. It is necessary to organise a fight now, and it is better even to be thrown out than meekly follow the bureaucracy up the road to disaster. But if we are thrown out that will be the bureaucracy's fault and not ours."

"We prefer for our organisation to be members of the Labour Party. Whether you

6. Reginald Prentice, a member of the Wilson cabinet rejected last July by his local Labour party committee as its candidate in the next general election, partially because of his weak stand on nationalization.—IP

agree with our policies or not, you should fight with us for our right to be in the Labour Party. It is the bureaucrats, not us, who are splitting the labour movement. We must campaign in every factory and union against their acts."

Thousands of Labour Party members will respond to such an appeal. Even if they are thrown out the SLP should still adopt as part of its policy the demand to affiliate to the Labour Party—just as Trotsky advised the ILP⁷ to do after it left the Labour Party

7. Independent Labour party, founded in 1893,

More Killings by Torture Reported in Brazil

Journalists Demand Inquiry Into Death of Herzog

According to a report in the January 26 *Washington Post*, a Brazilian magazine editor has charged that the Geisel regime subjected him to torture while he was detained in a São Paulo prison. The editor, Rodolfo Kondor, said that an electric-shock machine was used on him by prison authorities.

Kondor also reported that he overheard screams from television producer Vladimir Herzog, whom the Brazilian army charged last October with "subversive" activities. The army later claimed that Herzog committed suicide in his cell.

On January 13 a letter from the São Paulo journalists union was published in most of the large-circulation dailies in Brazil. It pointed to serious contradictions in the official report on Herzog's death and called for the inquiry to be reopened.

The letter was signed by 467 journalists, including Prudente de Moraes, chairman of the Associação Brasileira de Imprensa (Brazilian Press Association); Carlos Castello Branco, columnist for *O Jornal do Brasil* and formerly a prominent supporter of the Geisel regime; and Carlos Chagas, press officer for former President Arthur Costa e Silva.

Three other deaths have occurred at the army prison in São Paulo since September 1975. The army has attempted to cloak these murders as well, claiming that one death resulted from a heart attack and two others from suicide.

The most recent "suicide," the January 17 death of metalworker Manoel Fiel Filho, has been publicly challenged by members of the Catholic church clergy.

At a memorial mass for Fiel Filho January 24, Father Antonio Haddad said, "We are here to remember a human being massacred by other men."

At another mass, Auxiliary Bishop

in the 1930s.

But this is in the future. While remaining within the Labour Party should be a goal of the SLP, *the* most important question facing it is to get organised and replace its existing confused and reformist programme with one which is really adequate to the needs of the working class. This is the urgent task which today faces the militant supporters of the SLP. □

played an important role in launching the British Labour party, was expelled from it in 1931, and returned to it in 1939.—IP

Angelico Bernardino asked, "Did Manoel Fiel Filho die of torture? . . . Is there anyone who doubts that this army prison has been turned into a house of horrors, where prisoners are submitted to terrible confinements and violence that shame this country?"

Two days after Fiel Filho's death, the government was forced to relieve Gen. Eduardo D'Avila Melo of his assignment as commander of the São Paulo army garrison.

Commenting on the dismissal, Heleno Fragoso, vice-president of the Brazilian Bar Association, said, "Everyone knows the prison is a chamber of horrors where prisoners are submitted to terrible violence, including electric shocks, that might provoke death."

Conditions in the regime's prisons were also exposed by a summary in the January 20 edition of the São Paulo newspaper *O Estado* of a twenty-eight-page report on torture issued by thirty-five political prisoners. The report gives firsthand documentation of the death by torture of sixteen prisoners, and includes the names of military and police personnel who conducted the torture sessions. (See *Intercontinental Press*, December 15, 1975.)

Argentine Businessmen Give Perón Ultimatum

Seven hundred heads of business concerns have issued an ultimatum to the Argentine government, according an Agence France-Presse dispatch in the January 31 *Le Monde*.

The business executives, meeting in a conference in Buenos Aires, threatened to shut down their companies if the government failed to take "adequate measures" to resolve the country's economic crisis.

The Frame-up of Joseph Hansen and George Novack

[The following is a statement by the editors of *Red Weekly*, newspaper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International. It appeared in the January 29 issue of *Red Weekly*.]

* * *

On 5 January 1975, *Workers Press*, the "daily organ of the Central Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party," accused Joseph Hansen and George Novack—well-known American Trotskyists, long-standing members of the Socialist Workers Party and numbered amongst Trotsky's closest collaborators during his last exile in Mexico—of being "accomplices of the GPU" (the Stalinist secret police).

Under most circumstances we would not even bother to deal with such ravings. When Joseph Stalin swung the resources of the Soviet State behind manufacturing a gigantic lie, Trotskyists were obligated to reply charge by charge; when Gerry Healy uses his detailed knowledge of the Moscow trials to imitate the methods of the prosecutors, we can safely leave this question not to political and factual refutation but to the medical study of mental degeneration in the epoch of capitalist decay.

This is particularly the case when the sole "evidence" which Healy produces is that of the capitalist state, self-confessed GPU agents and similar riff-raff, ex-Trotskyists who have unfortunately degenerated to the point where they place in the same breath GPU agents and Palestinian commandos and IRA fighters, and elements such as Vereecken—newly elevated by Healy to the rank of "veteran Trotskyist"—who were described by Trotsky himself as "placing themselves outside of reality politically" and characterised by the founding congress of the Fourth International as having "utilised their formal membership in the movement of the Fourth International to flout its principles, sabotage its discipline, and give aid and comfort to its enemies."

On Healy's method, of course, he is an "accomplice" of all these elements. Fortunately for him he isn't an "accomplice," or "agent"—he merely illustrates the rule that if you descend into the gutter all you will come up with is filth.

Healy's record is also public for the world to see. He sits in the ruins of a smashed and wrecked organisation. The International Committee of the Fourth International has gone through the vile methods used against the Spartacists, the split with the Lambertists, the disgusting expulsion of Alan

Thornett, the hounding of Tim Wohlforth, and now it is reaping the whirlwind. The explosion of its organisation in Australia and the collapse of its forces in the United States are merely the harbingers of the destruction of its cult society in Britain. As Gerry Healy looks back on his life he can truly record, "everything I built turned to dust."

But the political decline has now led to a moral and personal degeneration as well. We no longer have merely sectarian positions, social democratic errors, and violent methods—now we have organised and conscious lying on the largest scale which Healy's resources will permit.

The historical path to this is clear. First the "International Committee" used little lies to aid arguments a bit—after all, as the "Pabloites" of the Fourth International are objectively agents of capitalism, then if the SLL/WRP couldn't find the evidence it could "serve the interests of the working class" by inventing it. Then unfortunately Healy's lies were exposed and he was unable to reply. The answer was clear—just censor the membership a bit and step up the lying.

But once Healy opened the door just that inch to the lying and abandonment of principles, he embarked with iron logic on the road to the political gutter.

As for the proposal in *Workers Press* for a world investigation on this matter, it is beneath contempt even to discuss seriously whether Joe Hansen is an accomplice of the GPU. Healy learnt that trick from the textbook of any tenth rate bourgeois lawyer, from the Stalinist methods in the Comintern, and from the arsenal of Joseph McCarthy. The technique is simple—make the most absurd charge, which no one would believe, but then if you can get a body set up to "investigate" it the lie is given some respectability and perhaps people will think there is something to it.

We have no intention of giving respectability to a charge whose sole record will be as a dirty and sordid footnote in the annals of pathology. The only "investigation" we suggest for any student of the byways of history is to describe in detail, if anyone has a strong enough stomach, how an organisation like the SLL/WRP, which started as an enemy of the capitalist system, prostituted the highest cause in the world to the methods of the gutter and in so doing led its leaders to utter political and moral degeneration. That is the sole interest of the *Workers Press* "charges" for the working class movement.

As for Joseph Hansen, he doesn't need anyone to vindicate him—history has already done it. Joe Hansen for four decades and more has served the only cause worth serving—the interests of the working class. For those same decades he has sought to defend the only ideas worth defending—the ideas of revolutionary Marxism. He did so as Trotsky's secretary and through the long years of repression, witch-hunt and isolation of the 1940s and 1950s.

Whether history will judge him right or wrong on any question, he sought to defend revolutionary socialism and the cause of the working class in the only way it can be defended—through scrupulous attention to truth, through serious study and effort, and through a consistent fight for what you believe to be true. His stature as a revolutionary and a political fighter is irreproachable.

As for Healy and his bunch of liars, they were only too pleased, in saner days, to have the support of Joe Hansen during the 1950s—even quoting proudly the "accomplice of the GPU" in praise of their organisation. And as for the other "guilty party" George Novack, not merely was he working *personally* for years in day-to-day collaboration with your leadership but you, Mr Healy, put your own signature to public articles which were in reality written by this "accomplice of the GPU."

The publication of Healy's attack in a journal claiming to be Marxist, however, does not represent the paranoia of a single individual, no matter how powerful he or she may be within the WRP. It represents something much graver. It marks the complete and utter political degeneration of a sect which has claimed adherence to Trotskyism. It is the ultimate logic of sectarian politics, and it should be a terrible reminder to other groups on the left of what can happen when you *start* political debates by distorting the positions of your opponents and slandering them personally in no uncertain terms.

There were always traces of this in the WRP's predecessor, the Socialist Labour League (SLL), but in the 1950s and early

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'60s the slanders were milder, the distortions less outrageous, and the internal regime of the organisation marginally more flexible. The roots of the present degeneration can be traced back to the events surrounding a major schism in the Fourth International in 1953, the subsequent emergence of two currents, the International Secretariat and the International Committee, and the failure of Healy to participate in the reunification of the two currents in 1963.

Healy's explanation of these events has always been in terms of a supposed revision of Marxism—and therefore transfer to the camp of the class enemy—carried out in the early 1950s by Michel Raptis (Pablo). This was supposedly concretised in a whole series of historic betrayals carried through by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International—and, after 1963, also carried out by the SWP. A shibboleth had been established, and the SLL was subsequently to spend much time, energy and resources in explaining to the British working class the evils of "Pabloite revisionism."

The fact that Pablo's views were not those of the majority of the International Secretariat, that even if they had been these *theoretical* differences did not justify a split, was of no account. The battlelines had been drawn, the main enemy identified, and the battle had to take place. Small matter that the International Secretariat denied most of the slanders; small matter that the opponents of Healy were straw persons; and small matter that Trotskyists had been attacking these methods of debate in the workers movement for decades.

The political sectarianism became intensified when the victory of the Cuban revolution and a common attitude towards it helped to reunify the mainstream of world Trotskyism. The SWP, barred by reactionary legislation from affiliating to the Fourth International, declared its support for the reunification. But Healy stayed away. The SWP had clearly capitulated to "Pabloite revisionism." At all costs the disease must not be allowed to spread. Their own ranks must be inoculated against it. And so they were.

Having embarked on a sectarian trajectory, Healy began to pay the price. In his current's total obsession with themselves they now denied that the Cuban revolution had taken place. Castro was qualitatively no different from Batista. Here we have a model example of sectarian subjectivism. Since the victory of the Cuban revolution goes against our immediate sectarian interests, let's not even admit that it's taken place. It's in Latin America in any case, and none of our members will know enough about it to seriously challenge the assumption.

For self-proclaimed revolutionaries in an advanced capitalist country to deny the reality of a socialist revolution—albeit in a small, far away island—because to do so would weaken their factional arguments against their opponents, was certainly an innovation in the Trotskyist movement. Stalin had applied a similar criterion to Yugoslavia after Tito had refused to accept Stalinist dominance over the Yugoslav party and state apparatus. Stalin had then also resorted to calling Tito every name under the sun and had been loyally echoed by Thorez in Paris and Togliatti in Rome. Purges in the Eastern European parties had wiped out all supposed "Titoist deviationists."

Healy has taken his time, but now employs similar methods against his opponents within his own "party" as well as his factional opponents in other groups. This sort of degeneration is political. If you have a sectarian political line, you have to build an organisation where it is never seriously challenged. Sectarian politics of necessity require a monolithic organisation. Sectarian training of members in verbal violence opens the way to physical violence against your opponents.

If you tell your members that the dreaded Pabloite revisionists are the agents of the petty-bourgeoisie in the workers movement pretending to be Trotskyists, or are police agents or agents of the Soviet bureaucracy,

the door is then open for physical attacks on all political opponents both inside and outside your own sect. This has also occurred in the sect now led by Gerry Healy, Mike Banda et al.

When a workers state degenerates we call for a political revolution. When a working class organisation degenerates we call on its members to wage a fight against this degeneration.

We therefore appeal to the members of the WRP: comrades, study the history of the movement of which you claim to be a part. Study the writings of Trotsky, the documents of the Left Opposition, the documents (all of them) related to the polemics in the Fourth International, and ask yourselves whether the methods being used by your leaders are more akin to Stalinism or Trotskyism. Ask yourselves whether or not there was something wrong with the way in which Alan Thornett and his comrades were expelled from your ranks.

Follow the advice given by Marx to his daughter—"doubt everything." In particular, doubt everything your leadership tells you without studying the case of your opponents. Ask yourselves why it took Healy nearly four decades to discover that Hansen and Novack were "GPU accomplices." We doubt whether you will be able to save your organisation, but it is certainly the only way you will be able to save yourselves as revolutionary militants! □

Special Offer



Malcolm X

To help celebrate the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press*, reproductions of sketches by Cyprian, artist for *Intercontinental Press*, were published by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers party and bound in an 8.5" x 11" book. The aim was to use the money gained from sales to help us begin publishing articles in Spanish.

The drawings, of various sizes, include portraits of Hugo Blanco, Malcolm X, James P. Cannon, Che Guevara, Cesar Chavez, Leon Trotsky, and many more, some of which are suitable for framing.

A limited number of copies of this collection of drawings are now available for only \$5.

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Report on the Student Movement in Brazil

[The following article appeared in the November-December 1975 issue of *Independência Operária*, the underground newspaper of a group of Brazilian Trotskyists.

[In an editorial in the same issue summing up the political situation at the end of 1975, the group pointed out the vanguard role the students had played in the year's struggles. Although many leaders of the working class were in jail and the unions were bound and gagged, it said, the students managed "to raise the voice of the oppressed and mobilize their forces against the dictatorship."

[The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The bourgeoisie's offensive and the step-up of repression that occurred throughout 1975 were unable to block the continuing process of reorganization of the mass movement.

That was to be expected. With the deepening of the economic crisis and the growing pauperization of sectors of the masses, the repressive steps taken by the bourgeoisie could lead only to an increase in struggles for the right to demonstrate and organize, and for freedom of expression—that is, for democratic rights. Thus, various sectors evolved rapidly from specific, economic demands to demands for democratic rights.

This was particularly true in the middle class, the sector that most resented the end of the Brazilian miracle because of the precipitous loss of all the economic advantages they had gained under the Médici government.¹

The events of 1975 made clear the role the middle class—and within it, the students—plays in Brazilian society today. It is the axis of mobilizations that, with its struggles, is capable of advancing the mobilizations of less-organized sectors—principally the workers movement.

The struggles conducted by the student movement this year were without doubt the most important since 1968, and they were carried out fundamentally for democratic rights. A brief summary of them will provide a clear picture of the mobilizing role of the student movement today.

The First Semester

University of São Paulo (USP). The

1. Gen. Emilio Garrastazú Médici was president from 1969 to 1974.

attempt to enforce Decree Law 477² against three students as soon as classes began was quickly responded to by the students. They held assemblies by school, where the steps to be taken in defense of their threatened fellow students were discussed. As a result of the broad mobilization, the university administration pulled back, stating that everything that had happened was a "lamentable mistake." Insisting that it was not a question of applying Decree Law 477 but of sanctions ordered by USP's internal administration, university authorities postponed summoning the three students. The summons was never acted on. Thus, as the result of the strength of the mobilizations, an apparent partial victory became a total victory.

On the other hand, the struggle did suffer from the effects of divisions among student leaders and their lack of clarity. This led them to shift the axis of the movement from defense of the threatened students to the question of the creation of the *Diretória Central dos Estudantes (DCE)*,³ doing so at a moment when the masses did not yet clearly understand the need for such a body.

As soon as that mobilization ended, another bigger and more important one began—the struggle at the *School of Communication and Arts*.

The School of Communication and Arts (ECA). The struggle here resulted from a specific problem—the presence of a police-agent director who denied the students the right to expression, assembly, and organization, and who prohibited book fairs and wall newspapers. The ECA students began with a strike to demand that the director resign. This democratic demand of the student movement spread to the whole university, which solidarized itself with the strikers through university general assemblies and by paralyzing the campus. In short order students from some other, more isolated schools and even from universities in other states also held demonstrations in support of the ECA students.

In the midst of the struggle the students deposed the corrupt leadership of the ECA academic center. In view of the need to broaden and centralize the movement, they also organized a university commission. This clearly posed to the mobilized students

2. Decree Law 477 allows the government to suspend or expel students accused of participating in "subversive" activities.

3. Central Student Board of Directors.

the need for an independent DCE in the USP, an important step in the reorganization of the students in São Paulo.

The struggle did broaden out to other schools on the campus and won solidarity from other universities. However, it did not go beyond student circles. By contrast with the students, other sectors of society remained passive.

The student movement was isolated. Lacking a correct assessment of the situation, the leadership of the movement did not develop a program of demands that would permit the students to negotiate if the struggle were to wane. On the contrary, it centered all its pressure on one single point—the resignation of the director, which, given the circumstances, would not happen.

At the end of the semester a proposal to end the mobilization was presented. It called for reorganizing the DCE on the basis of a congress of the student vanguard, rather than on the basis of the mobilization and a strengthening of the university commission, which was really the embryo of a leadership body of the student movement at USP. This assured the decline of the movement. The students won a partial victory—the ECA Assembly was formed and the students were not penalized for missing classes.

Although it was only a partial victory, the character of the two struggles at USP for democratic rights raised the level of consciousness of the students and placed the reorganization of the *Diretória Central dos Estudantes* on the order of the day.

Pontifical Catholic University (PUC). Throughout the first semester at the São Paulo PUC the mass movement underwent a slow process of reorganization. This was concretized in the rebuilding of the academic directorates, which were nonexistent in the majority of the schools.

That is why except for the protest against the visit of Col. Jarbas Passarinho, who was invited by corrupt students of the Law School Academic Directorate to give a talk on education, there were no more generalized struggles that might have extended beyond the university.

The demonstration against Passarinho—the man who, when he was minister of education, was responsible for several attacks on the students' rights of organization and free expression, and for Decree Law 477—made clear the potential the issue of democratic rights has for mobilizing the student movement. On the day of the talk, about 300 students from PUC and USP were waiting for the unwelcome colonel to prevent him from entering the university. Passarinho did not arrive. The pressure of the students was successful.

The struggle to reopen the academic directorates began in the most advanced

school—the Social Sciences and Service faculty—with the formation of a Commission for the Organization of the Academic Directorate (CODA), a step that helped to centralize the movement. The reopening of the academic directorates took place in the second semester through elections with quite a high degree of participation.

In the psychology faculty the student mobilization against the threatened elimination of the course of studies and the division of the school made it possible to build an academic center separate from the university's structure.

The victory of the PUC students in rebuilding their representative bodies was an important step in the reorganization of the students of São Paulo, confirming that the mass movement in that university is in the process of accumulating forces.

The Second Semester

The focal point of the mobilizations temporarily shifted to Bahia, where the students at the Federal University of Bahia went out on strike to protest the attempt to apply the retirement law; the lack of funds to conduct programs; the low level of instruction; and the increase in fees. The movement began at the end of September in the geology and geography faculties, and within one week already had support from five more programs. The strike quickly affected about 14,000 students.

Here it was clear that in fact the mass movement was going through a process of accumulating forces and assimilating experience. The Bahia student strike in large part reflected a generalization of the experience of São Paulo's students. The Bahia students used independent mobilizations as the main weapon to put power behind their demands.

As the fight developed, the students prepared a program of demands that they presented to the rector and the director of the Department of University Affairs (DAU). That program contained four points: (1) Suspension of forced retirement. (2) Attention to the demands of each school concerning the conditions of instruction and the allotment of funds. (3) No counting of cuts for the period of the strike. (4) Organization of a commission of students and professors to ensure compliance with the above.

The initial response from the DAU was that if all the students did not return to the classroom they would be failed and disciplined under Decree Law 477. Fourteen thousand students flunked and expelled from the university through 477! It was intimidation through sensationalism.

Despite the threats, the struggle of the Bahian students won a limited victory. The university bureaucracy pulled back, reducing the number of individuals subject to

retirement. The strikers were not failed, nor framed up under Decree Law 477.

However, the vanguard of the movement was subjected to repression. The leaders were imprisoned, the Federal University of Bahia was surrounded, and when police came onto the campus all new assemblies were banned. Nevertheless, there were no direct confrontations with the masses.

On the one hand, the outcome was the result of the student movement's isolation and the fact that the regime is moving to the right. On the other, it made clear that the fundamental features of the government's relationship to the mass movement were the same—(partial or full) retreats before the pressure of a mass mobilization, and repression of its leaders with the aim of beheading and demobilizing it.

Also playing an important role in the semester's mobilizations were the struggle of students in Belo Horizonte, where the police invaded the university; the strike of the *companheiros* in São Carlos; and the Human Rights Week carried out by students from several universities in Greater Rio [see article elsewhere in this issue].

Response to an Assassination. The downturn in the struggle in Bahia had barely begun when the students at USP mobilized again, this time against the wave of imprisonments that accompanied the breakdown of the state oil monopoly, affecting several sectors throughout the country (journalists, attorneys, trade-union leaders, and university professors and students, the majority of whom were connected to the MDB⁴).

The movement began October 23, when 800 students from USP held a general assembly to decide what steps to take against the arrests and a fascistlike, threatening circular from [Defense] Minister Armando Falcão. At the end of the assembly the students decided to shut down classes on October 29 if by that date the federal government had not met the demand to free the latest prisoners. They also organized the university commission, which was to centralize the movement at USP and give direction to the sessions of the general university assemblies.

With the death of professor and journalist Vladimir Herzog in the DOI-OBAN⁵ headquarters October 25, the struggle spread, leading the 32,000 students of the USP to shut down classes and hold general university assemblies to discuss what steps should

be taken. At one of the assemblies, the students approved a manifesto to the workers, calling for an ecumenical day of worship October 31 to mark the death of Herzog.

The day of worship was to have an extremely significant political character in that it would represent the high point of the mobilizations carried out by the students, journalists (who remained on a permanent vigil in the union hall after the burial of their murdered colleague), and professors (who joined the strike movement at USP and other schools).

However, by neglecting to distribute, and if possible read, during the services a communiqué signed by the university commission, the students compromised their independence and subordinated themselves to the leadership of the church and the other sectors there. As it turned out, what would have been the only clearly political demonstration during the services—the distribution of the students' communiqué to the 8,000 persons present—never took place.

The climate of fear had its effect on the student movement, a situation that some sectors of the leadership of the student movement contributed to.

But the loss of the independent character of the day of worship did not negate the correctness of the form of struggle adopted by the students. On the contrary, the mobilizations and the general strike at USP, along with the pressure from the journalists and professors, forced a letup in the repression. The jailings stopped; several prisoners were released, while others only appeared before police bodies and were then immediately freed.

If the previous struggles of the student movement were marked by their isolation, the most recent one made it clear that joint mobilizations of the mass movement are capable of holding the repression in check and forcing a letup in the government's move to the right. To that extent the unity of the students, journalists, and professors in the struggle against the arrests represented an advance in the experience of the mass movement and indicated the direction of the struggles to come—the growing joint mobilizations of sectors of the middle class for democratic and political rights.

The most important task today is to encourage such a coalescence so as to accelerate the entry onto the scene of the working class—the only force capable of ending exploitation by the bourgeoisie.

Furthermore, the outcome of the USP mobilizations was clear. The university commission continued to exist following the mobilization, guaranteeing that in 1976 the USP student movement will begin from a higher organizational level with the embryo of the DCE already functioning. □

4. Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (Brazilian Democratic Movement), the official opposition party.

5. Departamento de Operações Internas—Operação Bandeirantes (Internal Operations Department—Operation Bandeirantes), repressive forces specializing in operations against revolutionists.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



SST Ruling—Threat to Ears and Ozone

By Noah Ellsworth

U.S. Transportation Secretary William Coleman, Jr. gave the nod February 4 to the Concorde supersonic transport aircraft (SST)—and with it, the noise, pollution, and atmospheric damage the 1,350-mile-an-hour jet produces.

Coleman ruled that British Airways and Air France—for a sixteen-month trial period—can fly twice daily into New York's Kennedy International Airport and once daily into Dulles International Airport outside Washington.

The decision immediately drew fire from environmentalists and other SST opponents in both the United States and Europe. These critics pointed out that the Concorde's negative effects on the earth's environment and population far outweigh its benefits in terms of speed.

Studies—including some conducted by the Transportation Department itself—have shown that Concorde is perceived by the human ear as being four to eight times louder than most other jets currently in use. In addition, many scientists argue that the

high-flying plane will do serious harm to the atmosphere's protective ozone layer, increasing the incidence of skin cancer. The SSTs even add to simple atmospheric pollution, emitting significantly larger quantities of nitrogen oxides, hydrocarbons, and carbon monoxide than subsonic jets.

These considerations were all brought directly to the attention of the Department of Transportation by SST opponents, including the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.

An opinion poll conducted by the New York *Daily News* in mid-January demonstrated the negative reaction to Concorde in and around that city, which is directly affected by the Coleman ruling. Nearly two-thirds of those polled, 63 percent, opposed granting landing rights to the SST, while fewer than one-quarter supported doing so.

This sentiment has spurred New York state and city politicians to voice opposition to SST landings at Kennedy airport. Concorde flights into the airport must first be approved by the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, and New York Governor Hugh Carey has hinted that he will exercise his veto power in the event of a positive decision.

Opposition to the SST has also run high in the state of Virginia, where Dulles airport is located. The Virginia House of Delegates defeated a pro-Concorde resolution February 3. The vote, however, will have no bearing on Dulles landing rights, since the airport falls directly under Washington's jurisdiction.

The U.S. Senate Commerce Committee defeated a motion February 5 that would have barred Concorde flights into American airports. Although several similar bills will be up for congressional consideration soon, indications are that the White House would veto any such legislation even if it passed.

The Federal Appeals Court in Washington may review the Coleman ruling. A suit requesting the review was filed by the Environmental Defense Fund immediately after the decision.

The major worry of most SST opponents is that Coleman's ruling opens the door to Concorde flights on a much expanded basis

after the sixteen-month trial period expires. "I would . . . be blind to ignore . . . the possibility of a future expansion of operations if supersonic transports become commercially successful and environmentally acceptable," Coleman said in his decision. He called twenty-five daily flights into New York and five into Washington "the likely maximum." *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Albert Karr cited another proposed plan for thirty-one daily flights, including seventeen at New York, four at Miami, and three at Los Angeles.

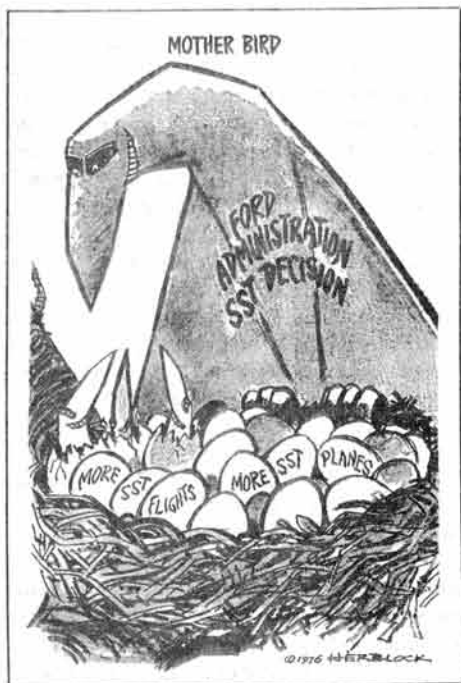
There is no reason to believe that environmental considerations would play any larger role in assessing these plans than they did in Coleman's decision on the initial flights. Coleman's major concern was the potentially harmful economic impact of a negative ruling on Washington's French and British allies, who invested thirteen years and nearly \$3 billion in the project.

A "no" to the British Airways and Air France requests, Coleman said, could have signaled "an arbitrary and protectionist attitude of the United States. . . ." Of course, "protectionist attitudes" have never been anathema in Washington, as Nixon's 1971 dollar devaluation and other aspects of the U.S. "New Economic Policy" amply illustrate.

Much less idealistic factors lay behind White House insistence that Coleman grant the landing rights. A report in the February 5 *Wall Street Journal* pointed to some possible factors. "Secretary of State Henry Kissinger . . . has argued that turning back the plane would be a blow to U.S. relations with Britain and France, and officials of those two nations have warned of 'political consequences' if Mr. Coleman rejected them. . . ."

The report continued, "An official at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Brussels also raised the veiled warning that U.S. rejection of the Concorde could prompt European retaliation against American weapons sales proposals.

"European decisions on two American arms projects—the Airborne Warning and Control System radar plane and a new generation of battle tanks—are due to come



Herblock/Washington Post

up before the end of the year, well within the Concorde's 16-month trial period."

Whatever Washington's specific reasons for giving the OK to Concorde, the earth's

'Nuclear Power Is a Technological Monster'

The resignation of three management-level engineers from General Electric's nuclear energy division in San Jose, California, February 2 has added fresh fuel to the debate in the United States about the safety of nuclear reactors.

"Nuclear power has become a technological monster and it is not clear who, if anyone, is in control," said Dale G. Bridenbaugh in his resignation letter.

"From what I've seen," he said, "the magnitude of the risks and the uncertainty of the human factor and the genetic unknowns have led me to believe there should be no nuclear power."

Bridenbaugh was manager of performance evaluation and improvement at the San Jose plant and had worked for GE twenty-two years.

Gregory C. Minor, a sixteen-year GE employee and manager of advanced control and instrumentation, said that "nuclear reactors and nuclear weapons now present a serious danger to the future of all life on this planet."

"I am convinced," Minor said, "that the reactors, the nuclear-fuel cycle and waste-storage systems aren't safe."

The third engineer, Richard B. Hubbard, another sixteen-year employee and manager of quality assurance, explained, "I am now convinced that there is no way you can continue to build plants and operate them without having an accident."

Hubbard said his concern about nuclear safety was heightened by a serious fire last March at the world's largest reactor complex at Brown's Ferry, Alabama. One of the two reactors lost some of the cooling water around its nuclear core, and an emergency cooling system was disabled by the fire.

"The Brown's Ferry incident showed human fallacy," Hubbard said. "I have been involved in making a lot of field fixes in reactors, and I have developed a strong feeling that we don't really know what is going on inside a reactor."

The three engineers have volunteered their services to backers of an anti-nuclear-power initiative that will appear on the California ballot in June. The initiative, if passed, would require utilities either to prove that they can fully compensate for the death, injury, and destruction caused by a nuclear accident, or to decrease reliance on existing reactors and build no new ones.

Groups in at least twelve other states are organizing to ensure that similar referendums will be on the ballot in

environment and population have clearly once again been sacrificed on the altar of imperialist diplomacy and the anarchistic workings of world capitalism. □

November elections.

The impact of the three resignations has reverberated in Washington, as well. Dr. Herbert Kouts, head of safety research for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), told *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent David F. Salisbury, "They have been involved in nuclear energy, from the end of actually building reactors, experience which I lack.

"I would like to hear what they have to say and then think some more about the comparative risks and benefits of nuclear energy." (*Christian Science Monitor*, February 4, 1976.)

Senator John Pastore, who chairs the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, has tentatively scheduled hearings February 18 to hear testimony from the three engineers, and from Robert Pollard, an NRC engineer who recently resigned citing similar concerns.

GE dismissed the arguments of its three former employees, contending that they were merely echoing "the emotional claims of Project Survival, a local antinuclear group."

The fact that GE reportedly takes in about \$450 million a year from nuclear sales—4 percent of its total sales—throws the corporation's objectivity on such questions into doubt. □

One Billion Pounds of Poison

One billion pounds of poisonous pesticides are used in the United States each year. A report released February 5 by the National Academy of Sciences noted that the effectiveness of chemical pesticides is decreasing, but the dangers they pose to human beings and the environment are not.

Many species of insects are developing genetic resistance to chemical poisons, while in other cases pesticides kill the natural enemies of the insects they are aimed at, thus canceling their effectiveness.

The five-volume report also called for the adoption of alternative methods of insect control because of the health hazards pesticides pose. It said that occupational injuries from pesticides might be seriously underestimated.

Only 'Some' Radioactive Fallout From Power Plant, New Delhi Claims

J.C. Shah, chairman of India's Atomic Power Authority, has denied accusations that radioactive leakage from the Tarapur

atomic power plant near Bombay has contaminated the fish eaten by the surrounding population.

"Being an atomic power plant, there is bound to be some radioactive fallout," Shah said, "but the authorities have kept it at a level lower than tolerable and there is no concern at all."

According to a February 7 United Press International dispatch from New Delhi, reports of the leakage originated with an official of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission who visited the Tarapur plant in 1972.

U.S. Steel Leads the Polluters' Pack

"U.S. Steel has compiled a record of environmental recalcitrance second to none," a deputy administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency reported February 5.

John Quarles, the EPA official, said the steel company owns nearly 20 percent of the industry's 1,777 "major polluting processes." Of U.S. Steel's twenty major facilities, he said, seventeen have resisted cleanup proposals.

Quarles said the EPA was forced to drag a federal judge out of his bed in the middle of the night to force the company to shut down a Birmingham, Alabama, plant several years ago, even though the city's air had been declared an imminent health hazard.

Residents Win Environmental Suit Against Osaka International Airport

At Japan's Osaka international airport, 272 local residents angered by noise and exhaust fumes from late-night flights took their case to court. Several months ago they won the suit.

In addition to banning flights from 9 p.m. to 7 a.m., the court awarded damages ranging from \$553 to \$4,427 per person, more than \$146,000 in legal fees, and ordered further negotiations for decreasing noise levels and the number of daily flights.

According to a report in the February 3 *Washington Post*, the Osaka success has prompted a similar suit by 300 persons living near Yokota, the last remaining U.S. air base in the Tokyo area.

'Fragrant Harbor'

Although Hong Kong's name means "Fragrant Harbor" in Chinese, there is some doubt that the British colony still merits this designation.

The Urban Services departmental report for 1974-75 records that 4.7 million tons of human excrement were dumped into the West Lamma Channel last year. The channel is located near Hong Kong's most popular beaches.

AROUND THE WORLD



Mass Demonstrations in Barcelona Demand Amnesty and Autonomy

Barcelona, the second largest city in Spain, was paralyzed for five hours February 8 as tens of thousands of Catalans took to the streets to demand amnesty for all political prisoners, democratic rights, and an autonomous government for Catalonia.

In a report from Barcelona, *New York Times* reporter Henry Giniger said that the city "was put under a virtual state of siege as the police, in their biggest display of force in memory here, sought in vain to repress the Catalonian challenge to Madrid."

It was the second Sunday in a row that Barcelona was the scene of a huge opposition demonstration. In both cases the peaceful marches were attacked by police using truncheons, rubber bullets, and smoke bombs. Scores of persons were injured, but it was the police who were demoralized.

"For close to five hours the policemen mounted and descended from jeeps and buses that had to force their way through heavy traffic," Giniger reported. "There were thousands of automobiles out, with drivers honking their horns in unison with the shouts of the marchers."

The attacks failed to disperse the demonstrators. "Exasperated and unnerved, the policemen thumped cars with their clubs and grabbed isolated persons and beat them. Any young persons in the street were automatically suspect and many were attacked. There was no accurate account of the number of people arrested."

Regime Closes Sri Lanka University

The Ministry of Education ordered the closing of the Peradeniya campus of the University of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) January 22. It also indefinitely postponed all final examinations, which have a crucial bearing on the future plans of graduating students.

The move came in response to a protest boycott of the examinations following the arrest of three students and the suspension of twelve others. The students were involved in a January 8 demonstration in which nearly 100 students confronted the college president to demand an end to harassment by university marshals.

All 1,000 Peradeniya undergraduates

participated in the boycott.

University authorities ordered the students to vacate their student housing on only a few hours notice. They rejected a request by the Student Council that an extra twenty-four hours be granted to facilitate transportation arrangements and that financial assistance be provided to help cover the unexpected travel costs.

On January 27 the three arrested students were released on bail, but the magistrate ordered police to arrest three other students whom he charged with "evading arrest" in connection with the January 8 protest.

Three Year's Work Without Pay Threatened in Mozambique

Mozambique President Samora Machel announced February 3 that workers with jobs would have to give one day's salary a month to a national fund. Citing the country's severe economic crisis, which he ascribed to colonial plundering, Machel warned that some persons might have to work for three years without pay.

In the same speech, Machel also announced the immediate nationalization of all private homes and the renaming of the Mozambican capital from Lourenço Marques to Maputo.

Kennedy Plotted to Poison Cubans

William Safire, a former Nixon aide now writing for the *New York Times*, says in his January 26 column that Senator Frank Church has attempted to paper over John F. Kennedy's role in devising a plan for "incapacitating" Cuban sugar workers by spraying poisonous chemicals on them. Church, a Democrat, is chairman of the Senate committee that last November issued a 347-page report on the Central Intelligence Agency.

According to Safire, the Church committee report dismissed this aspect of the anti-Castro "Operation Mongoose" with the comment, "After a study showed the plan to be unfeasible, it was canceled."

Actually, Safire said, "The Church staff chose not to make public the memorandum in its possession that casts a different light on the matter. 'In the office of the Attorney General,' to use a recently favored term, a

plan was seriously discussed to launch a chemical attack on Cuban workers (the chemical had a mortality rate of 'only 3 percent') and it was postponed for two specific reasons: (1) Harvest time was past, and (2) the Kennedys could not get their hands on enough of the chemical at that time."

Goldwater: Kennedy Authorized Plots to Assassinate Castro

Senator Barry Goldwater, who established a reputation for candor during his 1964 presidential campaign, has come out with some new information on the Senate investigation of the plots to assassinate Fidel Castro. "It was presidential," Goldwater said February 3. "We spent nine of the 10 months [of the hearings] trying to get Kennedy's name out of it."

Goldwater, a member of the Senate committee that investigated the plots, stressed that he had no objection to the assassination plans, stating that he had known of them for four years. "I expressed no concern," he said. "If it was part of a presidential plan I would assent."

However, others on the Senate committee were more squeamish about the disclosure of such matters. Senator John Tower of Texas insisted that he did not "know what Goldwater was talking about."

A Senate committee spokesman said the transcripts do contain some testimony that President Kennedy was involved in the assassination plots but claimed this had to be balanced against other, conflicting testimony.

Israel Applauds New Move by Hussein

The Jordanian parliament met in Amman February 5 for the first time in more than a year. It had been dissolved by King Hussein in late 1974 after Arab leaders at the Rabat, Morocco, conference recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only group that should negotiate about the future of the West Bank. Half the representatives in the lower house of the parliament are from the West Bank, but Hussein has refused to hold new elections based only on the eastern part of his kingdom.

In Jerusalem, an Israeli government official commented, "We have claimed all

along that the Palestinian question has to be solved in the context of negotiations with Jordan. Any adoption by Jordan of policies that would reinstate it as negotiator for the Palestinians is a welcome development."

U.S. Troops to Remain in Thailand

About 3,000 American troops will stay in Thailand after the March 20 deadline originally set for the withdrawal of all U.S. forces, according to a February 3 Associated Press dispatch from Bangkok.

According to Thai sources quoted in the dispatch, Washington will maintain 270 "advisers" in Bangkok, while others will continue to operate out of the Utapao air base and the U.S. communications base at Ramasun. They said the number of Americans might change "depending on the political situation during the next two months." Parliamentary elections are scheduled for April 4.

Currently, about 8,500 U.S. troops are stationed in Thailand, down from a peak of 50,000 during the Vietnam War.

Black Muslims in U.S. Change Views on Malcolm X

The Black Muslim organization has renamed its Temple No. 7 in Harlem in honor of Malcolm X. Malcolm broke with the Muslims in 1964 as a result of their abstention from the Black struggle for equal rights and because of disagreements with their religious views.

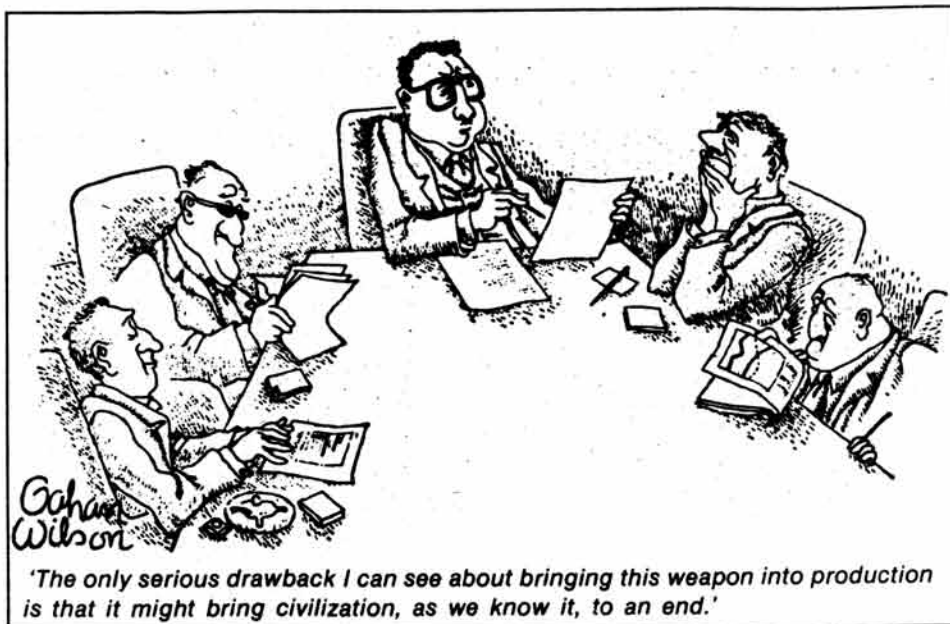
Abdul Farrakhan, a Muslim leader, acknowledged Malcolm's "great contributions to the Nation of Islam," adding that Malcolm "knew where the Nation [of Islam] should go and would ultimately go, but as a leader he lacked the patience to wait for the development of the minds of the followers toward that direction."

Tito's Political Prisoners

According to Amnesty International, Yugoslavia has more political prisoners than any other country in Eastern Europe except for East Germany, where 70 percent of political prisoners are would-be escapees, and perhaps Albania, where no figures are available. Proportionately, the Tito regime probably holds more political prisoners—as many as 4,000, according to a report in the February 7 *Economist*—than the Soviet Union. During 1975, 200 Yugoslavs were arrested for political crimes.

Tito Comes to Pinochet's Aid

Three trade-union federations in Italy have voted to boycott goods to or from Chile, according to a report in the January 31 *Le Monde*. But when dock workers in Trieste applied the measure and refused to



Gahan Wilson/Reprinted from Young Socialist

unload the Chilean vessel *Lago-Pujehue*, help arrived from an unexpected source.

The European Committee for the Liberation of Chile, a group based in Rome, reports that the ship "then set sail for Capodistria, in Yugoslavia, where it was unloaded, rendering ineffective the action by the Italian workers."

Five Demonstrators Killed in Egypt

Egyptian police opened fire on a group of demonstrators January 29 in the town of Manzala, 120 kilometers north of Cairo, according to an Associated Press dispatch in the January 31 *Le Monde*. Five persons were reported killed.

The demonstrators gathered in front of the police station following a report that a prisoner had been tortured to death. When the police station caught fire during the confrontation, the crowd prevented fire fighters from putting out the blaze.

According to the dispatch, "Leaders of the Arab Socialist Union [Egypt's sole legal political party] had to intervene to calm tempers, and the government decided to pay immediate compensation to the families of the victims."

'No Comment,' Says Kissinger

The U.S. State Department and Henry Kissinger have declined to comment on the new book by Matti Golan, diplomatic correspondent for Israel's leading newspaper. Golan's book, *From Confrontation to Disengagement*, was banned by the Israeli government last May. But according to reports, the version that passed the censors still has some choice items left in it.

For example, Kissinger's view of his

"brother," Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, was that he was "a fool . . . a clown . . . a buffoon," according to Golan.

A report on Golan's book by Morton Kondracke in the January 30 *Washington Post* gives no indication of what Kissinger had to say about the Israeli leaders. In any event, the Israelis do not need Golan's book. According to Kondracke, they apparently took the precaution of bugging Kissinger's room.

Andrés Pascal Allende Allowed to Leave Chile

Andrés Pascal Allende, a leader of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), has been permitted to leave Chile, according to a report in the February 3 *Washington Post*. His companion, Mary Ann Beausire, also received permission to leave the country. The two took refuge in the Costa Rican embassy November 7.

Nixon to Visit China

Former President Richard Nixon, the war criminal in charge of the U.S. assault on Vietnam from 1969 until his forced retirement in 1973, will be welcomed by the Maoist regime in China February 21.

A spokesman for Nixon said February 6 that the visit was at the initiative of Chinese government officials, who will send a special plane to pick up Nixon in California. Some observers have suggested that the Maoist dictatorship is attempting to indicate its displeasure with the slow progress of the Washington-Peking détente under Ford, compared with the situation when Nixon was in the White House.

Statement by Leonid Plyushch

Behind the Walls of a Soviet Psychiatric Prison

[Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch, now living in exile in France, held a news conference in Paris February 3 at which he thanked all those whose protests helped secure his release from a Soviet psychiatric prison-hospital. He asked to be excused for being unable to answer the innumerable messages of support he has received and then read the following statement, which we have translated from the February 4 *Le Monde*. Paragraphs deleted in the French text have, where possible, been supplied from the excerpts printed in the February 4 *New York Times*.]

* * *

In that entire flood of letters there was only one that was strongly negative. It is a curious document, which I would like to read to you.

Traitor, degenerate, if out of considerations of humanism you have been allowed to leave Russia, it is simply proof that there even traitors enjoy liberty. At the same time, in confining an idiot to an asylum you were given exactly what you deserved. You, as a mental defective, committed a number of vile acts against your fatherland. Scum of your sort is picked up by the capitalist trusts; they need it to continue to enslave the working masses. You are going to sing their tune, thundering out propaganda against the fatherland. But do not forget that here too the worker will break his chains. Europe is flaming with strikes, everywhere the people are against the parasites, defending their right to live and work. Your name is known to all working people, you deserve only censure, you have no right to the confidence of the working masses, you have risen from the people, you have carried out your studies at the expense of the people. The life of workers is harsh, you have given fine thanks to the people and the fatherland. May you, your wife, and your children be damned, you outcast of the human race. You have defecated on the people and the fatherland. One steps around shit, otherwise one soils oneself. That is why you were thrown out of the insane asylum and out of Russia. I convey to you the sentiments of French workers who have learned that you are living in this city.

The signature is unreadable and there is no return address.

That letter is beyond comment. I am convinced that no French worker could have written such a letter. It reflects the point of view of ordinary Soviet Stalinists; it shows their moral and intellectual level.

The sensation created around me is

something I find highly disagreeable. But I hope that it will draw the attention of a great part of world public opinion to the fate accorded those in the USSR who hold their own views, and that it will strengthen the worldwide struggle for human rights.

I am going to tell you briefly the facts of my "case." I am thirty-seven years old, I am of Ukrainian nationality. I carried out my studies in Kiev, at the state university. I am a mathematician by profession. Until 1968 I worked at the Institute of Cybernetics of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Officially, I was fired to reduce the number of personnel, but in reality it was because of a letter of protest I wrote to the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* about the case of Ginsburg and Galanskov.¹ After that I was unable to find any work. I was arrested in January 1972 on charges of anti-Soviet propaganda. How did it happen that I then found myself in prison, later in a psychiatric hospital?

In 1964, after the dismissal of Khrushchev, I wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party; I expressed my views on democratization in the USSR. The letter ended up, by chance, with the KGB [Soviet secret police]. I was requested, in the course of a conversation, not to write such letters for two years, without really being told why. I kept my job and was even put in charge of propaganda and of a seminar in philosophy.

In 1966 I began to write articles for the *samizdat* press, articles on the nature of the Soviet government, on its ideology, on the national question in the USSR. A Marxist by conviction, I took Marx and Lenin as a point of departure for my examination of all these questions. I demonstrated that Stalinism is nothing more than a Thermidorian and bonapartist distortion of the October revolution; that a form of state capitalism had been erected in the Soviet Union, that property is held not by the people but by the state, isolated from all the classes; that the bureaucracy is at the service of an abstract capitalist, the state; that in regard to the national question, the Soviet Union is following the policy of the tsarist regime.

I held the view that in the Soviet Union a

1. Soviet dissidents sentenced respectively to five and seven years of prison in 1968.

revolution was impossible, that it was not desirable, but that a gradual democratization was essential, to be carried out through reforms from above and propaganda carried out among the population. Seeking to participate in a practical way in the struggle for democratization, I circulated *samizdat* publications and gathered information for the *Chronicle of Current Events* and the *Ukrainian Herald*, which served as tribunes for the struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union.

In 1969 I became a member of the "Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union," which carried out legal protests against violations of the Soviet constitution and the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man.

On January 15, 1972, I was arrested and put in isolation in Kiev prison, where the KGB of the Ukrainian Republic directs preliminary investigation of cases. Everything I have mentioned above was brought out against me. From the first day of the investigation I refused to make any statement whatsoever. I knew that anything I said about my friends, even if it was in their favor, would only be used as an accusation against them. Neither the KGB nor the procurator's office are interested in the truth. I told the investigators that I considered the KGB an anticonstitutional organization and that I did not wish to be a party to their crimes against the people.

As early as 1969, an acquaintance of mine, Bakhtiyarov, was told during an investigation that I was a schizophrenic and that I was in a mental hospital. For this reason I was convinced from the first day of my arrest that I would be put in the Dnepropetrovsk mental hospital. I understood that my tactics of silence during investigations increased the threat, but I did not want to go back on my principles.

In May 1972 I was sent to the Serbsky Institute for a so-called forensic psychiatric examination, to be carried out on hospital premises. But I spent six whole months in Moscow's Lefortovo prison. The decision to compel me to undergo forced treatment was simply announced after a few conversations with psychiatrists, including academicians Andrei V. Snezhnevsky, D.O. Lunts, Nladzharov, and Morozov—all of whom are leading Soviet psychiatric experts. Two examinations were held. I later learned that

the diagnosis was "sluggish schizophrenia since adolescence."

From July 1973 to January 8, 1976, I was confined in the Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital. I was subjected to a "treatment" of neuroleptics—haloperidol and triflazine—I followed two courses of insulin therapy.

Most of those confined in the Dnepropetrovsk psychiatric hospital are mentally ill—murderers, rapists, "hooligans." The political prisoners, who number about sixty, are for the most part of sound mind. There are also persons like Plakhotnyuk, Yatsenko, Ruban, Evdokimov, and Lupynov, who were arrested for alleged "anti-Soviet activity," or like the *perekhodchiki*, those who have tried to leave for the West.

The horror of the *psykhushka* [madhouse] gripped me from the start. In the ward there were more patients than beds. I was put as the third person on two bunks that had been pushed together. On the beds patients were writhing in pain from the haloperidol. One man's tongue was hanging out, another was rolling his eyes, a third walked around bent over in an unnatural way. Some lay in bed and groaned with the pain—they had been given injections of sulfur. They explained to me that they were being punished for bad behavior.

All the patients were dressed in underwear lacking buttons; I was ashamed in front of the nurses because in such "clothing" the sexual organs are visible.

Near the door, patients begged the guards to let them go to the toilet.

When I woke up the next morning, I saw two male nurses beating a patient. In the afternoon I was summoned for interrogation by Dr. Kamenetskaya. A male nurse came in and said that a patient had attacked some nurses and had then tried to hang himself in the toilet. She ordered him to be tied up and burst into the ward and started shouting at him.

The patients told me that he had not attacked anyone but they had beaten him up because he had asked to go to the toilet. But no one could make up his mind to tell the doctor about this because they were afraid of being punished with sulfur. The patients began to make fun of the victim, but he told them: "They'll beat you up too, you know."

I arrived in prison with a group of thieves who were feigning mental illness in order to "get a rest and eat better." On the second day they all admitted that they were quite healthy—so horrified were they by all that they had seen. A week later I was taken to another floor. Here the regulations were not so strict. Hardly anyone was writhing in pain from haloperidol. It was easy to get to the toilet. The patients wore dirty, ragged clothes but they were pajamas.

The patients immediately explained to political prisoners that they should not

complain here. If you did you were given a reinforced treatment of neuroleptics, injections of sulfur. They prevented you from going to the toilet.

You had to admit to the doctors that you were ill and renounce your views.

At the beginning I argued with them and then I came to the conclusion that they were right.

I met Evdokimov, a Leningrad journalist connected with the NTS [émigré organization]. We had some political discussions. They separated us, calling us anti-Soviet. One of the nurses told the patients we were "kikes." Some of the patients began to complain, saying that we were keeping them from sleeping during the day. I was transferred to another ward. Here there was another political prisoner. But the doctors had warned him not to talk to me. He kept silent.

A seriously ill patient nicknamed "Mister" shouted anti-Soviet slogans and asked me to correct his demented letters to governmental authorities. The male nurses promised him that they would secretly send his letters outside, and for that they took all his food. He died two months later.

In this hospital the male nurses are common prisoners serving their sentences. For allowing the patients an extra trip to the toilet or a larger portion of *makhorka*—a black tobacco of poor quality—they demand that the patients give them items of food, shoes, and so forth. If you refuse to give them a bribe, you can be beaten black and blue. That is what happened to Evdokimov. I complained to the doctors and my situation grew worse. I was searched several times a day, and they took away my tobacco. I had to pay a bribe.

They take you to the toilets in groups six times a day and every other time you are allowed to smoke. The patients therefore smoke as much as they can, which causes vomiting.

I was prescribed haloperidol in small doses. I became drowsy and apathetic. It became difficult to read books. I started to spit out the tablets secretly.

Three months later they put me in the worst section, No. 9. Here the arbitrary rule of the male nurses is less evident, but on the other hand the "treatment" is much more intensive. Surveillance is more strict, the interrogations carried out by the doctors are full of mockery.

I was put in the *nadzorka* (surveillance ward) where they put the violent serious cases. Some fight among themselves, others writhe in epileptic fits, cry or laugh, sing bawdy songs, describe aloud their cases and sexual prowess, or ask to go to the toilet—in short, bedlam. . .

I was considered the most dangerous patient in the hospital. The male nurses and the nurses were forbidden to talk to me. The other political prisoners were warned

that if they talked to me it would be the worse for them. When one male nurse started to borrow science-fiction books from me, he was told that he was associating with an "anti-Soviet person." For two days I sat next to a political prisoner in the dining room. Then they moved us and put us at different tables.

Once I talked to a young murderer for a whole evening about science fiction. The next day he was transferred to another ward. What is more, the doctors reproached me for making friends with another murderer, which was completely untrue. At the same time they reproached me for not talking to any of the patients.

To keep me in complete isolation, I was forbidden to go to the kitchen or into the yard in case I might accidentally meet other political prisoners.

In fact, eight months before my trial a letter was sent to the Dnepropetrovsk prison warning that in no case should any contact whatsoever be allowed between me and Plakhotnyuk, a doctor from Kiev.

During the interrogations the doctors asked me about my contacts outside. I refused to answer these questions, explaining that they concerned the legal investigation into my case. But these interrogations were very painful for me, as they discussed my beliefs and were accompanied by humiliating comments about them. They commented on my letters, and the letters from my relatives. For example, when my wife once complained about something, I am not quite sure what, in the behavior of my eldest son and praised the younger one, they told me that the eldest was on the right track whereas the youngest was schizophrenic. They hinted that my wife was mentally ill, too. And as for a close woman friend who wrote me affectionate letters, she was said to be my lover, and so they would not give me her letters.

In general the doctors suggested I stop writing to my friends, as they were all anti-Soviets and my correspondence with them proved that when I left the hospital I would continue my "anti-Soviet activities."

After the Pyotr Yakir-Viktor Krasin² trial they suggested that I write a confession. I asked them, "Do you really think that an adult can change his views so quickly? They can only be lying." The woman doctor agreed that they had lied but continued to put pressure on me to recant. But a confession alone was not enough. There had to be proof that I considered myself mentally ill. I answered carefully, saying that I was not a specialist and was unable to pass judgment on my state of mental health. Here it must be taken into account that I did not know their diagnosis and

2. Dissidents broken under torture who publicly recanted their views at a news conference in Moscow September 5, 1973.

thus did not know what I should be contesting.

A few words about the doctors, about their intellectual and moral level.

The patient asks, "When will I regain my freedom?" The doctor replies, "When I retire."

One of the patients called the doctors gestapo agents. They prescribed a sulfur injection for him (after a sulfur injection the temperature rises to 40 degrees [Centigrade; about 104 degrees Fahrenheit]; the spot where the injection is made hurts a great deal; the pain is so severe that the patient does not know what to do; many persons come down with hemorrhoids after the sulfur injections). This patient cried out in pain for twenty-four hours, trying to escape it by hiding under his bed. Out of despair he broke a window and tried to cut his throat with a piece of the broken glass. He was punished again and was severely beaten. Over and over again he asked everyone if he was going to die. It was only when another patient noticed that he was on the verge of death that they halted the sulfur injections. For two days they gave him oxygen and administered various medications. They saved him. In my opinion the sulfur injections were not of great help in curing his illness.

In a nearby section a "common criminal" patient told the doctors that three "political" patients (one of whom was a mute) "were carrying on anti-Soviet discussions." These patients were suspected of a "plot." They found a note on the mute: "And how much do the oranges cost?" This was taken to be a message in code. They began to inject into the plotters' veins doses of barbamy³ in a quantity never before witnessed in the hospital. The patients were returned to the ward in a state of complete unconsciousness. At the same time they were subjected to injections of sulfur. And all of this without explanation. They heard the story of the "plot" from an unofficial source. (. . .)

Dr. Lyubarskaya said to me: "You are just an ordinary person. Why did you go into politics?"

I explained that one of the ideas of the Communists was the involvement of all the working people in political activity. The Bolsheviks were ordinary people, too.

Answer: "But you're not a Bolshevik," and explanation: "Your abnormality is shown by the way you have always, from an early age, been concerned with things that were none of your business."

The following episode says a great deal about the professional level of these doctors. I asked: "Why isn't psychotherapy used here?" Answer: "Psychotherapy cannot be used in psychiatry."

I have related what I myself saw and heard. But I have also been asked to tell of things that took place in the hospital before I was sent there. The situation of both the genuine patients and those who were of sound mind was worse. The male nurses beat them severely over the slightest incident. Lyubarskaya, the doctor treating me, was at that time in charge of an entire section. In that section the male nurses killed a patient. The matter was hushed up and the male nurses were sent to a camp. Lyubarskaya was then sent to our section as an ordinary doctor. In the early 1970s the male nurses killed a political prisoner named Grigoriev by causing his liver to burst. It seems that after these incidents the conditions were eased somewhat. I have been unable to verify these facts myself but I learned of them from political prisoners, about whose sanity I have no question, and from prisoners who are common criminals.

To sum up: What is the aim of "treatment" and conditions like these? I saw this in my own case. The aim is to break the human being during the first few days, to break his will to resist. Then the treatment with "neuroleptics" begins. I was horrified to see how I deteriorated intellectually, morally, and emotionally. I quickly lost interest in political questions, then in scientific questions, and finally in my wife and children. This was replaced by fear for my wife and children. My speech became jerky, abrupt. My memory deteriorated a great deal. At first I responded sharply to the suffering of the patients or upon learning that some friends had become traitors. Then I became indifferent to all that.

The effect of the neuroleptics was intensified by my isolation from all the other sane political prisoners. I did not want to hear the cries, the fights, the laughter, the crying, the delirium. For whole days on end I lay in bed and tried to sleep. The neuroleptics contributed to this.

I had no thoughts except those concerning the toilet, the tobacco, and the "tips" to the male nurses that would enable me to go to the toilet an extra time. And one other thought: "I must remember everything I see here so I can describe it later." Unfortunately, I do not remember a hundredth part of what I saw.

Despite my apathy I was afraid that my deterioration was irreversible. I saw seriously ill patients who, I was told, had been healthy in body and mind a few years ago. You had been able to have some communication with them. Some political prisoners broke down before my eyes and gave in. The physical condition of Evdokimov and Plakhotnyuk greatly distressed me. I should emphasize that the protests by my wife and friends and the response they received from Western public opinion resulted in considerable concern being shown for

my physical condition. I cannot say as much for the others.

This press conference and the statement I have just made enable me to draw the attention of world public opinion to the fate of political prisoners in the Soviet Union, and to call for stepping up the struggle for human rights throughout the world.

As a Communist by conviction, I would like to address myself to Communists of the West. When I was in the Dnepropetrovsk special mental hospital I learned that the French and Italian Communists had joined the fight for my release. I did not think that this would help me personally, but it was the fact that they were taking part that made me glad. For me it meant that Communists were fighting for a humane socialism.

We Soviet neo-Marxists have always placed hope in the Communist parties of France, Italy, and Great Britain. We hoped that these parties would continue the work of the Czechoslovak Communist party, that they would restore the Communist ideal and compel the Soviet Communist party to choose between Mao-Stalinism and Communism with a human face.

I hope that these parties will enter into active struggle to break out of the impasse in which all humankind finds itself, both in the "socialist" countries and in the capitalist world.

Here in the West I consider it a duty to my conscience to join in the fight for the release of political prisoners from the prisons, camps, and psychiatric prisons of the Soviet Union. At the moment a campaign is being waged for the release of my friends Vladimir Bukovsky, Semyon Gluzman, and Valentyn Moroz. I call on all honest people to join in this fight. □

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3. A barbiturate similar to pentothal.

Interview With Leonid Plyushch

[The following interview with exiled Soviet dissident Leonid Plyushch appeared in the February 4 *Le Monde*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. In your preliminary statement at the press conference you named five of the sixty or so political prisoners in the Dnepropetrovsk psychiatric hospital. Who are they?

Answer. Mikola Plakhotnyuk is a Ukrainian patriot. He was a doctor. Vyacheslav Yatzenko, an engineer, is a Ukrainian Marxist. He was sent to Dnepropetrovsk two weeks before I was. Vasily Ruban is a Ukrainian poet who arrived at the *psykhushka* [madhouse] a week later. Boris Evdokimov is a journalist with links to the [émigré organization] NTS who was transferred in 1972 to Dnepropetrovsk from a similar institution in Leningrad.

Finally, there is Anatoly Lupynos, whose case is horrible. In the early 1960s this young student was sent to a camp on charges of being an "agitator." He came out ten years later, crippled and unable to move without crutches. He was able to find only one job—selling tickets for a choral group. He was arrested in 1971 under the following circumstances: Every year on May 22 the Ukrainians commemorate the transfer in 1861 from Petersburg to Kiev of the ashes of Taras Shevchenko, the revolutionary Ukrainian poet and painter. To eliminate any nationalist character from these ceremonies, the authorities customarily organize a people's friendship festival around Shevchenko's statue, which stands in the middle of a park facing the university. But Ukrainians would generally meet there later to recite verses or sing songs. Lupynos was arrested the day of the ceremony, charged with "nationalism," and has been imprisoned ever since.

Q. Who else should be helped?

A. There is Viktor Rafalski, a teacher who became a member of an illegal Communist organization after the war. He was subjected to six psychiatric examinations between 1954 and 1959. The three that were conducted in Leningrad declared him mentally sound. The three conducted in Moscow diagnosed him as "mentally deranged." In the early 1960s he was imprisoned in a special psychiatric hospital in Leningrad for "writings and friendly contacts" with a Ukrainian Marxist organization. In 1968 he was sent to the Dnepropetrovsk institution following the confiscation in his home of *A Story of*

Bygone Years, which he had written a long time ago.

He was told on several occasions that he would be freed, provided that he could find a "legal guardian" who would take responsibility for him. However, this fifty-year-old man has only his mother, and she herself lives in a home for the elderly in Leningrad. A nurse at the hospital agreed to accept responsibility for him, and completed all the formalities necessary to become his legal guardian. She was then fired from her job, and the assistant director of the hospital, responsible for enforcing the regulations concerning the prisoners, told her: "As long as I work here he's not going to leave this hospital."

When Rafalski heard of the pressure the nurse had been subjected to, he begged her to give up the idea.

I then gave him the address of one of our acquaintances, who I thought could take responsibility for him. He wrote to her, but she never received the letter. However, the young woman was called before the authorities, who told her: "Hildman, do you want to go to Israel?" An hour later Rafalski was told that she could not become his guardian because she knew me. Rafalski's situation is therefore hopeless, desperate.

There are also the Shatravki brothers, imprisoned for the sole crime of having wished to leave the Soviet Union. The older is twenty-five. They managed to get to Finland but were extradited back to the Soviet Union. I call on world public opinion to impress on the Finnish public the injustice of such procedures.

Finally, there is the case of Vyacheslav Igrunov, a young man from Odessa arrested in the spring of 1975. His trial, which was scheduled to be held last December, was adjourned. He was forced to go through a medical examination, which found him mad. At the moment, the court has yet to sentence him to confinement in a *psykhushka*. It is a Plyushch case in reverse. Igrunov could be saved before being forced to undergo all the horrors of such a confinement.

Q. Is there a national problem in the Soviet Union?

A. There is, and it increases every year. Take the example of the Ukraine. The Russification of this republic has reached an intolerable degree. In the big cities the national language has nearly disappeared. There are of course some Ukrainian schools, but their programs are not based on either the traditions, history, or culture of the country. They are carbon copies of Soviet schools. The Ukrainian schools are

offered as national heroes such figures as Peter the Great, the hangman of the Ukraine, or even the traitor, Kochubei. Consequently the Ukrainian people learn their own history in a distorted way.

The revival of Ukrainian culture in the early 1920s—what is called the "renaissance of the shot men"—did not last ten years. The sudden resurgence of literature, painting, drama, and historical works was completely snuffed out in 1934. The same is true for the Leninist policy of Ukrainization, enforced in the 1920s. At that time all government employees had to speak Ukrainian, and a propaganda campaign was carried out to encourage the population to do so voluntarily. But at the beginning of the 1930s, those who supported "Ukrainization" were charged with "nationalism" and wiped out.

The fate of the peasantry was even more tragic. The forced collectivization led to terrible famines in the years 1931 to 1933. The famine caused the deaths of nearly six million persons in the Ukrainian population.

In the 1960s the Ukraine experienced a new revival of its culture. This included a school for translating Ukrainian works, Ivan Gonchar's private museum, the wonderful poetry of Vasily Simonenko, Lina Kostenko, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, the literary criticism of Ivan Dzyuba, Ivan Svitlychny, and Vasyl Stus, the paintings of Ala Gorski. At present, all that has been snuffed out.

That is why I am for the separation of the Ukraine from Russia. For it is only in an independent Ukraine that it will be possible to build socialism and save Ukrainian culture.

The situation of the Crimean Tatars, the Greeks, and the Meakhals is even more tragic, for they have all been deported to Siberia or central Asia, and are now fighting to return to their homeland and to gain cultural autonomy.

Q. Is there anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union?

A. It is a tradition there. After the war it took on the character of a pogrom. The anti-Zionist propaganda has strongly reinforced it, and it exists on both the governmental level and among the population. It is well known that it is difficult for a Jew to enter the university system, particularly in the scientific disciplines, or to hold any kind of management post whatsoever. Some of them may be able to leave, but the great majority has to live with this situation.

Q. Since you left the Soviet Union you have said repeatedly that you are a Communist. However, although you were a member of the Komsomol [Communist youth], you were never a member of the

party. What does being a Communist mean to you?

A. It means fighting for a society in which there is no longer a dog-eat-dog struggle of the Darwinian type for material well-being. It means fighting for a society in which the mind would be freed from the primacy of the belly to the benefit of creativity. For in their inner core all human beings have talent. But this talent must be discovered and they must be allowed to express it.

Q. Do you know of a single country headed in this direction?

A. No. Czechoslovakia was in 1968.

Q. And the Soviet Union?

A. Certainly not! They have erected a state capitalism there, and if one day there

is a convergence with the West, I am afraid that it can only be a meeting of technocratic fascism.

State capitalism offers some advantages over a society based on private capitalism. It makes possible an enormous concentration of capital. The patriotic war [World War II] was won partly on account of this concentration. Undoubtedly this makes it possible to take certain social measures, but these should be carried to greater lengths.

Q. The spirit of the Prague Spring, the program of Dubcek and his supporters, would that be popular with the Soviet Union and its population?

A. Dubcek's ideas are totally unacceptable to the Soviet bureaucracy. It does not want to lose the material benefits and privileges it now has. As far as the Soviet people are concerned, however, it

would seem to me to be the only possible and acceptable way to break out of the political, social, and spiritual impasse they are in.

Q. What do you think of Solzhenitsyn?

A. He is a great writer who played a major part in reawakening spiritual life in Soviet intellectual circles. I like him very much as a person and as a thinker. But I don't like his political views any more than I like those of Dostoyevsky. But, as in Dostoyevsky's *The Possessed*, there is a seed of rationality in him. I need to think it over more deeply.

Q. What are your plans for the future?

A. After we get some rest and I've had a chance to gather my thoughts, my wife and I will decide. The first thing I have to do is to look for a job. □

British MPs Score Repression in Iran

[The following appeal was printed in the letters column of the January 31 issue of the British daily the *Guardian*.]

* * *

The condition of dissenters in Iran has become even worse in recent months. Last year, the Shah closed 95 per cent of the press. Last March he dissolved all the political parties and declared Iran a one-party state, based on his own organisation, in the "Resurgence Party." He was then reported as saying, "Those who believe in the Iranian constitution, the monarchical regime, and the principles of the white revolution, must join the new party. Those who do not believe in these principles are traitors who must either go to prison or leave the country."

Since that time, repression has fiercely intensified. Nine political prisoners were shot, allegedly whilst staging "an abortive mutiny aboard a bus" last April. Currently there are threats to execute another ten political dissidents, which have already aroused world-wide protest.

Numerous artists and academics are detained by the SAVAK, the Shah's personal Secret Police force. Atefeh Gorgin has been in prison for nearly two years, because she published an anthology of contemporary writing. It is thought that she received her five-year sentence from a military court because she is a widow of the poet Khosrow Golsorkhi, who was executed in 1974.

Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi, the sociologist, has been given an eight-year sentence by secret court, although the charges against her



Judith Anderson/Amnesty International

have never been made public. It is reported that she is in very bad physical shape as a result of the torture which she has endured in detention.

The novelist Fereydoun Tonokaboni was arrested in 1974 for publishing a satirical work. He has been given a two-year sentence by the military court, and has also been tortured. He had been dismissed from the teaching profession for his earlier books. The playwright Nasser Rahmani-Nejad was arrested in February 1975, together with the entire company of his theatre, as they were preparing to stage *The Parasite* by Maxim Gorky. *Le Monde* has reported that he received an 11-year sentence from the military court. Saeed Soltanpour, Mohsen Yalfani and Mahmoud Dowlat-Abadi have all been detained in connection with this forbidden production of Gorky.

We think that it is time that the strongest possible representations were made by the British authorities against this barbarous regime. Yours sincerely,

Chris Farley, Ken Coates, Frank Allaun, M.P., Neil Kinnock, M.P., Joan Maynard, M.P., Stan Newens, M.P., Brian Sedgemore, M.P., Jim Sillars, M.P., Audrey Wise, M.P., Eric Heffer, M.P., Tom Litterick, M.P., Martin Flannery, M.P., Arthur Latham, M.P., Bernard Crick, John Saville, J.H. Westergaard, Richard Wollheim, Peter Worsley, Dennis Potter, Lindsay Anderson, John Arden, Margaretta D'Arcy. □

Cairo Orders Wage Freeze

Premier Mamdouh Salem has told Egyptian workers that they must "produce more and consume less," according to a report in the January 31 *Le Monde*. He also informed them that any request for higher wages would be rejected until matched by increased production.

Speaking before parliament January 28, Salem announced that the government's economic program for 1976 included cutting state expenditures by 100 million Egyptian pounds (about US\$120 million). The funds are to be cut from the government program subsidizing basic food needs.

Egypt's budget deficit this year is expected to reach 2.4 billion Egyptian pounds, Salem said. He also revealed that the government's debt to Moscow for military aid totals US\$7 billion. It was not reported how much of the anticipated deficit is accounted for by payments of interest and principal on this debt.

La Escisión en la Liga Socialista

Por Joseph Hansen

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "The Split in the Liga Socialista" que apareció en el número del 9 de febrero de *Intercontinental Press*. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Se ha dado una profunda escisión en la Liga Socialista, una de las dos organizaciones simpatizantes de la Cuarta Internacional en México,¹ cuyas ramificaciones se extienden más allá de ese país.

La escisión se dio después del Segundo Congreso de la Liga Socialista, que se llevó a cabo el 19-22 de diciembre de 1975. La causa inmediata fue una serie de medidas tomadas por la Tendencia Militante, que ganó una mayoría formal, contra la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista. La FBL consistía de la mayoría de los dirigentes fundadores de la Liga Socialista.

Los dirigentes de la Tendencia Militante y la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista pertenecían a la Fracción Leninista Trotskista (FLT), una corriente internacional con posiciones minoritarias en la Cuarta Internacional sobre varios problemas. La escisión en la Liga Socialista reflejó por lo tanto una escisión en la FLT, cuya extensión aún no está clara actualmente.

La Dirección de la FLT no ha tomado aún ninguna posición sobre la escisión, pero se espera que lo hará dentro de poco.

La división en la Liga Socialista comenzó de una manera bastante aguda en el Sexto Pleno del Comité Central de la organización, que se llevó a cabo el 14-15 de septiembre de 1975. En aquel entonces hubo acuerdo unánime aparentemente sobre todos los puntos políticos de mayor importancia a nivel nacional e internacional.

Estalló una disputa sobre la manera en que la mayoría del Comité Político había tratado lo que pudo haber sido una provocación policíaca; o sea, información plantada para sugerir que uno de los dirigentes de la Liga Socialista, el camarada Ricardo, tenía relaciones con la policía. En vez de alertar inmediatamente al Comité Político o la Comisión de Control en su conjunto acerca del asunto, los dos dirigentes que habían encontrado la información cometieron el error de consultar primero con miembros individuales del Comité Político y la Comisión de Control acerca de cómo manejar el

asunto. Una de las personas con las cuales consultaron difundió el rumor de que Ricardo estaba siendo deliberadamente calumniado.

En el pleno, Ricardo le dio mucha importancia al error. Es más, junto con varios partidarios y con el apoyo de un representante del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores de Argentina (PST), logró crear un ambiente tan emocional que fue imposible una consideración racional del problema. Sobre esta base, Ricardo ganó una mayoría de los votos.

El grupo de Ricardo, posteriormente la Tendencia Militante, también planteó algunas quejas acerca de un cambio que se había llevado a cabo en la Liga Socialista durante el transcurso del año a una estructura de ramas.

La mayoría de la dirección anterior, los camaradas Cristina, Jaime, Efraín y Horacio, estuvieron de acuerdo en que se había cometido un error en la manera en que se había tratado el asunto de la posible provocación policíaca. En cuanto a la estructura organizativa del partido, era cierto que se habían cometido errores que se tenían que corregir. Ya se habían tomado pasos en este sentido.

Sin embargo, el grupo de Ricardo ejerció la mayoría que había recibido para iniciar un curso con el objetivo de consolidar su control a expensas de la minoría. Por ejemplo, no buscó rectificar el error cometido por los camaradas al tratar el asunto de la posible provocación policíaca—una completa investigación discreta era necesaria para conseguir los datos—sino utilizó el error para censurar a la anterior dirección. Este se convirtió en uno de los temas principales del grupo de Ricardo en el período que precedió el Congreso de diciembre.

En el pleno, el Comité Central convocó el Segundo Congreso, que había sido uno de los puntos colocados unánimemente en el orden del día.

Además, el grupo de Ricardo cambió inmediatamente la estructura organizativa del partido, redistribuyendo a los miembros en "frentes," parecidos a células. El grupo cambió la composición del Comité Político entrante para asegurarse una mayoría. Y destituyó al anterior Secretario de Organización, el camarada Horacio, entregándole el puesto a Ricardo.

Estas medidas, es necesario enfatizar, fueron tomadas en ausencia de claras

diferencias políticas e incluso sin que se haya sometido ningún documento de los puntos de vista organizativos del grupo de Ricardo.

Durante los tres meses entre septiembre y diciembre, la nueva mayoría en el Comité Político tomó otras medidas organizativas. Por ejemplo, se le negó a la base su derecho a elegir sus direcciones locales. El Comité Político asumió la prerrogativa de cambiar las direcciones locales a su criterio.

Otro ejemplo es igualmente educativo. Debido a una enfermedad, Cristina Rivas no pudo sostener sus obligaciones como editora de *El Socialista* durante seis semanas. Fue despedida de su puesto sobre la base de no haber notificado oficialmente a la mayoría del Comité Político de que estaba enferma.

En su contraposición a éstas y varias otras innovaciones, los camaradas de la minoría formaron la Tendencia Bolchevique Leninista el 15 de noviembre. Presentaron dos documentos como las bases principistas para la formación de la tendencia, "Por la Democracia Interna de la Liga Socialista" y "Tareas y Perspectivas." Además apoyaban la línea general presentada en *El Socialista* sobre la revolución portuguesa hasta ese momento. Esa línea representando la opinión unánime de la dirección de la Liga Socialista, había sido desafiada oralmente en una reunión del Comité Político el 23 de octubre por el camarada Greco del PST argentino.

Una de las primeras acciones de la Tendencia Bolchevique Leninista fue pedir el aplazamiento del Congreso, lo suficiente para posibilitar la preparación, circulación y discusión de los documentos sobre las diferencias que habían surgido. Esto fue rechazado por la mayoría del Comité Político.

La elección de los delegados al Congreso ocurrió, por lo tanto, bajo gran confusión y, excepto en la ciudad de México, sin los documentos necesarios.

El Congreso Asombra a los Observadores

El Congreso en sí se llevó a cabo de una forma tan desorganizada que asombró a los observadores de otros países así como los representantes de otras tendencias en México que habían sido invitados.

En lugar de una discusión sobre problemas políticos, fueron expuestos a diatribas acaloradas acerca de la divulgación deliberada de rumores difamatorios de "asociación con la policía." Fueron agasajados con acusaciones organizativas cuya validez nadie podría determinar a menos que estuviera al tanto de la situación interna de la Liga Socialista. Evidenciaron la adopción de medidas de carácter tan burocrático como para repeler a cualquiera con una comprensión de los principios del trotskismo.

La única resolución política en el Congre-

1. La otra organización simpatizante es el Grupo Comunista Internacionalista (GCI).

so, que había sido elaborada por el Comité Político saliente para su consideración ante el Sexto Pleno del Comité Central y que había sido adoptada unánimemente por ese organismo, fue acompañada por un informe por el camarada Nava de la Tendencia Militante que iba en contra de la línea de la resolución.

Se hizo la decisión de suspender a todos los miembros del partido durante un mes. Cada ex miembro tendría que pasar por un período de prueba para determinar quién podría ser readmitido.²

Se adoptó una resolución que les negaba a los organismos locales el derecho a elegir sus propias direcciones. El Comité Político obtuvo la autoridad para decidir las excepciones a esta regla.

Se adoptó una resolución que permitiría a los miembros del partido disenter de las instrucciones desde arriba pero que les negaría el derecho a discutirlos, a menos que, en la opinión de los altos dirigentes, involucraban un giro en la estrategia del partido.

La Tendencia Bolchevique Leninista fue caracterizada como "pequeño burguesa" y en necesidad de ser "reeducada" a puerta de fábrica.

Los estatutos fueron cambiados de tal manera que le otorgarían casi todo el poder al Comité Político y el Comité Central. Las cláusulas que otorgaban derechos a la minoría fueron eliminadas.

A los cuatro dirigentes centrales de la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista se les negó puestos en el Comité Central por haber "faltado a la moral revolucionaria" (una referencia a su error en el asunto de Ricardo). Además, ellos y dos miembros de la Comisión de Control saliente que pertenecían a la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista fueron negados cualquier puesto de responsabilidad en la organización por "razones morales."

Se rompieron relaciones con el Socialist Workers Party [SWP—Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores] en los Estados Unidos.³

Una discusión sobre la revolución portu-

guesa, planteada para el Congreso por el Sexto Pleno del Comité Central, fue eliminada del orden del día por la mayoría del Comité Político la víspera del congreso. En su lugar, se fijaron cinco informes orales, uno por la mayoría del Comité Político, uno por la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista, uno por el Grupo Comunista Internacionalista (GCI), uno por un representante de la Fracción Leninista Trotskista y uno por un representante del PST de Argentina. No se llevó a cabo ninguna discusión, no se hizo ningún resumen y sobre todo, no se tomó ningún voto.

Durante el Congreso, así como durante el período que lo precedió, dos representantes de la dirección del PST, los camaradas Greco y Eduardo, jugaron un papel enérgico aconsejando y apoyando al grupo de Ricardo.

En la reunión del Comité Central después del Congreso, se le negó a la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista el derecho a escoger sus propios representantes para el nuevo Comité Político que se eligió.

En la primera reunión del nuevo Comité Político, donde asistieron algunos miembros de la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista, la mayoría propuso que se descontinuaran las actas de las reuniones, ya que no eran necesarias, pero concedió ante las protestas y acordó continuarlas, con una copia para la ciudad de México y una copia al carbón para cada uno de los "frentes" en provincia.

Se redujo el aparato a un editor del periódico y un secretario de organización, Ricardo, quien tendría la autoridad para decidir sobre la formación de nuevos "frentes," cualquier puesto nuevo, el nombramiento y despido de miembros de un posible secretariado, la distribución de miembros en los "frentes," etcétera.

Se les prohibió a los miembros de la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista cualquier participación en el funcionamiento del aparato debido a su carácter "pequeño burgués" y la necesidad de ser "reeducados."

En cuanto al derecho de la minoría a plantear sus posiciones si diferían de aquéllas de la mayoría del Comité Político, se pospuso cualquier decisión en este sentido hasta la siguiente reunión del Comité Político.

La FBL Se Convierte en Fracción Pública

Al evaluar las acciones burocráticas tomadas por la Tendencia Militante, los dirigentes de la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista decidieron que no les quedaba más recurso, si iban a sostener el programa y las tradiciones de la Liga Socialista y la Cuarta Internacional, que llevar su caso a los trabajadores mexicanos. Decidieron, por lo tanto, convertirse en fracción pública de la Liga Socialista.

Bajo la dirección de Cristina Rivas, publicaron dos números de *El Socialista*

(enero 1 y enero 16), continuando la línea previa del periódico e incluyendo su versión del curso de la Tendencia Militante y por qué no podían aceptar las decisiones organizativas del Congreso.

La Tendencia Militante respondió publicando su propia versión de *El Socialista* (enero 16-31) bajo la dirección de Augusto León. Este número es bastante interesante debido a lo que demuestra de la línea política tras los métodos organizativos de la Tendencia Militante.

Antes de considerar esto, hay que señalar otros detalles más pequeños.

El primero es un llamado a los "Comaradas de la FBL," firmado por "Alfonso Ríos (GCI, Organización simpatizante de la IV Internacional en México), Eduardo (PST, Organización simpatizante de la IV Internacional en Argentina), Sergio (ROJO, Periódico de Acción Comunista) y Julieta Gómez (Delegada Fraternal de GIM, Sección Alemana de la IV Internacional, al Congreso de la Liga Socialista)."

El llamado acusa a los miembros de la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista de haber "precipitado una grave crisis en una de las dos organizaciones simpatizantes de la Cuarta Internacional" al haber llevado su caso ante el público.

Se argumenta que debido a su asistencia al Congreso, la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista aceptaba los resultados. Los procedimientos fueron "plenamente democráticos" y la FBL no anunció que se escindía, sino estuvo de acuerdo en quedarse dentro de la organización como fracción.

Por lo tanto, afirman los firmantes, la FBL representa una minoría que se ha escindido. Por eso, "de acuerdo con las decisiones del X Congreso Mundial quedan fuera de [las] filas" de la Cuarta Internacional.

"Además, exhortamos a la dirección de la Internacional y de sus secciones a que no los reconozcan en modo alguno, de acuerdo con el comportamiento sin principios que usaron en la escisión, después que el Congreso había aceptado su decisión de convertirse en fracción y de haber nominado a los miembros que les correspondía dentro de la Dirección Central."

Los firmantes dijeron que le habían solicitado al Comité Central a que estuviese dispuesto a "discutir con ustedes los términos de su reingreso y a ser lo más flexible dentro de las condiciones actuales, para lograr la pronta eliminación de esta ruptura."

Terminaron expresando la "más firme esperanza" de que la lamentable escisión se pudiera subsanar en el más corto tiempo posible, con la "vuelta" de la FBL a las filas de la Liga Socialista; "si no es así, ustedes se marginarán de las filas de la IV Internacional."

Es necesario hacer dos observaciones:

1. La Fracción Bolchevique Leninista no se

2. La Tendencia Bolchevique Leninista anunció en el Congreso que, en vista de esta purga de los miembros, se constituía en fracción.

3. En un informe público sobre su punto de vista del Congreso, el grupo de Ricardo dijo lo siguiente: "... es un asunto que nosotros no ventilaremos públicamente, ya que es un problema interno que sólo puede ser discutido en el seno de la IV Internacional."

Durante una reciente visita a México, se me dijo que el grupo de Ricardo había afirmado que "un miembro" del Socialist Workers Party [SWP—Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores] estuvo involucrado en "fabricar" la sospecha acerca de la penetración policíaca de la Liga Socialista. Hasta el presente, el Comité Político del SWP no ha recibido comunicación alguna sobre este problema o las razones por las cuales el grupo rompió relaciones con el SWP.

ha escindido de la Liga Socialista ni de la Cuarta Internacional. Su objetivo al convertirse en una fracción pública de la Liga Socialista era para mejor defender el programa y la tradición de la Liga Socialista y la Cuarta Internacional.

2. Aunque no surgieron diferencias políticas claras en el Congreso, y se obtuvo la mayoría en base a problemas organizativos (sumamente exagerados) estrictamente, los firmantes del llamado dejan clara su aprobación de los métodos de la Tendencia Militante, aún refiriéndose a ellos como "plenamente democráticos." Pero estos métodos representan una tradición completamente ajena a la tradición del trotskismo. Huelen a las prácticas de los burócratas sindicales en Argentina o México, o aún peor.

Al aconsejar a la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista a seguir las nuevas reglas adoptadas por la Tendencia Militante, los firmantes del llamado se colocan en la posición del sacerdote bienintencionado que le asegura a la víctima que será mucho más fácil si se relaja y trata de cooperar mientras que el verdugo aprieta el garrote.

El otro detalle que hay que señalar en el mismo número de la versión de *El Socialista* publicado por la Tendencia Militante, es un artículo escrito por Ricardo Ramos titulado "La Política del Atroco." Ricardo acusa a la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista de haber "apropiado nuestro nombre (Liga Socialista) y nuestro periódico (*El Socialista*)."

Ricardo tiene razón en señalar la confusión que resulta cuando dos periódicos tienen el mismo nombre (y el mismo formato y tipografía). Es de esperarse que esta fuente de confusión pueda ser eliminada lo más pronto posible por una identificación apropiada de los dos periódicos.

En cuanto al razonamiento atrás de la decisión de los dirigentes de la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista, está claro que no eran culpables de convertir a la organización en algo bastante diferente de la organización que ayudaron a fundar y construir. Representan claramente la continuidad del programa original de la Liga Socialista y la línea seguida por *El Socialista*.

En cuanto a la Tendencia Militante, ¿no se deberían de sentir orgullosos sus dirigentes de su papel en la creación de una nueva organización basada en cambios que representan una ruptura cualitativa con el pasado "pequeño burgués" de la Liga Socialista y *El Socialista*? Si no, ¿cuál fue la razón por su lucha dramática por una mayoría y por una purga de la dirección y de los miembros? ¿Por qué les interesa aferrarse a viejos nombres asociados con la vieja dirección?

Ricardo también se queja de que al hacerse pública, la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista sacó cosas del local, principal-

mente varias máquinas de escribir pertenecientes a miembros de la FBL. Tal vez sacaron más de lo que deberían de haber sacado, como recortes de periódicos que habían compilado y copias de correspondencia firmada por los dirigentes purgados por la Tendencia Militante.

El hecho es que Ricardo no parece preocuparse mucho por esto, porque su objeción es contra la manera en que se efectuó—sorpresiva y unilateralmente.

"Claro está," dice en su artículo, "cuando se llega al límite en que ya no es posible actuar juntos y en que es impostergable la escisión, entonces ésta debe anunciarse ya sea ante el Congreso de la organización, o ante sus organismos de dirección.

"Entonces se procede a distribuir proporcionalmente los bienes de la organización. De esta manera, se pueden establecer relaciones fraternales entre las organizaciones escindidas y se establece la posibilidad de una unificación en el futuro."

Por supuesto, para alcanzar una escisión amistosa del tipo que habla Ricardo, la dirección debe inspirar cierta cantidad de confianza y buena voluntad. Difícilmente fue la situación sobre la cual presidió él.

En una organización grande, el problema es muy distinto; la propiedad del partido se reconoce claramente y es de tales proporciones que reduce a la insignificancia el problema de pequeñas cosas pertenecientes a individuos. En una pequeña organización donde el equipo más elemental es prestado a menudo por individuos, las escisiones pueden causar graves problemas cuando surge la cuestión de la propiedad. Es mejor tratar de evitar disputas sobre semejantes problemas.

Empiezan a Surgir Líneas Políticas

El detalle más importante en el número del 16-31 de enero de *El Socialista*—de la Tendencia Militante—es una plataforma electoral conjunta firmada el 12 de enero por el Comité Central del Partido Comunista Mexicano (PCM), el Comité Político de la Liga Socialista y el Secretariado del Movimiento de Organización Socialista (MOS).

La plataforma conjunta representa el primer salto de la Tendencia Militante hacia las maniobras de la política electoral pequeño burguesa mexicana. La aventura explica, en parte, por qué la Tendencia Militante hizo tanto esfuerzo por intentar callar la voz de la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista y por qué se indignó tanto sobre la decisión de la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista de hablar públicamente.

El objetivo aparente de la plataforma es para apoyar a Valentín Campa, el dirigente del Partido Comunista Mexicano, para la presidencia en las elecciones fijadas para el 4 de julio. La dificultad es que bajo la ley electoral antidemocrática en México, se le prohíbe a Campa presentarse como candidato legal, ya que es virtualmente imposible

para un partido pequeño obtener el registro electoral. Los votantes pueden apuntar su nombre, pero los votos que recibe un candidato ilegal no son contados.

Por lo tanto, la plataforma electoral conjunta equivale a un truco publicitario.

Pero hay cosas aún peores. Es impermisible que los revolucionarios mezclen banderas con los representantes de una clase ajena. Les incumbe a los revolucionarios, en unas elecciones efectuadas por la burguesía, distinguirse claramente de todas las demás tendencias. Participan en semejantes elecciones sólo para avanzar su propia causa, la causa del socialismo revolucionario. Sin embargo, la plataforma electoral PCM-MOS-LS es una verdadera ensalada rusa.

Aún peor, los stalinistas mexicanos y el MOS pequeño burgués son presentados como igualmente revolucionarios que la Liga Socialista. "Las organizaciones que se unen para actuar en este proceso electoral," declara la plataforma, "no esconden sus objetivos socialistas, ni su método revolucionario para alcanzarlos. Consideran su deber laborar tesoneramente para alcanzarlos."

De sólo ese párrafo, es posible deducir por qué los stalinistas mexicanos favorecieron agregar el nombre de la Liga Socialista trotskista a la plataforma electoral. El peor problema que encaran los stalinistas mexicanos es el desdén que les tienen los trabajadores por sus décadas de colaboracionismo de clase y traición. Una cobertura de izquierda ofrecida por los trotskistas con su reputación de integridad es una ganancia totalmente inesperada para los stalinistas.

¡Y los stalinistas tuvieron que pagar tan poco! Incluso lograron persuadir a los dirigentes de la Tendencia Militante a incluir una frase en la plataforma acerca de la importancia de apoyar "las posiciones generales relativas a la coexistencia pacífica . . ." Pero la "coexistencia pacífica" es la clave stalinista para el colaboracionismo de clase.

La plataforma es larga. Está llena de las frases queridas de los políticos del "Tercer Mundo." Hace reverencia al nacionalismo mexicano. Se atreve a criticar el gobierno de Echeverría. Contiene excelentes consignas democráticas como por ejemplo la necesidad de democratizar la enseñanza. Incluye frases que parecen haber sido prestadas del Programa de Transición, como la demanda por una escala móvil de salarios.

Desde un punto de vista político se puede caracterizar como un proyecto de "frente amplio" como aquél elaborado por los stalinistas en Uruguay en apoyo a la candidatura del Gen. Seregni. Es un frente popular "incipiente" o "embrionario" que los stalinistas esperan extender a escala nacional en anticipo de la apariencia del Seregni, Allende o Perón mexicano, quien Campa,

por supuesto, sería el primero en saludar.

La Tendencia Militante no informa acerca de lo que sucedió en sus charlas secretas con los stalinistas. No dice qué posiblemente concedieron los stalinistas o qué se sintió obligado Ricardo a regalar bajo presión en las sesiones donde se elaboró la plataforma electoral conjunta. Es de esperarse que estos secretos serán hechos la propiedad de la clase obrera mexicana, o por los menos de

los miembros de la Liga Socialista y la Cuarta Internacional.

Como están actualmente las cosas, el documento fue presentado sin ninguna mención del proceso que lo precedió, como si su mera existencia hablase por sí misma.

Es cierto que habla por sí misma en cierto sentido. Marca el descubrimiento o bautismo con champaña, de la línea política que

impulsó a la Tendencia Militante sobre su curso organizativo extraordinario para escindir a la Liga Socialista. Desde ese punto de vista la publicación de la plataforma es bienvenida.

Los problemas políticos tras la escisión de la Liga Socialista empiezan a surgir abiertamente donde pueden ser discutidos y juzgados objetivamente. □

Pnom Penh Guarda Silencio

Camboya: Refugiados Informan Sobre Otra Migración Forzada

Por Steve Clark

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Cambodia: Refugees Report Another Forced Migration" que apareció en el número del 9 de febrero de *Intercontinental Press*. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Los informes provenientes de los campamentos de refugiados camboyanos en Tailandia indican que posiblemente se llevó a cabo otro traslado masivo de la población por parte del gobierno del Kmer Rojo en octubre y noviembre del año pasado.

Se ha dificultado una confirmación de los reportes debido a la censura férrea impuesta sobre el país por el Kmer Rojo desde la caída del régimen títere de Washington, el régimen de Lon Nol, el abril pasado. Las fronteras de Camboya han sido cerradas a los reporteros y a casi todos los visitantes de otros países.

Según los corresponsales extranjeros que estuvieron en Pnom Penh el 17 de abril el año pasado cuando las fuerzas del Kmer Rojo entraron a la ciudad, se efectuó inmediatamente una evacuación masiva de la población. Incluso los hospitales fueron evacuados, obligando incluso a los enfermos e incapacitados a unirse a la marcha forzada hacia el campo.

Se ha calculado que aproximadamente tres millones de habitantes de las ciudades a través de Camboya fueron enviados en contra de su voluntad a las regiones rurales.

El gobierno camboyano ha dicho poco o nada acerca de sus objetivos al ordenar esa evacuación. El Indochina Resource Center [Centro de Recursos Indochinos] basado en Washington, que simpatiza con el nuevo gobierno, afirma que la amenaza de hambre y el deseo de incrementar la producción anual de arroz fueron las motivaciones primordiales. El centro de recursos dice que su información proviene de Pnom Penh.

El Vice Presidente del gabinete camboya-



SIHANOUK: Afirma que la evacuación forzada era "absolutamente necesaria" porque "Pnom Penh se había convertido en un Sodoma y Gamorra."

no Ieng Sary, quien asistió a la conferencia de naciones no alineadas en el Perú en agosto del año pasado, le prestó fe a este punto de vista. Según un despacho de Reuters del 28 de agosto proveniente de Lima, Ieng Sary dijo ante la conferencia que "su país era un gran taller, con gente luchando para restaurar la industria, la agricultura y el sistema de comunicaciones que fueron destrozados durante la guerra indochina."

Wilfred Burchett, escritor del semanario con tendencias maoístas, el *Guardian*, le atribuyó un punto de vista un poco diferente al Príncipe Norodom Sihanouk. Sihanouk,

oficialmente Presidente de Camboya, es apenas un símbolo, según la mayoría de los informes.

Burchett afirmó que Sihanouk le dijo durante una entrevista con él en Pyongyang, Corea del Norte, que la evacuación "era absolutamente necesaria para limpiar la ciudad. Pnom Penh se había convertido en un Sodoma y Gamorra bajo Lon Nol. . . . No hubo más solución que vaciarlo." (*Guardian*, 12 de noviembre, 1975).

Cualesquiera que sean las razones para esta masiva migración forzada, se dio a costa de un gran sufrimiento humano y el total desbaratamiento de las vidas de cientos de miles de camboyanos, según los informes de primera mano de los corresponsales extranjeros. Estos periodistas no sólo vieron lo que sucedió en Pnom Penh, sino que se encontraron con muchos refugiados atascando los mismos caminos por donde viajaban ellos, al pasar las caravanas gubernamentales que acompañaban a los extranjeros a la frontera tailandesa para su expulsión final del país.

Las migraciones forzadas más recientes fueron primordialmente a la provincia rica en cuanto a la agricultura, de Battambang en el noroeste de Camboya, según los residentes de los campamentos de refugiados a lo largo de la frontera tailandesa. "Así como durante la primera migración, según los informes de los refugiados, muchos han muerto durante el trayecto riguroso—es posible que no se conocerá nunca la cifra exacta—ya sea de enfermedades, o simplemente de debilidad y por las dificultades del viaje. . ." informó el corresponsal del *New York Times* David Andelman el 19 de enero desde el campamento de refugiados de Aranyaprathet. Más de 9,000 camboyanos viven actualmente en semejantes campamentos, según un despacho de Associated Press del 26 de enero.

Andelman continúa, "Entre las explicaciones ofrecidas por aquéllos que participaron—y los funcionarios camboya-

nos no les dijeron nunca la razón—se encontraban: la mayor cantidad de tierras desocupadas y disponibles en las nuevas regiones, la necesidad de que los trabajadores desarrollaran estas regiones y el deseo de dismantlar cualquier formación antigubernamental que se pudiese estar gestando.”

Andelman habló con Chou Tri, un refugiado cuyo hogar ha sido siempre Battambang. Chou Tri dijo que la mayoría de aquéllos que fueron trasladados a la provincia fueron establecidos en regiones lejanas de la selva que todavía no habían sido despejadas. Según Andelman, “Muchos, dijo [Chou Tri], estaban muy enfermos de malaria, tifoidea, cólera y disentería cuando llegaron. Dijo que había visto morir a unos 600 durante el primer mes después de su llegada y antes de su partida.”

Otra de las entrevistas de Andelman clarifica un poco más los informes del año pasado basados en emisiones de Radio Pnom Penh, de que algunos de los evacuados posiblemente regresaron a las ciudades para ayudar a restablecer la producción industrial. Andelman informó, “Otros refugiados dijeron que habían encontrado obreros de fábricas en Pnom Penh que habían sido echados a la fuerza de la capital en abril del año pasado y regresados a sus fábricas varios meses después.”

“Ahí, se les dijo que echaran a andar de nuevo las máquinas, particularmente en los trabajos textiles y la fábrica de goma, y al mismo tiempo se les dijo que instruyeran a los funcionarios gubernamentales sobre el funcionamiento de la fábrica. Cuando los funcionarios habían dominado las técnicas el otoño pasado, dijeron estos refugiados, fueron puestos en camiones y enviados al noroeste para unirse a aquéllos de las regiones rurales.”

El corresponsal del *Sunday Times* de Londres Jon Swain también visitó los campamentos de refugiados en Tailandia. En el *Sunday Times* el 25 de enero informó: “Según los refugiados, un día en los nuevos pueblos empieza en la madrugada cuando los aldeanos, controlados por un presidente del Kmer Rojo y sus cuatro subordinados, comienzan a trabajar en los campos. A los aldeanos a menudo se les dificulta completar las tareas en el tiempo designado porque están debilitados por el hambre, y debido a la falta de herramientas. Se les da un descanso de dos o tres horas al medio día, seguidas por más trabajo hasta el atardecer.”

Las escuelas camboyanas también han permanecido cerradas desde abril, informó Andelman en un despacho proveniente de Bangkok el 27 de enero. Sólo se ha instituido la “reeducación política,” mientras que la instrucción básica no ha sido resucitada todavía en los nuevos pueblos. Las pocas universidades de Camboya permanecen clausuradas.

Algunos refugiados, dice Andelman, incluso informaron que el Kmer Rojo ha demostrado una profunda hostilidad hacia los anteriores estudiantes y profesores. “En contraposición,” continúa, “las escuelas en Vietnam del Sur y Laos empiezan a abrir de nuevo y a funcionar, aunque con formatos un poco distintos de aquéllos bajo los regímenes anteriores.”

La necesidad de restaurar amplias regiones del campo camboyanas destruidas por los bombardeos norteamericanos destinados a aterrorizar a la población durante la guerra indochina, es uno de los factores tras las evacuaciones, las migraciones masivas

y el trabajo forzado, ampliamente reportados.

Battambang, por ejemplo, la región principal de producción de arroz, sufrió agudamente bajo los bombardeos estadounidenses. Andelman dijo en un despacho del 19 de enero que un refugiado—que nombró el “presidente no oficial” del campamento de Aranyaprathet—señaló el daño extensivo infligido a los diques y sistemas de irrigación durante la guerra. La reparación y reconstrucción de estas facilidades vitales, dijo el refugiado, era uno de los objetivos de la repoblación forzada de miles de camboyanos. □

A Pesar del Arresto de los Organizadores

Estudiantes Brasileños Realizan ‘Semana de Derechos Humanos’

[El siguiente artículo apareció en el número de noviembre-diciembre de *Independência Operária*, la publicación clandestina de un grupo trotskista en Brasil. Fue escrito por el corresponsal de la publicación en Rio de Janeiro. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Como ya hemos informado varias veces en números anteriores de *Independência Operária*, los grupos estudiantiles en Grande Rio organizaron una Semana de Derechos Humanos del tres al siete de noviembre con el objetivo de denunciar la situación de represión en que vivimos.

Los fondos recabados durante la semana serían entregados a las familias de los presos políticos.

¿Qué sucedió?

Algunos días antes del programa, estudiantes de la Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF) fueron detenidos por parte de la rectoría para impedir que realizaran las actividades de la semana.

El 3 de noviembre las fuerzas represivas efectuaron un gran “espectáculo,” cerrando las oficinas del Diretório Central dos Estudantes de la UFF, donde se iban a realizar las actividades de la semana. Esa misma noche los estudiantes se reunieron en el Instituto de Humanidades y Filosofía de la UFF, pero de nuevo las fuerzas represivas se presentaron. Un grupo de choque de la policía militar invadió el instituto, dispersando la reunión.

Durante la semana se cometieron nuevas medidas arbitrarias. Las artesanías hechas por los presos políticos fueron confiscadas.

Las clases fueron suspendidas y todas las reuniones se llevaron a cabo bajo la constante amenaza de nuevas invasiones. Niterói se convirtió en una ciudad llena de policías durante esos días.

A pesar de toda la ofensiva represiva, la semana se realizó. No como la habíamos planeado, pero con discusiones en las escuelas principales de Grande Rio sobre las violaciones de los derechos de libre expresión y organización. Estas discusiones culminaron en la clausura de la semana con una asamblea en la Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro en Fundão. En esta asamblea estaban presentes delegados de varias escuelas y votaron por publicar una carta abierta a la población con un balance de la semana y denuncias de las acciones arbitrarias cometidas contra los participantes.

Así, a pesar de la represión, se realizó, discutió y comentó sobre la primera Semana de Derechos Humanos—no sólo entre los estudiantes, sino también en las calles y en la prensa burguesa. Y los estudiantes salieron fortalecidos de esta movilización. El grado de unidad alcanzado no fue quebrado y sin duda se desarrollará. Pero esto hace urgente la unidad e interrelación de las luchas con otros sectores de la clase media y los trabajadores.

¡Por la libertad de expresión, manifestación y organización!

¡Por una amnistía general para todos los presos políticos!

¡Por el regreso de todos los exilados y excluidos del país!

¡Abajo con la sangrienta dictadura militar! □

La Masacre en el Ghetto de Quarantina en Beirut

Dos reporteros del *Sunday Times* de Londres, Martin Meredith y Donald McCullin, fueron testigos de la masacre que llevaron a cabo los falangistas derechistas en la región del barrio pobre de Quarantina en Beirut el 19 y 20 de enero. En el *Sunday Times* el 25 de enero, Meredith describió la región como "un ghetto musulmán de casuchas de hojalata, apartamentos en peligro de derrumbarse y callejones estrechos y sucios amontonados entre fábricas y bodegas. . . ."

"Para la comunidad cristiana en los suburbios de Beirut, Quarantina era tierra fértil para la política radical y el crimen. Lo que la hizo aún más indeseable para ellos era que la tierra le pertenecía a la Iglesia Maronita, la orden cristiana más conservadora y más grande en Líbano."

Situada a un lado del Río Beirut, Quarantina se encontraba al alcance de los dos puentes que unen a los suburbios de la capital con el principal territorio cristiano más al norte. "Para las 5,000 personas que vivían ahí—una mezcla de armenios, kurdos, sirios y palestinos, pero principalmente musulmanes chiítas, refugiados de las invasiones israelitas en el sur de Líbano—Quarantina era el único hogar que habían tenido. Pero hubo amargura y desesperación acerca de su destino y, no es de sorprenderse que Quarantina era el centro de los movimientos izquierdistas."

Los falangistas actuaron con el objetivo de eliminar a Quarantina. Donald McCullin describe lo que vio el 19 de enero: "La

primera matanza que vi la tomé como un evento casual. Corría por los callejones con la columna delantera de los falangistas. Dos hombres salieron de una casa con sus mujeres e hijos.

"Las mujeres y los niños fueron correteados. Corrí atrás de ellos para tomar una fotografía, y cuando regresaba vi caer a los dos hombres. Habían sido balaceados a quemarropa. Un hombre los mató con un rifle M-16. Me dijo que si tomaba fotografías, me mataría a mí también, y se cubrió la cara con una máscara."

McCullin presenció la masacre de otro hombre, "de mediana edad, obviamente paisano." De nuevo, el ejecutor amenazó de muerte a todo aquél que tomara fotografías. "Mientras hablaba, noté una mujer tirada en la calle boca abajo al lado de un muerto de mediana edad. Pensé que eran esposos—estaban muy juntos, y alrededor de ellos estaban tiradas algunas de sus pertenencias. Alguien le había puesto fuego a la ropa de la mujer. Empecé a suponer que esto seguía un patrón."

Meredith dijo que "hubo una rendición masiva de mujeres, niños y algunos hombres que habían estado buscando asilo cerca del garaje municipal. En grupos de aproximadamente 50, los refugiados—gimiendo, gritando y alzando trapos blancos atados a palos—fueron echados en grupo del callejón lodoso. En total habían unos 500. Los hombres, unos 30 en total, fueron golpeados, pateados y puestos contra

la pared donde se les registraba en busca de armas."

Meredith dijo que habían visto algunas de las mismas mujeres unos días después, pero los hombres no fueron tan afortunados. Al día siguiente, los dos reporteros vieron evidencia de que los asesinatos que habían visto anteriormente eran tan sólo el comienzo.

"Tan pronto como llegamos a la región," dijo McCullin, "vimos cadáveres por todas partes. No tan sólo se había masacrado a hombres, sino a mujeres también—aunque a ningún niño, por lo visto. Se veían cuerpos colgados de la ventanas, o en medio de la calle. Hubo un hombre tirado al lado de su perro que había sido fusilado junto con él. . . ."

"Seguimos . . . y nos encontramos en unos callejones donde era difícil evitar los cadáveres. La matanza sería ha de haber empezado el lunes en la noche, cuando la prensa abandonó la región del ghetto."

Los dos reporteros fueron entonces a la región del garaje municipal donde habían visto la rendición masiva el día anterior. Según Meredith, "cerca del garaje municipal, se veían docenas de cadáveres tirados en los callejones."

Vieron la captura y asesinato de varios prisioneros más ese día. Más tarde, "Al otro lado de Beirut, las mujeres y los niños liberados por los falangistas venían en tropel al local central del grupo naserita, gimiendo y llorando. Se llevó la mayoría a diversas escuelas, pero algunos se fueron a casas abandonadas en la playa.

"En un local falangista en el este de Beirut, un oficial mayor explicó el futuro de Quarantina: 'Ves,' dijo, 'la tierra es nuestra. Nos pertenece. Tendremos que reconstruirla. Sería bueno usarla para campos de deporte.'" □

AAA Argentina Anuncia Campaña de Matanza Masiva

En una declaración abierta acerca de sus objetivos asesinos, la fascistoide Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA) ha declarado que planea una campaña de matanza masiva a través de la cual se propone aniquilar a "todos los individuos, cualquiera sea su nacionalidad, credo religioso, raza o investidura, que respondan a los intereses apátridas marxistas, masónicas, anticristianos o del judaísmo internacional sinárquico."

El anuncio se dio en forma de una declaración a la prensa distribuida el 26 de enero a los reporteros cuando salían de la residencia de la Presidenta Isabel Perón, según un informe en el número del 28 de enero del periódico mexicano *Excelsior*.

Esta declaración, y una del día siguiente dirigida a la prensa extranjera, dijo que la

AAA había mezclado sus operaciones con dos grupos terroristas ultraderechistas—El Comando Libertadores de América y El Comando Fuerzas Conjuntas. El anuncio de la campaña de matanzas se dio tras una conferencia conjunta de los tres grupos que se efectuó en Córdoba el 29 de diciembre de 1975. Los grupos fijaron "un plazo máximo de seis meses" para implementar la campaña.

"En particular ejecutaremos a los delincuentes económicos, funcionarios, especialmente ministros de Estado, jueces, senadores, diputados, intendentes (alcaldes) y consejeros venales y/o corruptos," dijo la AAA. "Además de dirigentes sindicales corruptos, sacerdotes del movimiento 'tercermundista,' personeros de la sinarquía e infiltrados izquierdistas en nuestra iglesia católica.

"Pero también ejecutaremos, sin piedad a los integrantes de las dos organizaciones de guerrilleros, montoneros y ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo, y del Partido Comunista, Partido Auténtico, Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, Juventud Revolucionaria de la Unión Cívica Radical y Partido Comunista Revolucionario."

La AAA dijo, "No habrá perdón. Seremos implacables. Ejecutaremos, previo juicio sumarísimo y en el lugar que se les hallare, a todos aquéllos que realicen actividades reñidas con nuestros más caros principios, atenten contra la salud religiosa de nuestro país." La ofensiva será tan poderosa, dijo la AAA, para que "el enemigo de la patria no tenga ninguna posibilidad de alzar la cabeza." □