

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

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Argentina

Junta Steps Up Blows Against Unions

VIDELA: Argentina's new dictator.

American Political Police Admit 92 Burglaries of SWP Offices

Israeli Officials 'Startled' by Palestinian Strike Action

30,000 Unionists March in Ottawa to Protest Wage Controls

Ernest Mandel: Ford's Aggressive Détente

Ford's Aggressive Détente

By Ernest Mandel

[The following article appeared in the March 30 issue of the French revolutionary-socialist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Kissinger has put the Kremlin on notice against launching a "new Angola," warning that the Pentagon's response could be venomous. Ford has dropped the word "détente" from his vocabulary. The formulas of the cold war are reappearing. After being dismissed as secretary of defense, Schlesinger is seeing his line applied. American military spending has been stepped up considerably. Trade negotiations with the Soviet Union have fallen off.

Does all this represent the end of détente? Is it the beginning of a turn in American foreign policy?

In the wake of the massive antiwar movement, the final phase of the Indochina war, the fall of Nixon, and the fallout over Watergate, American imperialism found itself temporarily paralyzed. The domestic situation in the United States for the moment no longer permitted Washington to intervene abroad on a massive scale, with its own troops, to fulfill its role as the world cop of imperialism. This explains its inability to aid adequately its allies and agents in Angola, as well as its astonishing failure to take action in face of Cuba's aid to the Angolan revolution.

The Soviet bureaucracy measured the degree of risk and found it to be within acceptable limits. It gave Fidel the green light, an action for which there still remains a considerable risk of a localized response by imperialism. The international bourgeoisie was deeply shaken. What is taking place now is the search for a countermove. It is being carried out on three fronts.

The first is the fresh increase in military spending. This came at a favorable moment for bolstering the "recovery" of the American economy, which risked being stifled by a lack of productive investment. The American electoral campaign and Ford's efforts to outbid his "opponents," both the Republican Reagan and the Democrat Jackson, have helped create a propitious climate for increased arms spending.

Next comes the question of putting first things first, which does not mean (or does

not only mean) Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Africa, but above all capitalist southern Europe. The warnings by General Haig and Kissinger against allowing Communist ministers into governments of the Atlantic alliance are aimed at increasing support to the capitalists who are hesitant to play this ultimate political card. They are designed also to deepen the climate of hysterical anticommunism whipped up in face of the revolutionary upswing in Portugal. They help pave the way, in capitalist Europe as well, for an increase in military spending.

The confidential report by the Belgian General Close, indicating that troops of the Warsaw Pact could reach the Rhine in forty-eight hours, thus neutralizing NATO's nuclear arsenal, serves the same purpose.

For the moment, the Giscard regime has lined up with Kissinger. In the longer run, however, the West European imperialists will count increasingly on an "independent" nuclear striking force. This will also be used to justify, in passing, generalization of the concept of the professional army, an essential card to be played against the rising proletarian revolution in southern Europe.

The third front is the effort to strengthen the stand-ins that can temporarily serve as

a substitute for the imperialist guardian of order until it regains its capacity to intervene in the political arena (in the military arena its capacity in no way suffered). The coup in Argentina came at a favorable moment, creating in the southern cone of Latin America a military bloc under Washington's tutelage that can dominate the south Atlantic.

None of this should be taken as indicating that peaceful coexistence is going to be abolished. This is hardly the case, for the simple reason that far from thwarting capitalism, peaceful coexistence serves its fundamental interests. In face of the rise of revolution, the international capitalist class has more to gain than ever in taking advantage of the Stalinist parties' willingness to serve as a restraining force and to conduct a policy of class collaboration. The imperialists are divided in their assessment of the Stalinists' effectiveness in this role, and in their willingness to pay (or to refuse to pay) a given price in exchange for the role. But the role itself is doing the imperialists no harm—quite the contrary.

So, what is taking place is not a return to the cold war. It is a range of measures aimed at enabling imperialism to break loose from the temporary political paralysis into which it was plunged by the heroism of the Indochinese masses and the power of the antiwar sentiment in the United States. Washington's No. 1 objective is to condition public opinion in the imperialist countries, particularly in the United States itself.

Will the effort succeed? The answer does not depend solely on the ploys and financial resources of the peddlers of myths on both sides of the Atlantic. It depends also and above all on the outcome of the class struggles that are little by little radicalizing Japan and North America itself. □

Desmond Trotter Wins Reprieve

Desmond Trotter has won a reprieve from the death sentence threatening him.

Trotter, a political activist on the Caribbean island of Dominica, had been scheduled to be executed by hanging on or before April 8. The twenty-two-year-old Black leader was arrested in May 1974 on the frame-up charge of murdering a white tourist. He was convicted in a trial that even the acting chief justice of the Caribbean Court of Appeals characterized as having gross irregularities.

The reprieve, announced by Dominica Premier Patrick John on April 3, was the result of new evidence presented by a delegation organized by the Desmond Trotter Defense Committee and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Participating in the delegation, which was formed to appeal for a commutation of

Trotter's death sentence, were Philip Wheaton, a representative of the National Council of Churches; Father William Davis, S.J., director of the Office of Social Ministry, U.S. Jesuit Conference; Charles Roach, representing the National Association of Black Lawyers; and Bernard Wiltshire of the Desmond Trotter Defense Committee.

The delegation stopped at the island of Antigua on its way to Dominica in order to meet with Vere C. Bird, the lawyer working with the defense committee. By coincidence, the delegation arrived at Bird's office at the same time as Camilla Francis, who was the key witness against Trotter at his trial.

USLA National Coordinator Mirta Vidal said in an interview with *Intercontinental Press* that Francis signed a sworn statement saying that she had lied in her

testimony against Trotter. Francis, whose statement was made in the presence of the delegation, said that in return for her testimony against Trotter, police dropped charges against her on an unrelated matter.

The delegation drew up its own affidavit affirming that the statement by Francis was given voluntarily, and submitted both sworn documents to the government of Dominica April 1. The announcement of the reprieve followed a special cabinet meeting called to discuss the new evidence.

However, Trotter is still not out of danger. The reprieve is a temporary stay of execution. It remains to be seen whether the government of Dominica will hold a new trial or simply hold a hearing on Trotter's case while allowing the old verdict to stand.

Premier John, whose political career was helped by the frame-up of Trotter, may yet go ahead with the execution. When the U.S. delegation asked permission to visit Trotter, who has been held in solitary confinement for almost two years, it was refused.

Previously, John had been urging the Dominica Mercy Committee to reject a commutation of Trotter's sentence. The committee hands down only advisory rulings, but John wanted to avoid shouldering full blame for the execution.

Public pressure for Trotter's release has been building up. In New York, 140 persons attended a protest meeting April 4 to demand that his sentence be set aside. On March 31 a delegation of seventeen lawyers, doctors, judges, and magistrates from Martinique went to Dominica to lodge a protest in the Trotter case.

The Groupe Révolution Socialiste, the Antilles section of the Fourth International, has been publicizing Trotter's case from the beginning. It initiated a recent demonstration of several thousand persons on his behalf.

Only continued pressure of this type can force the government of Dominica to free Desmond Trotter. Telegrams and letters of protest should be sent to Premier Patrick John, Ministerial Building, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies. □

Turkey Iprnidazole

When the Agriculture Department discovered illegal residues of Iprnidazole, a cancer-causing drug, in a flock of turkeys in 1975, it mistakenly impounded the wrong turkeys. The contaminated turkeys, meanwhile, were processed into turkey rolls and sold to unsuspecting consumers, according to a report in the March 21 *Washington Post*.

The Food and Drug Administration, rejecting the recommendation of one of its inspectors, decided not to recall the meat or prosecute the turkey grower in order to avoid embarrassing the Agriculture Department.

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American Political Police Admit 92 Burglaries of SWP Offices

By Larry Seigle

[The following article appeared in the April 9 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

* * *

The United States government, which claims to be the guardian of the rights and liberties of the American people, has been exposed once more as the most persistent and dangerous enemy of those rights.

Documents from supersecret FBI files have revealed that the bureau repeatedly broke into offices and campaign headquarters of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party. The federal burglars photographed some 13,000 pages of papers concerning every aspect of the socialists' activity.

The files, which have generated banner headlines from coast to coast, were made public March 28 by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is underwriting the costs of the socialists' suit against the FBI, the CIA, and twelve other government agencies.

The burglary files cover only the period from 1960 to 1966. All but two of the ninety-four break-ins documented occurred in New York City. The other two took place at the home of then SWP National Chairperson James P. Cannon in Los Angeles and at a private home in Connecticut.

The files show a massive violation of the law and of democratic rights by the nation's top "law enforcement" agency. But even this is only a tiny fragment of the whole picture. By the FBI's own admission, the burglaries began not in 1960, but during World War II. They also continued after 1966. They were carried out not just in New York, but in cities across the country.

What's more, the SWP and YSA are only two of the organizations targeted for this illegal treatment. There is no doubt that similar operations have been aimed at other radical groups, Black organizations, and trade unions.

It all adds up to establishing the FBI as one of the largest organizations of criminals ever to blight the face of the earth.

The burglaries are part of the capitalist government's permanent war of harassment, disruption, and victimization of socialists and others fighting for social justice.

The details of this war have emerged largely as the result of disclosures made in connection with the suit filed by the SWP and YSA.

In response to orders from the federal judge handling the case, the FBI has produced thousands of pages from its hidden files detailing its Counterintelligence Program (Cointelpro) operations against the SWP and YSA, their members, supporters, and candidates for public office.

These have included efforts to get socialists fired from their jobs; repeated harassment consisting of "investigations" involving visits by FBI agents to landlords, family, friends, and employers; and schemes to sow mistrust and divisions within the YSA and SWP, and between the socialists and other groups, through circulation of lies, slanders, and red-baiting attacks by agents and informers.

Until now, the FBI has denied burglarizing the SWP or YSA. In fact, the government specifically claimed it had not carried out break-ins in a statement submitted to the court in response to the socialists' lawsuit.

But the FBI files show that FBI special teams broke into the socialists' headquarters on a regular basis. Over the six-year period covered, these burglaries took place on an average of once every three weeks.

FBI agents would enter the offices, using keys they themselves had made, sometime after midnight. They photographed and sometimes removed reports, letters, mailing lists, minutes of meetings, names and addresses of contributors to SWP election campaigns, information about places of work and union affiliations of members, confidential tax forms, and information regarding defense strategy in cases involving federal legal proceedings.

One typical list, recording the results of the break-in at the SWP national office on June 3, 1960, contains the following:

- A letter "setting forth the topic" of a speech to be given by Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP vice-presidential candidate, and "listing complete schedule of cities to be visited thereafter in nation-wide tour";
- "Application for membership forms" filled out by two individuals;
- "Letter from individual overseas with an Army signal battalion requesting information about the SWP";
- "Letter setting forth the new employment" of a party member in New York;
- "Letter to Canadian Trotskyite setting forth that [deleted] SWP leader would be a speaker for them, giving flight number and time of trip and location of his stay in Toronto";
- "Letter giving identity of individual

subpoenaed to appear before committee [House Un-American Activities Committee] in Washington in June and arrangements made by SWP to have American Civil Liberties Union represent this and another individual SWP member subpoenaed";

Other items copied that night were: "identity of SWP member" moving to New York from Milwaukee; minutes of SWP branch executive committee meetings; and a "letter to other locals requesting help for SWP campaign in upstate N.Y."

At a news conference last August, FBI chief Clarence Kelley acknowledged for the first time that the FBI had been carrying out "surreptitious entries" since World War II. Kelley claimed that the burglaries were designed to obtain "information relative to the security of the nation."

"These latest documents prove that Kelley's statement is a fraud and a lie," declared Peter Camejo, SWP presidential nominee. "The information stolen from the SWP concerned perfectly legitimate activities, including election campaign plans of a political party. There is not one indication, in any of the papers copied, of a single illegal act by the SWP."

"What the FBI thieves were trying to protect was not the 'security of the nation,' but the security of the Democratic and Republican parties to carry out their policies of war and racism free from the criticism and challenge posed by a socialist alternative," Camejo said.

"These burglaries are a massive intrusion into the constitutional rights not just of our party, but of everyone in this country."

Although the burglaries themselves were not formally part of Cointelpro, the information obtained through them was used to initiate operations under the Cointelpro "SWP Disruption Program."

Syd Stapleton, the national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, explained to the *Militant* that the PRDF staff has correlated by date some of the stolen information with disruption activities described in Cointelpro files turned over by the FBI earlier.

"On April 26, 1963," Stapleton said, "the

FACING PAGE: Front page of the March 29 issue of the "New York Times." The articles about the FBI raids on Socialist Workers party offices represent the most prominent coverage this influential bourgeois newspaper has ever given the SWP.

Weather: Sunny today; fair, cool tonight. Sunny, mild tomorrow. Temperature range: today 37-57; Sunday 44-55. Details on page 57.

The New York Times

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

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NEW YORK, MONDAY, MARCH 29, 1976

25 CENTS BEYOND 50 MILE ZONE FROM NEW YORK CITY. HANGS LONG SLEAKS. SLIPPER IN AIR DELIVERY ZONE.

20 CENTS

F.B.I. Burglarized Leftist Offices Here 92 Times in 1960-66, Official Files Show

Documents and Letters of the Socialist Workers and Affiliates Copied

By JOHN M. CREWSDON
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, March 28 — Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation burglarized the New York City offices of the Socialist Workers Party and its affiliated organizations on at least 92 occasions from 1960 to 1966, according to official F.B.I. reports made public today.

The burglaries by specially trained teams of Federal agents in the early morning hours, occurred, on the average, once every three weeks in a 6½-year period, the reports show. They produced about 10,000 photographs of documents and correspondence concerning virtually every aspect of the party's business, including the defense strategies of members involved in Federal legal proceedings.

The disclosure of the burglaries, the bureau's own reports of which were obtained by the party through its long-running civil lawsuit against the Government, directly contradicted an assertion by the Justice Department in that case that the Socialist Workers had never been the target of burglaries by Federal agents.

A party spokesman said that lawyers for the group were considering whether to ask Federal District Judge Thomas P. Griesa to make a summary judgment in the \$27-million suit, based on the apparent inaccuracy of the Justice Department's testimony, or whether to continue the civil process through which these and other F.B.I. documents have been obtained to discover the facts.

HOPES FOR TRUCE FAWE IN LEBANON

Syrian Meeting Fails and Leftist Forces Step Up Activity on 2 Fronts

By HENRY TANNER
Special to The New York Times

BEIRUT, Lebanon, Monday, March 28—Hopes for an early cease-fire in the Lebanese civil war collapsed yesterday after the failure of daylong meetings in Damascus between President Hafez al-Assad of Syria and Kamal Jumblat, the pivotal figure in the leftist-Moslem alliance here.

Leftist forces, who feel that they have the military advantage, increased their pressure on two fronts, provoking sharp fighting.

In downtown Beirut, they fought their way into the half-finished Hilton Hotel where right-wing Christian Phalangists have been holding a vital defense position guarding the port of Beirut and the approaches to the central Maronite Christian quarter of Ashrafyah. The leftist radio said that the hotel had been taken but witnesses said that fighting continued inside.

Junction Attacked

In the foothills southeast of the capital, leftist-Moslem forces were reported to be attacking Kahale, a vital highway junction from two sides — down the Damascus highway from Aley, the site of Mr. Jumblat's headquarters, and through rock strewn pine in the deep valley north of the road.

There was continued fighting also in the mountains 20 to 25 miles east of the capital. "A big failure" was the way



Peter Camejo

Party's Candidate Says Police Aided Break-ins, Providing Security

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, charged yesterday that New York City officials "provided police protection for the Federal Bureau of Investigation's second-story men" in burglarizing his Trotskyite party's headquarters from 1960 to 1966.

Bureau documents describing 92 burglaries here, released in Washington yesterday as a result of a damage suit by the party against alleged Federal harassment, did not specifically mention cooperation by the New York police.

Requests by agents for authorization for the burglaries repeatedly said, "Full security assured." On other occasions, they said, "Security will be assured prior to entry on this assignment," or, "Security set forth at the time of the original authorization remains the same."

Leonard B. Budin, counsel for the Socialist Workers Party in its suit, said in an interview, "Only one group can assure security."

He drew the inference that either the police had been advised "not to bother, this is a Federal matter," in case they saw anything unusual, or they had provided guards for the break-ins. But he conceded this was an interpretation that he wanted to explore further.

At Police Headquarters, continued on Page 17, Column 1

Udall Proposes Programs To Reduce City's Burdens

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

Representative Morris K. Udall, direct and good-natured, his answers generally short and to the point. Secret Service agents stationed outside the room watched the proceedings through a glass wall.

A major proposal, he said, was the Federal Government's taking over the welfare system, which he called "a national problem and a national obligation."

Mr. Udall said that he favored a standardization of welfare criteria and payments, adjusted only for cost of living differences in different areas.

He said he believed that New York City criteria and payments were "pretty close to what ought to be a national standard."

Mr. Udall did not offer a price tag for his program. However, in response to questions, George Sternlieb, director of the Center for Urban Policy

Continued on Page 24, Column 8

SURGE BY CARTER ON NATIONAL BASIS INDICATED IN POLL

Survey Reports Victories Give the Georgian Broad and Diverse Support

By ROBERT REINHOLD

Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia appears to have translated his primary victories into an extraordinarily broad and diverse base of support by Democrats all over the country, according to a national poll completed last week by The New York Times and CBS News.

Further, the poll tends to undermine doubts—at least in terms of the constituency Mr. Carter attracts and how it perceives him—about whether he is in the mainstream of the party and to dispute his rivals' contentions that he cannot be elected.

These were among the themes to emerge from a national survey, conducted by telephone from March 18 to 24, of 1,524 Democrats, Republicans and independents in all parts of the country. The poll was designed to monitor how the campaign had evolved since the last Times/CBS national survey in early February, before the state primaries began.

Carter Leads Field

Back in February, the Democratic field of declared candidates was lunched up, with Mr. Carter behind three others. After several well-publicized primaries, the new Times/CBS News survey shows, as do the Gallup Poll and other surveys, that Mr. Carter now heads the Democratic field.

Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in the new poll has lost more than half the support he had six weeks ago.

Among other findings of the poll were the following: While certain issues, according to previous surveys, seemed to have played a role in the primary votes, no major issues seem to be benefiting one candidate or the other nationally at this stage.

The collapse of support for Mr. Wallace can be traced both to his crippled condition and to the relative unimportance of racial matters as issues. The Governor's health seems to be the more important factor.

Behind the Democratic race looms the figure of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, a declared noncandidate. When Mr. Humphrey

Continued on Page 25, Column 1

Swiss Driver Wins

Clay Regazzoni of Switzerland drove a Ferrari to victory in the first United States Grand Prix West at Long Beach, Calif. Page 41.



Transit workers at Manhattan Center. Poster refers to David L. Yunich, head of Metropolitan Transportation Authority and the former president of Macy's.

TRANSIT WORKERS AUTHORIZE STRIKE AS TALKS CONTINUE

Unanimous Vote on Walkout at 12:01 A.M. Thursday Is Taken at Noisy Meeting

UNION PLANS DUE TODAY

Beame Says Work Stoppage Could Have 'Disastrous' Effect on the Economy

More than 4,000 members of the Transport Workers Union voted at a turbulent meeting yesterday to strike the city's subway and bus lines next Thursday morning if they did not obtain a satisfactory contract with the Transit Authority.

The shouting and stomping workers voted unanimously for a resolution empowering their officers to invoke the union's no-contract, no-work policy. Such action is traditional with the union on the Sunday preceding contract expiration, and was accompanied by placard waving and raised fists for the benefit of newspaper and television cameras.

Speeches Greeted Loudly

Matthew Guinan, international president of the 150,000-member union, announced that strike instructions would be issued to its key personnel at 1 P.M. today, in the union's headquarters at 180 Broadway.

The union has been seeking substantial wage increases, cost-of-living adjustments and improved fringe benefits. The extent of the wage increase sought has not been disclosed. The authority has thus far made no offer to the 32,000 workers involved.

After the strike meeting the union negotiators left for the American Hotel to continue their bargaining talks with the mediators and the authority.

The strike vote in Manhattan Center yesterday was preceded by militant speeches by the union officers and repeated cheers, whistles, shouts, applause and boos by the union members.

The cavernous and drafty assembly hall was so crowded that many workers had to listen to the speeches on loudspeakers on an upper floor of the building, and out on the street. There were so many of them on 35th Street between Eighth and Ninth Avenues that the police closed the street to traffic.

'68 Strike Recalled

Mayor Beame responded to the walkout threat by announcing that he and Police Commissioner Michael J. Codd would hold a news conference at 10 A.M. today in City Hall to outline plans to protect and assist the public in the event of a transit strike.

These plans were being formulated yesterday. They include some relaxation of parking and traffic restrictions. During the 12-day transit strike in 1966, armories were opened to provide shelter for persons stranded by the walkout.

Continued on Page 30, Column 1

BEAME JOINS FIGHT ON STAVISKY BILL

Aims to Halt Override Move in Legislature That Would Earmark School Funds

By IVER PETERSON
Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, March 28—Mayor Beame will join Governor Carey here tomorrow in a final round of negotiations with legislators and their leaders aimed at stopping the Legislature from overriding Mr. Carey's veto of the Stavisky bill, which would earmark a fixed proportion of the city's expense budget for schools.

Four days of intense negotiations between the city's top political and fiscal leaders and Leonard Stavisky, Queens Democrat, and the sponsor of the controversial measure, had failed by this evening to produce the compromise in the bill's language that the Mayor and the Governor had hoped for.

With parents and the teachers' union bringing intense pressure on the Legislature to override the veto in this election year, and in the absence of a compromise in the bill's language, the Governor's staff regards the chances for an override in the Assembly on Wednesday—the earliest such a vote could be taken—as a near certainty.

Their strategy—not agreed to in all respects by the city—is to work for the compromise bill and, as a top Carey aide put it, "save our best shot" in the hope of blocking a simultaneous vote on the severest terms of

Continued on Page 50, Column 5

Many Civil Servants Draw Higher Income as Retirees

By PETER KIHSS

When combined with Social Security benefits, pension plans for New York City and State employees provide many retirees with net income after taxes that is greater than the income they took home during their last working year.

For long-term employees—those with 30 years' service—retiring at the age of 65 after a final year's salary of \$14,000, the combined result would give 119 to 129 percent of the last working year's take-home pay to city retirees and 112 to 119 percent to state retirees.

In every case under those conditions, the study said, a married retiree and his wife would have an income "greater than his after-tax income in his final year of work."

The calculations were included in a report on public employee pensions nationwide that warned that "more net income for not working than for working is not a policy that can endure for long" when taxpayers come to realize it.

The author, Robert Tilove, a senior vice president of Martin E. Segal Company, consultants and actuaries on employee benefits, proposed changes to integrate governmental pensions and Social Security benefits that could let the combination go up to a final working year's take-home income—but not beyond.

Mr. Tilove is a member of the Public Employees Federation. Continued on Page 50, Column 5

Impact of Stiff Drug Law Is in Dispute After 2 Years

By SELWYN RAAB

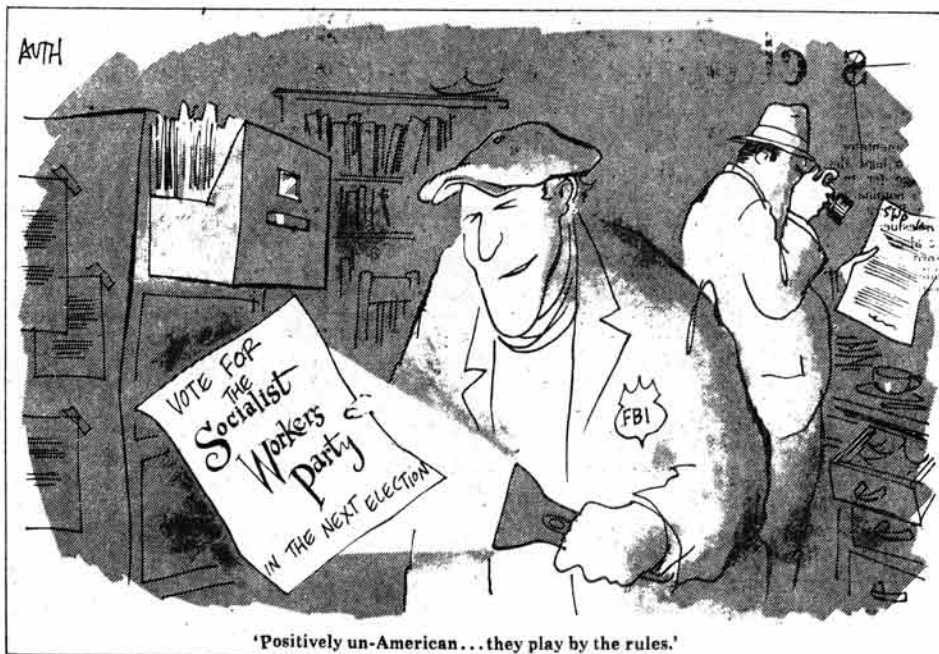
In the first two years of the state's tougher narcotics law, 591 persons were sentenced to prison terms, but only 31 drew the maximum penalty of 15 years to life.

Of those convicted of the most serious crimes—Class A felony counts—860 received mandatory minimum terms calling for either one year or six years in prison.

A review of state records by The New York Times also indicates that more suspects sentenced to the severest terms of

Pride of Rutgers Fans Won't Die After Defeat

Special to The New York Times
NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J., made everyone feel he was



'Positively un-American... they play by the rules.'

Auth/Philadelphia Inquirer

FBI photographed correspondence showing that the upcoming convention of the party would be held at the Empire Hotel in New York. Less than two weeks later, the New York office of the FBI requested authorization from [FBI boss J. Edgar] Hoover to conduct 'disruptive operations,' apparently including an effort to persuade the hotel management to cancel the convention reservations."

In two other break-ins—on December 1 and December 15, 1961—the FBI copied letters between the SWP and a newly formed organization known as the Labor-Negro Vanguard party. This group had held a conference in New York in which Farrell Dobbs, then national secretary of the SWP, had participated. The group was headed by Clarence Coggin, a Black unionist from New Jersey.

On March 15, 1962, FBI headquarters in Washington directed the New York and New Jersey offices to "give consideration to a disruption program operation" to prevent common action between the SWP and the LNVP. "The LNVP is expected to collaborate in supporting SWP candidates during its forthcoming elections," the FBI warned.

In what may develop into one of the more explosive aspects of the new revelations, the FBI systematically copied documents regarding legal cases in which members of the SWP and YSA were involved.

The federal agents repeatedly broke into the office of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students (CABS), which rented space in the YSA national office. CABS was set up to organize the defense campaign for three YSA members who were indicted in 1963 for "seditious"

activity at Indiana University in Bloomington.

This case, a classical political frame-up, involved charges that the three young socialists were guilty of "attending a meeting where violent overthrow of the government was advocated." The meeting referred to was a public speech, attended by more than 100 people, where a national officer of the YSA said that Black people should use their constitutional right of self-defense to protect themselves against racist violence.

More than 1,300 professors, civil libertarians, and other prominent people across the country became sponsors of CABS. With this public backing, and an energetic legal defense provided by noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, who is now representing the SWP and the YSA in their suit against the government, the frame-up was defeated.

But on May 14, 1965, while the case was in the courts, FBI agents illegally photographed documents containing information of "current legal proceedings and expenses of CABS" and "reports re activities of YSA members assigned to CABS tour in various Southern and South West cities."

On July 16, another break-in produced "proposed CABS legal maneuvers," "CABS national tour results," and "CABS financial structure."

Other information, concerning legal moves to defeat attempts by the government to deport members of the SWP, was also pilfered over the six-year period.

On July 19, 1966, William Sullivan, chief of FBI counterintelligence, wrote an internal memo explaining that "we do not obtain authorization for 'black bag' jobs from outside the Bureau. Such a technique

involves trespass and is clearly illegal; therefore it would be impossible to obtain any legal sanction for it. Despite this, 'black bag' jobs have been used because they represent an invaluable technique in combating subversive activities of a clandestine nature aimed directly at undermining and destroying our nation."

Sullivan added that "through the use of this technique we have on numerous occasions been able to obtain material held highly secret and closely guarded by subversive groups and organizations. . . ."

What was this "highly secret" data? Espionage plans? Assassination plots? Terrorist conspiracies?

No. The "highly secret" information, Sullivan explained in his memo, "consisted of membership lists and mailing lists of these organizations"!

In the wake of revelations over the past two years regarding the crimes committed by the FBI against socialists and other dissenters, the government has sought to create the impression that it now repudiates the most outrageous illegalities. Attorney General Edward Levi has characterized Cointelpro as "foolish because [it] doesn't work very well" and "outrageous because I think there's enough dishonesty and lack of candor and incivility in our society as it is."

But FBI Director Clarence Kelley has stubbornly defended the burglaries. At his news conference last July, Kelley said, "I do not note in any of these activities a gross misuse of authority. . . . I do not feel that it was a corruption of the trust that had been placed in us."

Despite Kelley's evident enthusiasm for burglary as a "law enforcement" technique, the government claims that the burglaries were halted in mid-1966 on orders from Hoover.

However, there is considerable evidence that this claim is a lie. At his news conference last July, according to the *Washington Star*, Kelley said that Hoover's 1966 cutoff of authority for "surreptitious entries" didn't eliminate "foreign counterintelligence operations where there was a grave impact on the security of the nation."

The *Star* continued, "Since 1966, he said, there had been a few such entries—but he declined to define 'a few' except to say that he meant 'not many.'"

The FBI has never explained precisely which groups fall under the "foreign counterintelligence" category.

In 1972, FBI Director L. Patrick Gray ordered a break-in into an Arab information office in Dallas, Texas.

In at least one case, the SWP has proof that the FBI broke into its headquarters in Detroit. In 1971, burglars entered the Michigan SWP campaign headquarters and stole lists of supporters of SWP candidates and other files. One cop called

to the scene said the burglary looked like "an FBI job."

Shortly after, supporters whose names had been on the stolen lists began receiving visits from FBI agents.

Among the items taken in the raid was a letter to the SWP from Norma Lodico, a former member of the party. Three years later Lodico was interrogated by the U.S. Civil Service Commission about her "suitability for employment." One of the documents in her dossier was a copy of the letter she had written to the SWP in Detroit.

The Civil Service Commission has since acknowledged in court that the copy of the letter came from the FBI. The FBI, however, in a statement submitted in federal court on March 24, 1976, claimed that a "review of pertinent FBI records has failed to reveal any documents which reflect or suggest the source of the letter."

It remains to be seen whether this statement will turn out to be just as false as the original denial of any burglaries against the SWP or the YSA.

It is obvious that the full truth about these crimes won't be known until all the

files of the government's secret-police bodies are opened.

In a statement to the press the day the burglary documents were made public, Peter Camejo declared, "We intend to insist, in public and through our suit, that all documents on the FBI attacks against socialists, civil rights activists, and others be made available to the public.

"Let's get the facts on the table so the American people, not government officials, can decide who presents a threat to the Bill of Rights." □

Defends Cointelpro-style Plots

FBI Claims Right to Inform Employers About 'Subversives'

By Larry Seigle

[The following article appeared in the April 9 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

* * *

The FBI's burglary files, released to the public by the Political Rights Defense Fund, have been the subject of extensive publicity and editorial comment in newspapers and on radio and television nationally and internationally.

But, in the opinion of Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the PRDF, another document released along with the break-in files "may have even greater long-term significance."

Last fall, Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan, attorneys for the SWP and YSA, requested that the government turn over copies of all government papers that would "indicate the Bureau's reason for opening a file on each actual and suspected member of the SWP and the YSA."

In part of its response to this request the FBI said that it tries "to identify all members of subversive groups" because it "is concerned that members of subversive groups will, at some future time, gain responsible positions not only in Government but also in industry and education."

"In other words," said Stapleton, "the FBI is asserting the right to drive people out of their jobs just because their political views or activities don't satisfy the FBI."

This, Stapleton pointed out, is precisely what was done under Cointelpro, which has supposedly been ended.

As part of Cointelpro, the FBI put into operation an "SWP Disruption Program." This program included attempts—in some cases successful—to get members or supporters of the SWP fired from their jobs.

Anonymous letters and similar tactics were used to force socialists who were teachers out of the schools and universities. Socialists who worked for the Post Office and other government agencies were sacked solely because of their political views. FBI agents also systematically visited private employers to "inform" them that someone who worked for them was a "subversive."

"For the first time since Cointelpro became known to the American people, the FBI is publicly defending its right to hound people out of their jobs," Stapleton said.

"This proves that the FBI's attempts to disrupt the lives and political activity of socialists and others—a program that was once known as Cointelpro—has never been stopped."

Stapleton pointed out that the guidelines prepared by the Justice Department, purportedly to curb abuses by the FBI, are supposed to limit the FBI to investigation of potential crimes and violent acts.

These guidelines "are totally worthless in terms of protecting the rights of those who speak up against official policies," Stapleton said.

In addition to submitting this defense of its policy on employment, the government filed justifications for its refusal to turn over a number of other documents from secret FBI and CIA files. In some cases, the government lawyers just stonewalled, claiming that the documents don't exist, or ignoring the requests.

In other instances, however, they invoked claims of "executive privilege" that are virtually identical to the claims made by Richard Nixon when he refused to turn over the Watergate tapes. Nixon's assertions of "executive privilege" were rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court.

"Our attorneys," said Stapleton, "are now preparing a list of more than forty different kinds of documents that are included in the order issued by U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa, requiring the government to turn over 'everything' on us in their files, but which they have not yet produced. We will demand that these items be made available to us without any more stalling."

Among the documents specified are all files showing the extent to which the CIA uses informers, in this country and overseas, to try to sow division among socialist groups, and records of all meetings of the Intelligence Division of the FBI where policies directed against or affecting the SWP were discussed or decided.

The list also includes records of all communications between the FBI and the Justice Department concerning the bureau's "investigations" of the SWP. "We believe these will show that the Justice Department sent the FBI determinations that the SWP could not be prosecuted for any of its activities," said Stapleton.

The socialists' attorneys will also demand copies of all electronic surveillance records on members of the SWP and the YSA and on Boudin and other members of his law firm.

In the same legal document in which the government insisted it had not carried out any burglaries against the socialists, it also claimed it hadn't done any wiretapping or bugging since 1963.

"We have received information from people who are familiar with the details of this," said Stapleton, "showing that this claim is a lie.

"We also have other documentary evidence that the FBI has been lying in other areas as well, and we will be making it public soon." □

Argentine Junta Steps Up Blows Against Unions

By Judy White

Rightist terrorist groups resumed kidnapping and killing trade-union militants and revolutionists in Argentina only days after the country's new president, Lt. Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla, promised his regime would respect human rights and use legal methods to "assure a situation of absolute social peace."

Two persons died in a raid staged by the junta on a Buenos Aires local of the Communist party March 24.

The Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* reported seven "subversives" killed in two separate incidents in Córdoba March 25 and 26.

Juan Carlos Dergan, a worker in the meat industry, was shot down in the capital by unknown assailants.

The March 31 *La Razón* reported a Fiat worker kidnapped in Córdoba.

On April 3, according to the *New York Times*, the bullet-riddled bodies of fifteen young persons were found in ditches and empty lots around Buenos Aires.

The same dispatch in the *New York Times* cited military reports of the killing of Eduardo Guillermo Castellano Soto, Córdoba political secretary of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party); and of ten "leftist guerrillas" in Tucumán and Córdoba provinces.

Thus the rate of assassinations, after dipping for a few days, is continuing at about the same level as in the months preceding the coup. The Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA—Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance) seems to be functioning with the support of the military dictatorship as it did under Isabel Perón, and it is supplemented by the repressive actions of troops and the police.

In general, the bourgeois press emphasized, "normalcy" has been restored throughout the country.

By March 25 transport was functioning as usual and government offices were open. Theaters and movie houses were in operation and some radio stations were permitted to resume regular programming. Prior censorship of the press was officially lifted the following day.

Most important to the capitalist owners of the media reporting the situation, production was reported up in almost all industries, absenteeism was down, and the wave of strikes and work stoppages that had plagued the Peronist regime in its final days had ended. This "improvement" had occurred, an article in the April 1 issue of the *New York Times* said, "without

dismissals or military intervention in the factories."

An unsigned article in the March 26 issue of *La Opinión* described the "normalcy" in major cities of the country. Production figures for a factory in Santa Fe Province were cited:

"... in the tractor and truck factory located in the Sauce Viejo section, production, which most recently had been at 30 percent of capacity, yesterday reached 85 percent."

The following day, *La Opinión* reported that banks and some schools were open again. Troops were withdrawn from most of the streets of Buenos Aires. Sugar, cooking oil, chicken, eggs, toilet paper, soap, razor blades, beef, ordinary table wine, and soft drinks appeared on the shelves of stores in quantity for the first time in weeks.

A new cabinet, composed of six military men and two civilians, was named March 28. The following day Army Commander in Chief Jorge Rafael Videla was sworn in as president.

On March 30 the border between Argentina and Chile was reopened. The Foreign Ministry announced that forty-nine governments had recognized the new junta, among them the major Common Market countries, China, North and South Korea, Hungary, Mexico, Lebanon, Costa Rica, Iran, and Algeria.

Repressive Moves Against Unions

With regard to the trade unions, which had fallen under a blanket decree barring any trade-union activity, Roberto García reported in the March 27 issue of *La Opinión*:

All day yesterday . . . activities in the majority of trade unions in the capital developed normally. However, it is true that it is practically impossible to locate the main figures of the unions (their general secretaries as well as the members of their respective leadership councils), who possibly are waiting until next week to decide whether to put in an appearance, since by then, presumably, the new official policy with regard to trade unionism will be more clearly defined. . . .

A partial check of trade-union national headquarters in the capital showed that except for half a dozen of them the rest have no problems in carrying out their activity. . . .

It is also obvious that military vigilance is not the same for all unions. On the blocks where some headquarters are located, for example, motor traffic has been banned for security reasons, while at others you scarcely notice the

presence of a light guard of soldiers.

There are union headquarters that in addition to having a ban on automobile traffic have a seal on their doors showing that they have been closed. . . . Such is the case of the Unión Obrera Metalúrgica (UOM), Sindicato de Mecánicos y Automotores (SMATA), Asociación Obrera Textil (AOT), Unión Obrera de la Construcción (UOC-RA), and the Federación de Prensa.¹

García pointed out that other unions would most likely be treated in the same way in view of the junta's decree on trade-union activity.

In fact, the process is already under way. An official communiqué dated March 25 announced the take-over of the Córdoba CGT,² along with a number of provincial unions: Luz y Fuerza, Sindicato de Trabajadores de Perkins, Unión de Educadores de la Provincia, Asociación de Trabajadores del Estado, Sindicato de Empleados Públicos, Sindicato de Obras Sanitarias, and Sindicato del Taxi.³

On March 29 the Sindicato de Obreros Panaderos⁴ in Comodoro Rivadavia was occupied by police. Weapons, ammunition, and explosives were reported found, and the leaders of the union were arrested. An official communiqué stated that they would be tried by a special war council for "possession of arms and explosives of war."

This repressive side of the "normalization" will affect all trade unions regardless of whether they are taken over by the junta. Decree No. 7, issued March 24, froze all bank accounts of professional associations of workers and businessmen. One week later, the Buenos Aires daily *La Nación* reported that the freeze on bank accounts of businessmen's associations had been lifted. No mention was made of a parallel step for the trade unions.

Moreover, on March 30, the junta pub-

1. Metalworkers Union, Union of Automotive Machinists and Allied Trades, Textile Workers Association, Construction Workers Union, and Press Federation—the unions that spearheaded labor struggles during the past year.

2. Confederación General del Trabajo (General Confederation of Labor).

3. Light and Power Workers, Union of Perkins Workers, Provincial Educators Union, Association of State Workers, Public Employees Union, Sanitation Workers Union, and Taxi Drivers Union.

4. Union of Bakery Workers.

lished a long list of former Peronist government functionaries and trade-union figures whose personal bank accounts were also frozen. The excuse used was the fight against corruption.

Arrests Continue

More details on arrests have become available, although the number of persons jailed as a result of the coup was still unknown as of April 4. The March 29 issue of the *Washington Post* cited an estimate of 4,500.

On March 30 the offices of the Communist party's newspaper, *Nuestra Palabra*, were raided. A *New York Times* dispatch on the incident reported hundreds of shots being fired by soldiers and policemen in civilian clothes. Ten persons were arrested.

Lists of persons linked to the Peronist government who have been detained were published in the Argentine dailies starting March 26. Among them were Raúl and Norma Lastiri. Norma Lastiri is the daughter of AAA mastermind José López Rega. Her husband, Raúl, presided over the Chamber of Deputies.

Héctor Cámpora, leader of one of the left-wing factions of the Peronist movement, has disappeared. A warrant is out for his arrest. Also being sought by police is CGT General Secretary Casildo Herreras. Herreras was in Uruguay at the time of the coup but has since disappeared.

Frequently referred to in accounts of those arrested—though not generally by name, as in the case of arrested Peronist officials—are trade unionists and students. Many of the trade unionists were arrested during raids on union headquarters, where arms were allegedly found. One of the first decrees announced by the junta was a ban on civilians making, handling, acquiring, transporting, possessing, or carrying arms of any sort.

Possessing arms had become a necessity for self-defense among militant trade unions and political groups that opposed the Peronist regime. In face of the frequent murderous attacks by groups like the AAA, which operated with total impunity, organizations critical of government policies were forced to take extreme measures to protect their members and offices. What the March 28 issue of *La Opinión* called the "normal possession of arms among legislators, functionaries, trade unionists, and political leaders and activists" has now become the pretext for rounding up individuals who might dissent from the policies of the junta. The penalties for arms possession under the new law are imprisonment up to ten years.

Trotskyists and Maoists Banned

Communiqué No. 45 of the junta, decreed the evening of March 25, stated:

Article 1. All activities of the following organizations are prohibited: Partido Comunista Revolu-

cionario, Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, Partido Política Obrera, Partido Obrero Trotskista, and Partido Comunista Marxista-Leninista.⁵

Article 2. The headquarters used by the organizations named in the previous article are hereby closed, once all insignias and signs related to the activities of the aforementioned have been removed.

Article 3. All properties and bank accounts of the organizations named in Article 1 are hereby seized.

Article 4. In coordination with the Economics Ministry, the Ministry of the Interior will determine the disposition of the property mentioned in the preceding article.

These organizations are the first political parties to be singled out and banned by name. Although there have been two raids reported on the Communist party, it has not been specifically banned. The bourgeois political parties, which also come under the decree barring all political activity, have not been reported to have suffered any raids, nor have they been banned by name.

Another decree announced by the junta ordered the expulsion of any foreigner who criticized the junta or who "carries out activities that affect the social peace, national security, or public order." There is no appeal to such expulsions.

Seriously threatened by this decree are the thousands of political exiles who reside in Argentina. Victims of the 1973 Chile coup alone probably number between 1,000 and 2,000. In the aftermath of the Videla take-over in Argentina, the *Washington Post* of March 30 reported, thirty-five Chileans who were living in the United Nations refugee centers were arrested. And, for those Chileans who thought to flee to Argentina before they met such a fate, the provincial regime in San Juan, on the border with Chile, announced that Chilean citizens would be able to leave Argentina only by authorized routes and only if their papers were in order.

There have also been reports that about twenty-eight persons requested political asylum at the Mexican embassy in Buenos Aires.

One unexpected positive outcome of the junta's expulsion order was the release of a Chicana activist from California who had been imprisoned in Argentina since November 1974. Olga Talamante was tortured until she signed a confession of involvement in "subversive" activities. In September 1975 she was tried and sentenced to three years in jail.

Decree No. 49 provided for the firing of

5. Revolutionary Communist party, a Maoist group; Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International; Working-Class Politics party, the Argentine affiliate of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International; Trotskyist Workers party, the followers of Juan Posadas; and Communist party Marxist-Leninist, a Maoist organization.

all public employees "linked to activities of a subversive nature."

The junta also suspended the national wage negotiations or *paritarias* scheduled to begin April 1. The new economics minister, José Martínez de Hoz, announced in an April 2 speech that all wage increases would be set by the government instead of through collective bargaining.

Administration of the state universities by councils of professors, students, and graduates was abolished. From now on, the Ministry of Education will control policy and appointments at each branch.

The Congress has been dismissed and five conservatives named to the Supreme Court to replace the former justices.

In his first speech as president March 30, Videla indicated how the junta proposes to meet Argentina's escalating economic crisis. "Sacrifice, work, and austerity" were his major themes.

Videla sought to justify the steps already taken to limit the rights of the working class and its allies and to set the stage for a new economic program to be revealed April 2.

In addition to eliminating collective bargaining to determine wages, the program totally eliminates price controls; encourages foreign investment in heavy industry, especially oil; sets a new currency-exchange policy, bringing almost all imports into the country at the free-market quotation for the Argentine peso; and increases domestic prices on petroleum products and electricity.

What the program will mean to the masses of Argentina was indicated by Joanne Omang in the April 4 *Washington Post*:

"Argentina's new economy minister promised continuing unemployment, rising costs and falling purchasing power. . . ."

The *New York Times* editors warned April 4 that it would require "some near-miracles" to achieve the junta's goals.

The main challenge to the junta's miracle-making powers is yet to come. The Argentine working class has been waiting to see if the military will lighten the burden it was staggering under in the final months of the Perón regime. Now, the resumption of right-wing terror against trade-union and revolutionary activists, in combination with attempts to impose the junta's economic recovery plan, are likely to precipitate new explosions in the class struggle. □

European Unemployment Falls

Unemployment in the nine-member European Economic Community, which reached a peak of 5.7 million in January, declined slightly in February to 5.57 million. The major centers of unemployment were West Germany, with a total a 1.35 million; Britain, with 1.25 million; and Italy and France, each with more than 1 million unemployed.

Stalinists Play Up to Argentine Junta

By Gerry Foley

In the days following the March 24 military coup in Argentina, readers of the tightly controlled Soviet press got an unusually vivid glimpse of the opportunist policies of international Stalinism.

The first report of the coup in the March 25 issue of *Izvestia* gave an accurate picture of the military take-over:

Strict censorship has been introduced. Special drumhead courts have been set up that will hand down sentences in accordance with the norms prevailing in the armed forces. In its decrees, the ruling junta has established penalties of death or long imprisonment for activity against the government of the armed forces. All meetings and demonstrations have been banned. . . .

The news agencies report that arrests of trade-union leaders and other prominent supporters of the ousted government have started. The military and police seized the offices of the Central Committee of the Argentine Communist party.

Pravda, the official organ of the Soviet Communist party, also noted the reactionary nature of the coup in its March 25 issue. At the same time, it pointed out that "yesterday, eight political parties in Argentina, including the CP, called for preserving the republican institutions and democratic order." However, the Soviet press did not raise a call for opposition to the junta or for worldwide protests against the repression.

Within days of the coup, the Argentine Communist party issued a statement congratulating the junta for "its respect for representative democracy, social justice, the reaffirmation of the state's role in controlling society, and the defense of the capacity for national decisiveness."

The Kremlin presents itself as the defender of Marxist principles in the world Communist movement. It has been quick to attack foreign CPs, as in France and Italy, for opportunism, for capitulating to bourgeois-democratic public opinion, when they have been forced for electoral reasons to criticize political repression in the Soviet Union. Surely Moscow should have been equally quick to denounce such rank opportunism, to say nothing of suicidal blindness, as that displayed by the small and already badly discredited Argentine CP.

After all, the Argentine CP has made "concessions" not only to bourgeois democracy. It allied itself openly with "democratic" imperialism against the nationalist movement led by Perón in 1945, and even backed the U.S. imperialist-sponsored military coup that drove Perón from power in 1955 in the name of "democracy."

However, in its March 27 issue, *Izvestia* ran a long summary from the Argentine CP statement with apparent approval. It left out only a couple of the most opportunist points, which might seem jarring in the light of its earlier reporting of the coup, such as the sentences praising the military dictatorship for its "respect for representative democracy" and "national decisiveness." The official Soviet government daily played up the position of the Argentine CP as follows:

In the statement, it was noted that the military's coming to power was not unexpected. The situation in the country had heated up to an intolerable point. A profound crisis had ripened in all areas of life—the political, the cultural, and the moral.

The country was literally terrorized by fascist gangs, which were acting with virtual impunity. The roots of this crisis, the statement noted, lay above all in the fact that the government of María Estela de Perón, under the pressure of ultrareactionary elements—the supporters of the former minister of social welfare, José López Rega, and other conservative figures enjoying the protection of the president—had refused to carry out the program of major social and economic reforms that the people voted for in the 1973 election.

Although the CP supported the proimperialist opposition to Perón in 1945 and 1955, it shifted to Perón's side in 1973. When the old caudillo was rehabilitated by the imperialists and local capitalists as the best means of diverting and defusing the workers' upsurge that had begun in 1969, the Stalinists rallied to his camp. All they asked was that the Peronists carry out the program of reforms the latter ran on in the elections.

The Stalinists did not warn the workers that the national bourgeoisie was not in a position to give the kind of concessions it did during Perón's first presidency. They did not warn the workers that if they trusted Perón, their movement would be cut to pieces and all their gains and more would be taken away from them. Instead the Stalinists did everything in their power to reinforce the workers' illusions in the "supreme commander of the Argentine race."

The first thing Perón did when he returned was to start a massive witch-hunt and campaign of extermination against the left wing of his own movement and in the trade unions. This was fully supported by the decisive sections of the Peronist bureaucracy in the labor movement and the bourgeois forces backing Perón. But

the CP still says that all would have been well if it were not for some "ultrareactionary elements" around Isabelita and her Rasputin, the "witch doctor" López Rega.

The Argentine Communist party, it seems, is quick to see the good in everyone, no matter how reactionary, and only makes modest demands that they overcome some weaknesses or bad sides. So, their statement that the country was in a "political, cultural, and moral" crisis seems almost to echo the justifications for the coup. They make only a mild request that the military saviors not stop at overthrowing the rotten Peronist regime but go further in correcting things:

The military coup, the statement of the Argentine CP noted, was not the way to assure the solution of the problems facing the country. The crisis ripening in Argentina went much deeper than the short-lived, incompetent, and corrupt government. It touched the very social and economic structure of Argentine society, resting on two rotten pillars—on the domination of the latifundists and the international monopolies.

Other criticisms were raised, such as the following:

The CP does not by any means support all the positions in the programmatic documents of the military junta or agree with all its actions. Thus, the CP statement described as a definite error the suspension of the activity of the democratic

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parties, inasmuch as they can and must participate in attempts to find a way out of the impasse that has developed.

Once again, the CP is not warning the workers that the bourgeoisie, in order to save its profits, is going to have to drastically reduce the standard of living of the masses and subject them to a brutal speedup and large-scale unemployment. It is not warning them that the only way the bourgeoisie can do this is by massive intimidation, by planting a military boot on their necks.

The Stalinists are even suggesting that the new regime may bring an end to the gang terror the Peronist government used against the left and militant sections of the labor movement.

The fact is that whether there are fewer murders depends on how much repression the bourgeoisie thinks is necessary to break the resistance of the workers. If the workers try to defend themselves, the outrages could become much more extensive, since now the entire state is openly operating according to the principles of an uncontrolled reactionary gang.

The Argentine CP noted the "significance of the fact that the junta has rejected a solution on the Pinochet model, although there are forces that still want to push it onto that road."

Obviously, the Stalinists thought that the way to prevent the junta from taking Pinochet as their model was to get down on all fours and lick their jackboots:

Some of the goals proclaimed in the programmatic statements of the military junta correspond to a certain degree to the fundamental interests of the people. This applies above all to the promise to establish representative democracy based on the principle of social justice, to restore the rule of constitutional principles.

The American CP paper, the *Daily World*, perhaps the most servile of all the world Stalinist press, noted a point in the Argentine CP statement that even *Izvestia* left out. In its March 30 issue, the *Daily World* said:

The Argentine Communists said that all the nation's democratic and patriotic forces should be working closely together in order to translate all of the people's hopes into reality. The CPA [Communist party of Argentina] thus will pave the way towards the establishment of a military and civilian government on a broad coalition basis. If the military junta is an interim stage on the way to setting up such a government as demanded by the people, then it can be said that a step has been taken in this direction, the Communist Party of Argentina said.

In other words, the coup might even be a blessing in disguise, a step toward setting up something like the "progressive" and "anti-imperialist" military junta in Peru or even the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal. The illusions the Stalinists have helped to foster with such propaganda about "progressive" military regimes have cost the working classes of those countries

dear. Yet the Stalinists want to repeat the job in Argentina.

However, the Argentine junta's plans do not even include any partial or short-term concessions to the workers sufficient to allow the corrupt Peronist bureaucracy and other opportunist forces in the labor movement to maintain a position as intermediaries and serve as effective agents of the military dictatorship.

The junta did not have to offer the CP much to get them to preach surrender. Just the possibility of negotiations was enough.

The military did not begin immediately massacring CP activists. They only shot a couple of them on the day of the coup in the party headquarters.

And they did not ban the CP outright, as they did the Trotskyists and some left splits from the CP that look to China as an alternative. They only suspended the CP, although for the moment at least that probably amounts to about the same as a ban.

In Chile, on the other hand, where the junta headed by Pinochet did not offer the slimmest possibilities for negotiation when it took over, the Communist party called for opposition. For a time it even called for guerrilla warfare, apparently because it thought that was the only way of main-

taining an image of militancy.

In actuality, in the conditions that existed, this was only another variety of opportunism that deepened the defeat of the Chilean workers.

In Argentina the lure of negotiations has already proved to be more of a trap than a chance to make even the most miserable deal. After the coup, the other left parties went underground immediately. The CP apparently continued to try to function in its offices, despite the unpleasant experience of the March 24 raid in which two CPers were gunned down. The leaders no doubt considered that the CP would be regarded a basically respectable party, temporarily in eclipse, like, say, the free-trade Radical party of Ricardo Balbin.

As a result, a number of CP activists were in the office of the party newspaper on March 30. In a dispatch the same day from Buenos Aires, *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onis reported what happened:

"Hundreds of shots were fired by soldiers and policemen in civilian clothes in the raid on the offices of Nuestra Palabra, the weekly publication of the Communist Party. The building was occupied after 15 minutes of gunfire." Ten CP activists were arrested. □

Political Prisoners Tortured in India



INDIA'S DICTATOR GANDHI

Columnist Jack Anderson exposed March 27 several instances of torture of political prisoners in India. In the report, based on documents smuggled out of India, Anderson told of the following cases:

"Hemart Kumar Vishnoi, leader of a Delhi University student group, which opposes the Gandhi regime, was arrested at a picnic. He was hung upside down and beaten. Then burning candles were applied to his bare soles and chili powder was smeared into his nose and his rectum.

"Om Prakash, arrested for participating in 'satyadraka [satyagraha],' a nonviolent resistance movement, was beaten mercilessly. He was also hung upside down and his testicles were poked with a rod.

"Narashinha Rao, a graduate student at Bangalore, had his hands lashed behind him with rope which was strung through a pulley on the ceiling. He was hauled a few feet above the ground and left dangling for 20 minutes there, with all his weight pulling on his painfully tied hands. In Indira Gandhi's India this agonizing torture is called 'the aeroplane.'

"Seven persons, arrested by the police for putting up political posters, were tortured at the Andhra Pradesh police station. They were stripped and their bodies were burned with wax candles. Indian lawyers, who later visited the prisoners at the hospital, were horrified and lodged a protest.

"At Idduki prison, a prisoner named Thangapban was beaten with a torch and a farmer named Parablankaran was beaten into senselessness. 'Blows were rained on his chest with the butt of a rifle,' the affidavit alleges. The two men were given nothing to drink for 10 days."

Israeli Officials 'Startled' by Palestinian Strike Action

By David Frankel

The two-month-long upsurge of the Palestinians on the Israeli-occupied West Bank spread to northern and central Israel March 30. Strikes and demonstrations paralyzed more than a dozen areas, including Nazareth, the largest Arab town in Israel, with a population of 43,000.

Joseph Fried of the *New York Daily News* estimated that one-quarter of the Arab workers in Israel observed the call for a general strike, staying away from their jobs despite threats that they would be fired.

Shops and schools were also closed in many areas of the West Bank, including the cities of East Jerusalem, Nablus, and Bethlehem.

Although the Israeli regime has tried to minimize the importance of the protests, Terence Smith reported in the March 31 *New York Times* that "the dimension of the day's disturbances clearly startled Israeli officials."

According to *Christian Science Monitor* editor Geoffrey Godsell, the Israelis were "baffled" by "the toughness and perseverance" of the protesters.

This is the biggest upsurge of the Palestinian people since the 1936-39 rebellion against British colonial rule. The size and militancy of these demonstrations represent something new in the development of Palestinian resistance to the Zionist regime.

Continuation of the Palestinian struggle at this level could quickly alter the relationship of class forces in Israel to the decided disadvantage of the Rabin regime.

Summing up the impact of the protests in the April 2 *Christian Science Monitor*, Joseph C. Harsch concluded that they "shatter any theory that the half million Arabs inside Israel and the million Arabs on the West Bank and in Gaza are satisfied with their lot. They have made clear that the Arabs inside Israel now are capable of staging a major riot which can bring normal life in the Galilee district to a standstill and put a new strain on the police powers of Israel."

The response of the Zionist regime to the March 30 protests was savage. Police throughout Israel were ordered to "keep the peace everywhere and in any way possible."

This order was a license for a pogrom against the Palestinian population. Before the day was over, six persons had been killed and dozens wounded.

As far as the Israelis were concerned, any Arab was fair game. Terence Smith



YITZHAK RABIN: "Baffled" by perseverance of Palestinian protesters.

described the behavior of one group of border guards in Nazareth, suggesting that they had "panicked" after being stoned. "Shouting and waving their nightsticks," Smith said, "they charged through the streets beating any Arab they could find.

"At one point, the enraged guards attacked the home of the recently elected Mayor, Toufik Zayad, a Communist, smashing windows and doors and beating several members of his family and friends who had gathered there."

Friends of the Zionist state worried about its image. "The suppression of these protests by force has given the Israelis another black eye all around the world," Joseph Kraft observed in a column in the April 1 *Washington Post*.

"Israel was once largely perceived as a haven for oppressed Jews. Will it now begin to be seen by many as a country which itself oppresses a million and a half Arabs?" Joseph Harsch asked in the *Christian Science Monitor*.

The Israeli regime was quick to blame the March 30 protests on "outside agitators" and "extremists." Police Minister Shlomo Hillel said at a Jerusalem news

conference, "Due to the influence of events on the West Bank and the encouragement from abroad, we have witnessed something none of us in Israel has experienced before." (Quoted in the March 31 *New York Times*.)

Like their counterparts the world over, the Israeli racists dismiss resistance to oppression as the work of "outside agitators" and "subversives."

But the determination of the Palestinian masses to win freedom was shown again when three victims of the Israeli terror were buried March 31 at Sakhnin, a village in the Galilee area. Ten thousand mourners, including contingents from thirty-six towns and villages, turned out. They raised their fists in unison and chanted, "With spirit and blood we shall free Galilee!"

While Hillel expressed the forlorn hope that the weeks of militant protests by the Palestinian people would disappear and "prove to be a single, isolated incident," Premier Yitzhak Rabin opened up a red-baiting attack. According to Rabin's fantastic charges, the violence on March 30 came not from the killers in the Israeli police and army, but from the Israeli Communist party (Rakah).

"Members of the Communist Party," Rabin said in a March 31 speech to the Knesset, "broke into local councils, bashed heads, broke into schools, beat up teachers and drove out pupils who wanted to study. They threatened and assaulted shop owners who rejected their call, blocked road junctions, damaged property and set fire to vehicles and assaulted the security forces."

If the Palestinians were induced to shut down much of northern Israel by this fictional campaign of minority violence, why weren't they intimidated by the massive campaign of Israeli terror? Rabin has no answer.

Rabin's red-baiting statement was intended to divert attention from the massive character of the Palestinian resistance. It was also intended to set the stage for further victimization of Palestinian militants.

An unsigned dispatch from Tel Aviv in the March 31 *New York Times* noted that "police in northern Israel today rounded up 50 more Arabs suspected of a part in the rioting, bringing the total in custody to 300. The police were said to be studying press photographs of the disturbances and planning further arrests."

But this kind of repression cannot be

New York Solidarity Action

One hundred persons picketed the Israeli mission to the United Nations in New York March 30 to protest the Israeli repression against Palestinian protesters and to show solidarity with the general strike of Arabs in Israel.

The picket line was sponsored by the Organization of Arab Students, Palestine Information Committee, Union of Arab Women, Arab Social Club, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers party, and Youth Against War and Fascism.

counted on to intimidate the Palestinian population. A new generation of Palestinian youth is entering the battle for freedom. Fifty percent of the Palestinians in Israel are below the age of fourteen. Seventy-five percent are below the age of thirty. This generation has not been defeated and broken by repression.

Collaborators with Israel have already begun to be pushed aside in the course of the struggle. Mohammed Ali Ja'abari, the mayor of Hebron, is one example. The seventy-one-year-old Ja'abari, who has ruled Hebron for four decades, is not running for reelection in the municipal elections scheduled for April 12. Ja'abari faced a more militant opponent, and he knew he had little chance of winning.

Another example was the reaction of hundreds of Palestinian youths in Shfar'am. On March 25 they stoned a meeting of traditional village leaders when it failed to support the March 30 strike.

The upsurge against the Israeli occupation on the West Bank that began at the end of January was fueled by the decision of an Israeli court calling into question the status of the Al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, both Islamic holy places. The March 30 general strike originated as a protest against the expropriation of Arab land in the Galilee. But as we have seen, such partial struggles bring the Palestinians into conflict with the Israeli state almost as soon as they begin.

Not only did the Zionist settlers drive the majority of the Palestinian people from their homeland to make way for the Israeli state, but they continue to discriminate against those Palestinians who remain. The Palestinian people are oppressed in every area of life by the racist Israeli settler-state.

There is glaring discrimination in employment, housing, health care, and the allotment of public funds for everything from recreation centers to street paving.

The nearly 500,000 Arabs inside Israel make up 16 percent of the population, but they number only 3 percent of the university students.

Arabic is formally an official language in Israel, but few Israeli officials speak it,

universities do not bother to teach it, and public telephone directories are printed in Hebrew and English, but not Arabic.

The Palestinian masses will no more tolerate this state of affairs indefinitely than will the Blacks in Zimbabwe and South Africa. They have been inspired to

struggle by the worldwide recognition accorded to the Palestine Liberation Organization and by the growing isolation of the Israeli regime. They have been steeled by the brutality and racism of the Israeli occupation forces, and they are determined to fight for their rights. □

Fresh Arrests Reported in Brazil



London Sunday Times

The Geisel dictatorship in Brazil is continuing its repressive drive against alleged members of the Communist party. Brazilian authorities said March 9 that Airtton Albuquerque Queiros, a member of the federal government's price council and a professor at the university in Niteroi, near Rio de Janeiro, had been arrested for questioning.

Leonard Greenwood reported in the March 10 *Los Angeles Times* that "witnesses said they saw four men seize Queiros in Niteroi as he stepped off the ferry from Rio, shove him in a car and drive off. His family and lawyers say they have been unable to locate him."

Twenty-eight professors signed a protest against Queiros's arrest and called on the government to guarantee his safety, according to Greenwood.

Another university professor, Magalhaes de Silveira, a departmental head in the Institute of Mathematics at the Federal University in Rio, was also arrested, as was Luis Paulo Machado, a photographer for the Rio newspaper *O Globo*.

Although the arrests continue, a dispatch from Greenwood that appeared in the February 28 *Los Angeles Times* indicated that the widespread protests have had some impact on the Geisel regime. Greenwood reported that Brazil's two top intelligence officers—Brig. Gen. Confucio Danton de Paula Avelino, and Col. Ruy Cavalcanti Baptista—had been dismissed because the regime had been embarrassed

by a series of deaths at the military interrogation prison in São Paulo.

Previously dismissed was Gen. Eduardo d'Avila Melo, commander of the São Paulo region, who had earlier been warned that no more controversial deaths at the interrogation center were wanted.

U.S. Lawyers Ask Release of Popovic

One hundred and six prominent American lawyers have petitioned Yugoslavia's President Tito to release Srdja Popovic. Popovic, a Belgrade attorney, was charged with "spreading false rumors" after trying to demonstrate in court that statements made by one of his clients were true. He was sentenced to one year in prison March 10, and his case is currently being appealed before the Supreme Court of Serbia.

The petition on Popovic's behalf was submitted to Tito by Jerome J. Shestack, chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man. It asserts that Popovic's defense methods were "appropriate" and "clearly permitted" under Yugoslav law, and warns that if the charges against Popovic are upheld, political dissidents "will find themselves deprived of effective counsel" as a result.

IMF Grants Zaïre \$65.5 Million Loan

The International Monetary Fund has approved an immediate loan of \$65.5 million to Zaïre, to be disbursed in U.S. dollars, Japanese yen, and Dutch guilders. The IMF also authorized a \$47.5 million standby loan that may be drawn during the next twelve months to help the Mobutu regime meet its international debts. IMF sources said that Zaïre may receive a further \$34.8 million special loan to help it pay for its oil imports.

Mobutu's economic difficulties stem largely from a 40 percent decline in copper exports last year. Part of that decline was caused by the civil war in neighboring Angola, which disrupted Zaïre's normal transport route along Angola's Benguela railway. In 1975, the Mobutu regime fell far behind on the repayment of loans from American and other foreign commercial banks.

On March 12, Mobutu devalued the country's currency by 42.1 percent.

Plyushch Answers Jackson

By David Frankel

More than 3,000 persons came to greet Leonid Plyushch at a meeting held March 27 in Manhattan Center in New York. The meeting opened a speaking tour of the United States and Canada by the former Soviet political prisoner.

Unfortunately, the meeting, which was sponsored mainly by the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, was marred by the inclusion of well-known representatives of the Democratic party on the list of speakers, including Senator Henry Jackson, who is running for the presidency of the United States.

These anti-Sovietees, all of whom spoke before Plyushch, sought to turn the meeting into a right-wing political rally.

Plyushch, who is not interested in becoming involved in American politics and still less in being used by imperialist enemies of the Soviet Union, felt compelled to take his distance from these speakers, particularly Jackson.

"It is immoral," Plyushch said, "to speak out against violations of human rights in the Soviet Union and not in Chile—and vice versa. That is cannibal morality—it is all right if I eat the enemy but bad if the enemy eats me."

Turning to Jackson, Plyushch referred to the case of José Luis Massera, a leader of the Uruguayan Communist party imprisoned and tortured by the Bordaberry regime. He called on Jackson to support the campaign to free Massera.

Plyushch then stressed the importance of actively supporting the efforts to win freedom for the political prisoners imprisoned and tortured by the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile:

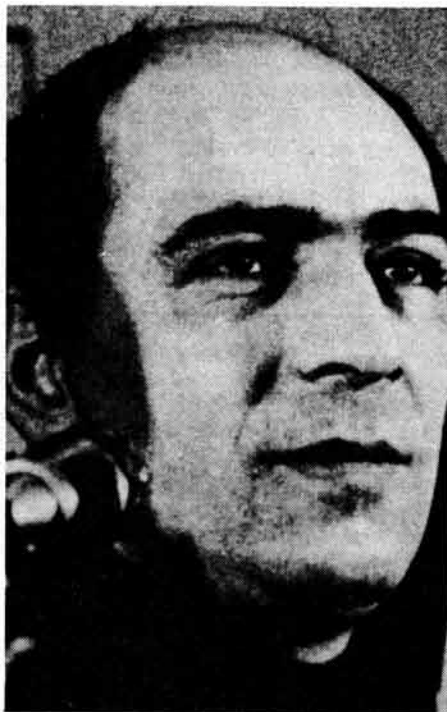
"A struggle for Chilean political prisoners is developing. It must be pointed out that the repression in Chile is very severe. After all, even in the USSR singers do not have their hands chopped off.

"Mr. Jackson, your authority is very great. Your participating in the struggle for freedom in Chile would be very important."

Plyushch also brought up the case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, who were murdered in the electric chair during the regime of General Eisenhower for allegedly stealing the "secret" of the atomic bomb.

"The children of the Rosenbergs are seeking to obtain from the U.S. government the complete file on their parents' case," Plyushch said.

"I do not know if the Rosenbergs were Soviet spies or not, but I do not understand



Informations Ouvrières
LEONID PLYUSHCH

why their children cannot be permitted to have the material in this case.

"This situation is analogous to the case of Bukharin in the Soviet Union. Bukharin's widow has fought for years now for the restoration of his good name, but the Soviet government has refused to rehabilitate him formally. I hope the American government is more intelligent and humane.

"I ask Mr. Jackson to support the effort of the Rosenberg children to obtain the complete file.

"If Mr. Jackson acts on these three requests it will show that he is speaking in behalf of human rights, not out of expedient political considerations, but for genuine moral ones.

"There are four Ukrainian women political prisoners whose action should be an example for all of us. They requested that the money they are paid for laboring in the camp should go for the defense of Chilean political prisoners. These are so-called Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. But their action is an example of true humanism, true internationalism.

"We Soviet dissidents, democrats by conviction, appeal to the American people:

Fight for political freedom throughout the world. You, a great and powerful people, will to a great extent determine the fate of all the peoples of the world."

Right-wingers in the audience hissed Plyushch. Although they had joined in the ovation given Plyushch at the beginning of the meeting, they were obviously shocked that Plyushch did not share their anti-Soviet sentiments and was critical of their hero Jackson.

The senator did not respond to the critical observations made by the recently released Soviet political prisoner. He did not add his voice to those condemning the murderous right-wing dictatorships supported by the State Department in Latin America. He did not join in the effort to clear the names of the martyred Rosenbergs. To have responded favorably to Plyushch's remarks might have cost Jackson some votes in the Democratic primaries.

It was noticeable after the meeting that not one of the big capitalist dailies reported the reception given Plyushch upon his arrival in "free" America. This, of course, saved Jackson from the embarrassment of having to make clear where he stood on such a hot political issue as the Rosenberg case.

Other speakers at the meeting extended from Michael Harrington, a longtime Social Democratic leader who still poses as a socialist, to Congressman Edward Koch, who if anything stands to the right of Jackson.

Harrington's main contribution, aside from asserting the obvious fact that Soviet society is not socialist, was to bring greetings to the meeting from Morris Udall, a liberal rival of Jackson in the Democratic primaries.

Inez Weissman, a leader of the Long Island Committee for Soviet Jewry and the Labor Zionist Alliance, hailed Jackson's efforts on behalf of Soviet Jews "as a monument to American moral principle."

Vladimir Markman, a Soviet Jew now living in Israel, and Vladimir Davidoff, a Soviet emigrant living in the United States, both stressed the importance of Jackson's 1974 amendment linking U.S.-Soviet trade to the lifting of restrictions on emigration from the USSR.

Congressman Edward Koch tried to whip up the audience. "What is taking place inside the Soviet Union . . . rivals Nazi Germany," he said. He called for ending the sale of wheat to the USSR and denounced Ford for the "outrageous act of refusing to have Solzhenitsyn come to the White House."

Simas Kudirka, a former Lithuanian sailor, also compared the Brezhnev regime to the Nazis and lamented that what he saw as "the only ray of hope" at the United Nations—Daniel P. Moynihan—had been "extinguished" by Ford.

Pavel Litvinov, the grandson of Maxim Litvinov, who served as Stalin's foreign

minister during the 1930s, gave a straightforward appeal for the defense of those victimized by the Kremlin bureaucracy, as did Tatyana Zhitnikova, Plyushch's wife.

Some criticisms have been voiced of the mistake made by the sponsors of the meeting in including figures like Jackson and Koch on the speakers' list. Their presence injured the work of seeking freedom for political prisoners in the Soviet Union.

The fact is that the sponsors of the meeting followed a course different from the one that gained the release of Plyushch. In this respect, it is worth recalling how Plyushch came to be freed.

The group that played a key role in winning Plyushch's release was the International Committee of Mathematicians for the Defense of Shikhanovich and Plyushch. (Shikhanovich, a Moscow mathematician who was arrested in 1972, was released in the summer of 1974.)

The formation of this committee was announced in Paris in February 1974. Although the committee included individuals of all political views, its members were academic figures who were not linked to any imperialist government or to any propaganda agency designed to further imperialist objectives.

Many of those in the committee, including two of its founders, Michel Broué and Laurent Schwartz, had participated actively in the movement against the war in Vietnam and in the defense of political prisoners victimized by right-wing dictatorships.

In August 1974 the committee raised Plyushch's case at the International Congress of Mathematicians in Vancouver. Nearly 1,000 participants in that congress signed a petition for the release of Plyushch. The British Royal College of Psychiatry and the World Association of Psychiatry protested the violation of medical ethics revealed by the treatment of Plyushch. Professor Lucio Lombardo Radice, a member of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist party, added his voice to the campaign to free Plyushch.

On October 23, 1975, the committee of mathematicians organized a protest rally in Paris attended by 4,000 persons. Most of the French left, with the exception of the Communist party, endorsed the rally.

Two days later, the daily newspaper of the French CP, *l'Humanité*, was forced to take note of the Plyushch case because of the impact of that rally. "If it is true—and unfortunately up until now no proof to the contrary has been forthcoming—that this mathematician is interned in a psychiatric hospital solely because he has taken a position against certain aspects of Soviet policy or against the regime itself," an editorial in *l'Humanité* said, "we can only affirm in the most forthright manner our total disapproval and demand that he be freed as rapidly as possible."

The pressure of these events was felt in

Moscow, and on December 26, 1975, Tatyana Zhitnikova, who had been seeking permission to leave the USSR with her husband and family for months, was suddenly informed that she should reapply for visas. Two weeks later the Plyushch family was allowed to leave the Soviet Union.

This is the pattern that ought to be continued.

Plyushch himself, as he indicated at the March 27 meeting, is interested in extend-

ing such efforts to all countries where democratic rights have been trampled underfoot. For this purpose he has urged the organization of a nonpartisan international committee.

Whether a broad international committee of this kind can be set up in the immediate future remains to be seen. Meanwhile the struggle to free other Plyushchs can certainly be continued. And the struggle can achieve new successes if the right methods are followed. □

An Appeal From the Sister of Mustafa Dzhemilev

[The following appeal in behalf of imprisoned Crimean Tatar Mustafa Dzhemilev was issued by his sister Vasfie Khairova. It was released at a news conference organized in Moscow December 3, 1975, by dissident communist Pyotr Grigorenko and physicist Andrei Sakharov. The translation is by Hilary Jaeger.]

My brother Mustafa, even when he was young, could not keep silent when he saw injustices committed against the Crimean Tatars and their suffering and dying in places of exile. He began to protest against the illegalities perpetrated against his nation. Because of this the authorities took a disliking to him.

He was not allowed to study in the institute and was expelled in his third year. Then he was tried and imprisoned for a year and a half. Since 1966 he has not had one good day. [. . .]* he is imprisoned for no reason at all and sentenced to various terms. A fourth trial now awaits him.

During those short intervals after 1966 when he was not imprisoned, Mustafa was harassed by endless summonses to the KGB and the police, by threats of humiliation, and was held under arrest for fifteen days.

Now his life is in extreme danger. Mama and my brother visited him [. . .] they say that physically he is very weak, but his spirit is unswerving. He would rather die than live in perpetual confinement.

This is how he has always been. Kind and gentle in dealing with good people, but stern and unbending when he encounters injustice. Mother came back from the meeting in tears; she fears for his life. While she was present, he lost consciousness twice.

At our request Pyotr Grigorevich wrote to the Prosecutor's Office of the RSFSR [Russian Republic] asking that Mustafa be released in our custody until the trial, so that we could feed him well. The Prosecutor's Office answered, "Your appeal was sent to the Omsk Prosecutor's Office for the appropriate decision. The Prosecutor's

Office of the Russian Republic will then examine the response." But in Omsk they would not speak with Mama.

I went to the Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Republic. There, they laughed at me: "What's the matter with you! What further answers do you want? No one is going to free him. He is emaciated—that's his own fault: Why is he going without food? If we were to release a hunger striker, everyone would start a hunger strike." That's what confronts us. They respond to you in writing with: "The matter is being examined." And at face-to-face meetings, they make fun of you.

A little bit about my trip here. At the airport they searched me. They stated that they were looking for explosives. I asked, "Why are you only searching my things and letting the others go through without being searched?" But I did not receive a coherent answer.

When they were searching my bag they took a notebook out of it and leafed through the whole thing, reading over notes. I asked, "Can explosives really be put into the notes of this small book?" They only muttered something indistinct.

After that, in the waiting room I was put under surveillance. They no doubt thought that something would be delivered to me. The person following me sometimes came right up to me. At 2:00 a.m. I said to him, you are torturing yourself and losing sleep for nothing! He said, "We've got to keep our eyes on you Tatars at all times. But you will fly to Moscow for nothing. We were forewarned. They will meet you there! Half of your people there have already been kept away."

However, I went and arrived safely. But others had it worse. Amet Abduramanov said that he and three other Tatars were detained at the Tashkent airport.

They were carrying two suitcases of documents with thousands of Crimean Tatar signatures to the Central Committee of the CPSU. These letters with signatures were taken from them. They also took away their airline tickets. The money, it is true, was returned. This is the kind of "freedom of movement" in our own country that the authorities have arranged for us, the Crimean Tatars. □

* Russian phrase illegible.

Imperialists Lock Arms to Delay Majority Rule in Zimbabwe

By Ernest Harsch

London and Washington, the two Western imperialist powers most deeply involved in maintaining white domination in southern Africa, have stepped up their efforts to head off a massive upsurge by the African population of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Their overall strategy is to derail the Black struggle for *immediate* majority rule, while at the same time seeking to substitute a neocolonial regime in place of the direct imperialist control now exercised through the racist white-settler regime. The aim is to find a more stable instrument to protect imperialist interests.

The most recent diplomatic maneuvers followed the breakdown of negotiations between Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and Zimbabwean nationalist leader Joshua Nkomo March 19. They also came as the Black freedom fighters continued to carry out guerrilla actions in eastern Zimbabwe.

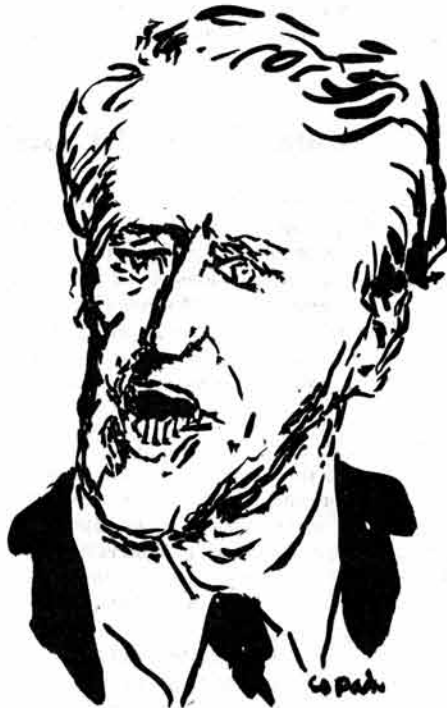
London, still officially the colonial power in Zimbabwe, presented a set of proposals to Smith March 22 that were ostensibly designed to lead the country toward Black majority rule. The proposals were outlined in the House of Commons by Foreign Secretary James Callaghan, a front-runner among the candidates to replace Harold Wilson as head of the Labour government.

The main purpose of the proposals was to apply diplomatic pressure on Smith to make concessions to the Black nationalist leaders. Callaghan called on Smith to accept the principle of majority rule and to hold "democratic" elections within eighteen months to two years.

If Smith reached an agreement with Nkomo and other nationalist leaders on these points, Callaghan said, London would be willing to participate in the talks to help work out new election procedures and the form of the new government.

Callaghan's statement included an appeal to the white Rhodesian settlers to dump Smith if he is unwilling to accept the proposals. "As things are," Callaghan said, "Mr Smith is leading his country on the path of death and destruction. Even at this late stage I ask the European population of Rhodesia to believe that there is an alternative path—if it is still just possible for Smith to follow it. If not, I hope other leaders will emerge. . . ."

Callaghan coupled this pressure with financial inducements to the white settlers. London, he said, was ready to consider "financial and other means" to assist



SMITH: Steps up forced resettlement of Blacks.

"those Europeans who are prepared to put their faith in Rhodesia" by remaining after a Black government is installed. The aid would include direct grants and loans, as well as British efforts to lift the United Nations-sponsored economic sanctions against the country.

Callaghan also expressed one of the prime concerns of the British imperialists when he said that "in a final settlement all should be ready to agree that guerrilla activity should cease."

Although Callaghan did not spell out London's real aims in trying to arrange an "orderly" transition to majority rule, the London financial weekly *Economist* did. In a lead article in its March 27 issue, the *Economist* said that if London were able to participate in negotiations between the white settlers and the Zimbabweans, "it would have something to say on the scope of the franchise, which will help to decide what sort of men will lead the first majority-rule government."

It continued: "The first reason why Britain might rejoin the negotiations, even at this eleventh hour, would be the hope of helping the negotiations to produce a

relatively moderate first majority-rule government. . . ."

Although Washington did not specifically come out in support of the British proposals, it has in general backed London's efforts to contain the Zimbabwean drive for majority rule within acceptable channels. For instance, Secretary of State Kissinger declared March 16 that Washington "will do nothing to help the white minority to exercise authority in Rhodesia."

However, the *New York Times*, one of the most influential bourgeois newspapers in the United States, did address itself directly to the Callaghan proposals. In a March 23 editorial it stressed that "the stakes are so great in southern Africa and the cost of failure is likely to be so catastrophic that Britain deserves support in this latest, desperate effort."

Despite these pressures, Smith rejected the British proposals the day after Callaghan presented them. He characterized the Callaghan proposals as "no less extreme than those of the African National Council," a wing of which Smith had held discussions with until March 19.

For the Rhodesian settlers, the loss of political power to a Black government would mean an end to their privileged social and economic position, which has been maintained thus far only through their domination of the African majority.

Smith is intensifying the antiguerrilla campaign. In early March the regime announced that it was also expanding its program of forced resettlement of the Black population in rural areas so as to isolate the guerrillas from their base of support. The March 21 London *Sunday Times* reported that many Black farm workers were being arrested on suspicion of aiding the freedom fighters.

Faced with the mounting warfare in Zimbabwe, Washington and London have also sought to keep the armed conflict from spreading to the rest of southern Africa. The White House, in an effort to bolster Ford's image among right-wing voters, has concentrated particular fire on the issue of Cuban troops.

On March 22 Kissinger declared that "Angola has set no precedent" and warned that Washington would oppose the use of Cuban troops elsewhere in Africa, even against the white minority regimes. Other State Department and Pentagon officials said Washington would consider direct action against Cuba itself if Havana did not heed Kissinger's warnings.

Kissinger also warned the Mozambique regime, which has provided aid and sanctuary for the Zimbabwean freedom fighters, that Washington would not support "those who rely on Cuban troops." Kissinger similarly warned the Zimbabwean liberation groups, according to a report by Jonathan Steele in the March 28 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, "that any reliance by them on Cuban troops would forfeit future cooperation with the United States."

London echoed Kissinger's threats. On March 23 Callaghan reportedly told visiting Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko that any Soviet or Cuban intervention in Zimbabwe, even indirect, would be construed as a direct attack against Britain itself.

At a March 25 news conference, Gromyko tried to reassure the British imperialists that Moscow had no such intentions.

"Frequently," he said, "the Soviet Union is referred to when the subject of Rhodesia or Namibia [South-West Africa] comes up, but the Soviet Union has nothing whatever to do with either of those areas." □

World Bank Gives Congo Republic \$38 Million Loan for Railway

The World Bank has approved a loan of \$38 million to the Congo Republic to help finance a major railroad project. The \$233.8 million project in the Congo is to be partially financed by loans from the Common Market, the African Development Bank, and several Arab countries.

The railroad will be part of a broader 1,835-mile network of railroads, highways, and rivers designed to facilitate exports from the landlocked Central African Republic and from parts of Cameroon, Gabon, and Chad, as well as handling the Congo Republic's traffic.

Blacks 'Routinely' Tortured in Zimbabwe

Many hundreds of Africans in northeastern Zimbabwe, an area of guerrilla activity, have been "routinely" tortured, according to a report released by Amnesty International in London March 29.

The report, based in part on the testimony of missionaries, scored the Smith regime's "refusal to establish an independent inquiry into allegations of atrocities committed by the Rhodesian security forces."

According to Amnesty International, the torture techniques used by the Rhodesian authorities include "beating on the body with fists and sticks, beating on the soles of the feet with sticks, and the application of electric shocks by means of electrodes or cattle goads. In addition, torture victims have been threatened with castration or immersed head first in barrels of water until unconscious."

Amnesty International also estimated that more than 700 Blacks are being detained without trial. Some of them have already spent ten years in prison. More than 500 additional political prisoners have been convicted on charges of belonging to a banned political organization or allegedly carrying out guerrilla actions.

In addition, more than sixty persons have been hanged, sometimes after secret trials, since the white Rhodesian settlers unilaterally declared the country's "independence" from Britain in 1965. The death penalty is mandatory for conviction on charges of arson, participation in guerrilla attacks involving explosives, or of recruiting guerrillas. The death penalty may also

be imposed for possessing arms, carrying out "terrorist" acts, or sheltering guerrillas.

Amnesty International examined another technique of repression widely used by the white supremacist regime: the forced resettlement of entire villages into barbed-wire-enclosed "protected villages." The civil-rights group estimated that between 100,000 and 300,000 Blacks have already been herded into these compounds. (Rhodesian officials recently admitted that between 175,000 and 200,000 have so far been resettled.)

One day before the Amnesty International report was released, another account of Rhodesian brutality and torture against suspected guerrilla supporters appeared in the March 28 *London Sunday Times*. Written by Don Waters, who was an English school inspector for five years with the Rhodesian Ministry of African Education, the account described the "interrogation" methods employed by the police and military against Black teachers and students in the Mtoko area in northeastern Zimbabwe.

S. Tauya, acting headmaster of Masarakufa school, told Waters that on September 22, 1975, all the pupils and six Black teachers were ordered by three white soldiers to go to an interrogation area. "Mr Tauya, the first teacher to be questioned, was taken some distance away near a hut," Waters reported. "He was asked if he had seen any terrorists or strange men the previous day. When he said he had not, he was accused of lying and assaulted for some minutes by the soldiers—one with a heavy stick and the other with a whip. According to Mr Tauya, some of the boys as well as the teachers were beaten."

Waters also quoted the story of Mr. Njagu, a teacher at Madimutsa school. "I was asked what I knew of the movements of terrorists in the area," Njagu said. "I said I knew nothing but they said I was lying. . . . I was told to take off all my clothes and I was tied to a tree with my hands behind my back. One of the Europeans cut a stick and lashed me across the back while he demanded information. . . ."

The district commissioner of Mudzi, a Mr. Collett, tried to justify this practice to Waters. "You must realise there's another side to this problem," Collett said. "You see, all Africans, including teachers, are such accomplished liars that if you're fairly sure someone has some information the only way to get it is to beat it out of him." □

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South African Troops Pull Out of Angola

By Ernest Harsch

The last South African forces stationed in southern Angola were withdrawn March 27, ending more than six months of military intervention. Several thousand troops crossed the Cunene River into Namibia (South-West Africa), a territory occupied and administered by the racist regime in Pretoria.

With the South African withdrawal completed, the most immediate danger to Angola's independence has receded. But Pretoria coupled its pullback with an implicit threat of possible future attacks against Angola.

Defense Minister Pieter W. Botha, who saluted the last unit of troops as they crossed the river, made clear that Pretoria would maintain a large military force just south of the border as long as Cuban troops are stationed in Angola and South African control of Namibia appears endangered.

"We want peace," Botha declared, "but until peace exists properly we shall be on the alert and shall remain on our side of the border to protect the interests for which we are responsible."

Pretoria's interests in the region include a more than \$200 million investment in the giant Cunene hydroelectric dam project, which is still under construction in southern Angola. The Cunene project, which is scheduled to supply nearly all the power for Namibia, as well as for parts of southern Angola, is a cornerstone of the South African imperialists' efforts to increase the exploitation of Namibia's vast mineral wealth.

South African authorities are also concerned about the continuing guerrilla activities of the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for Namibia's independence. The SWAPO freedom fighters have launched some of their actions into Namibia from camps in southern Angola.

Employing a policy of "hot pursuit," South African forces carried out attacks against these camps as early as June 1975. As long as Pretoria maintains its control of Namibia, the danger of similar raids into Angola remains.

When the South African troops pulled out of Angola, an estimated 1,600 Black refugees from the Angolan civil war also crossed the border. Another 4,000 refugees remained behind in two camps, Cuangar and Calai, which had been run by the South Africans until their departure.

Most of the Angolan refugees were reported to be members or supporters of the UNITA and FNLA, which had been



Informations Ouvrières
AGOSTINHO NETO

defeated in the civil war by the MPLA.* The refugees, who asked for political asylum in Namibia, said they feared reprisals by the MPLA.

Diplomatic pressure on Pretoria to withdraw its troops was stepped up March 10 when the Kenya regime, on behalf of the Organization of African Unity, called on the United Nations to convene a meeting of the Security Council. The African delegates at the United Nations demanded that the Security Council adopt a resolution condemning the South African aggression in Angola.

Although Pretoria generally tries to ignore international denunciations of its policies and actions, it is concerned that such pressure may force its imperialist allies to curtail their support for the racist regime. For example, both London and

*União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (Angolan National Liberation Front), and Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

Washington, two of Pretoria's most important allies, indicated that they would not veto the resolution before the Security Council. (The resolution was passed March 31 with Washington, London, Paris, Rome, and Tokyo abstaining.)

Pretoria attempted to undercut the UN debate by offering to withdraw its troops about a week before the Security Council was to meet. At the same time, however, it sought concessions from the MPLA regime.

"We need some face-saving device for withdrawing our soldiers," a South African official was quoted as saying in the March 14 *New York Times*. "It mustn't look as if we are running away from the Cubans."

In a message to UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim March 20, Pretoria said, "We have during the past few days received, through a third party, assurances which in general terms appear to be acceptable to us." The British Foreign Office revealed the following day that London and Moscow were the "third parties" that had helped to secure the guarantees from the MPLA. British sources said that Angola had been discussed a week earlier by British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan, a leading contender for the post of prime minister, and Soviet Ambassador Nikolai Lunkov.

Angola was also discussed during Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko's visit to Britain. At a March 25 news conference in London, Gromyko said that Callaghan and he had "expressed our understanding that Angola and the area around it can be resolved constructively given certain circumstances and given the desire of the parties concerned. Something like that is in the making."

David B. Ottaway reported in the March 26 *Washington Post* that Soviet officials had first approached London with a list of demands and assurances from the MPLA on the weekend of March 13.

On March 20, the MPLA regime released a statement in Luanda outlining the guarantees it offered in return for the South African withdrawal from Angola.

The major item was the MPLA's pledge to safeguard the Cunene hydroelectric project. "The People's Republic of Angola," the MPLA said, "will not refuse to Namibia the power and water which that country needs."

However, the MPLA did not promise to curb the activities of the SWAPO guerrillas, as Pretoria had earlier demanded. In fact, MPLA officials have said they will provide SWAPO with aid and sanctuary. But the MPLA did assure Pretoria that it would not commit its own troops to the struggle for Namibia's independence.

MPLA President Agostinho Neto said the previous week that his government did not intend to intervene in Namibia, or any other country, since Angola "has many internal problems to resolve." □

Portuguese Building Workers Defy CP Leaders and MFA

By Gerry Foley

Building workers in three Portuguese cities—Beja, Braga, and Setúbal—announced their intention March 25 to go on strike April 11, in defiance of the Armed Forces Movement and the Communist party-controlled national union leadership.

A strike scheduled by the national union for March 22 was canceled under pressure from the Council of the Revolution, the leading body of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), which claimed that the strikes that have developed in the country recently in defense of previous gains are part of a plot to sabotage the April 25 elections. The Communist party capitulated to the military pressure and apparently forced the union to retreat. A dispatch by the Soviet news agency Tass reported March 22:

The decision of the building workers union leaders was made after a discussion with President F. da Costa Gomes.

In the building workers union statement, it was noted that "in deciding to call off the strike, the building workers proceeded from a fear that their action might provoke a deterioration of the situation in the country, which is the aim of the reactionary forces". . . .

A day or so ago, the general secretary of the Portuguese CP, Alvaro Cunhal, exposed the machinations of the rightist forces. He declared that "at the present moment, any instability in the situation only plays into the hands of reaction."

Such an abrupt about-face by the Stalinist union leaders could hardly fail to provoke bitterness among the building workers. In September, October, and November 1975, after the fall of the Gonçalves government, which favored a special alliance with the CP, the Stalinists decided to support and even encourage some strikes.

Their objective was to try to maintain as much influence in the state apparatus and press as possible by putting the new sixth provisional government, which was giving the plums to their rival workers party, the Socialist party, on the defensive.

The building workers' strike on November 12, followed by an occupation of the grounds around the government palace, developed within the framework of this limited CP counteroffensive. The workers forced the government to grant their demands, and they brought it to the verge of collapse.

This, however, encouraged the CP and its supporters to overplay their hand. On November 25, they became involved in what looked like a military coup to restore the Gonçalves regime. The government



Imor/La Dernière Heure
CUNHAL

sprang its trap and crushed the pro-Gonçalves, pro-CP, and left elements in the armed forces.

It also dealt the CP and its centrist and ultraleft allies a stunning blow, identifying them with a so-called military plot to impose a "Communist dictatorship" on the country. Since that time, the CP has been in retreat and apparently losing support.

The CP's attempt to use its control of the unions to press for more influence in the capitalist government proved to be self-defeating. It aroused the fears of the non-Communist workers and petty bourgeoisie; and it disappointed the workers who had placed their hopes in the CP because for a time it seemed to be putting up a fight against the bourgeois government.

Once its pressure tactic was defeated, the CP capitulated completely to the government, and the sellout of the building workers on March 22 was its latest obeisance to the Armed Forces Movement, which no longer relies on a special alliance with the Stalinists.

The biggest losers in the wake of the November 25 adventure were the building workers. When the government declared a state of siege, allegedly to crush the "military conspiracy," one of the first things it did was take back its concessions to the building workers.

Supposedly these concessions were only

"suspended," but as the government has increasingly consolidated its position since November 25-27, it has become more and more apparent that it has no intention of making good on its promises. The March 22 strike date was set simply to press the government to keep some of the commitments it made in November.

This setback has been a bitter one for the building workers, who are one of the most numerous and brutally exploited sections of the Portuguese working class. They are also among those most hard hit by rising unemployment.

The Struggle Committees of the building workers in Beja, Braga, and Setúbal answered the union leadership's decision to call off the March 22 strike by saying in a communiqué that the workers in the construction industry had been "betrayed again":

In April, the progressive Eugénio Rosa tried to get the construction workers to enlist in the battle for production, to put aside their just demands. Then in the period from July to October [the period in which the CP was the only party in the government], our friend Costa Martins, the minister of labor in the Gonçalves governments, and his team put our contract away in a drawer. The Negotiating Committee for the industry, made up of union leaderships that for the most part were identified with the battle for production and headed by the leadership of the Lisbon Building Workers Union, endorsed this betrayal. . . .

Afterward there was the November strike, into which we were led in support of our just demands. Today we know that these demands were exploited for political objectives contrary to our interests as workers. Then, we were put off by promises, and got caught by the suspension of collective bargaining.

The communiqué ended by saying: "The building workers will prove that they can fight back and that they will not continue to be playthings in the hands of opportunists."

It is not yet clear, however, whether any kind of alternative leadership has developed even on the trade-union level that can assure an effective counterattack by the building workers.

There are many irresponsible elements, moreover, that are trying to exploit the frustration of the workers who looked to the CP. Their objectives are hardly more honest than those of Cunhal's party. But it is clear that there is a strong reaction among the workers to the betrayals of the SP and the CP, and that their spirit of combativity remains high. □

Brezhnev and Soviet Democracy

By Ernest Mandel

For two decades revolutionary Marxists and other opposition communists have conducted a vigorous discussion about the model of a developed socialist society. The combined effect of the rise of the world revolution and the crisis of Stalinism has increasingly injected this debate into the ranks of the Communist parties both in the capitalist countries and the bureaucratized workers states. Finally, this has not failed to have an impact even on the top echelons of the Communist party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). One of the most notable features of the otherwise colorless and undistinguished Twenty-Fifth Congress of the CPSU is the fact that Brezhnev and his collaborators were obliged to take up this series of questions.

They did so in a crude, clumsy, and demagogic way, that is, as befits typical leaders of the bureaucracy, a materially privileged layer that is obliged both to defend and to conceal its social position. Brezhnev's excursions into Marxist-Leninist theory were no more successful than his endeavors in the field of agriculture.

However, the fact that the bureaucracy did take up these questions is a new indication that slowly but surely the ground under their feet is getting too hot for them. The political revolution in the USSR, that is, the struggle for the right of the workers to exercise real soviet power and soviet democracy in the state and economy, is advancing in the same way as in the capitalist countries. It is following a contradictory course, often with a cadence of "one step forward, two steps backward," too slowly, too unevenly to achieve a rapid victory. But the main thing is that it is advancing! In their own way and in spite of themselves, Brezhnev and Company objectively testify to this.

Democratic Rights for Soviet Citizens

According to the version in the international press (at this writing, I still do not have the official Soviet text of Brezhnev's report), the first secretary of the CPSU discussed soviet democracy in the following Byzantine style:

Developing the political system in Soviet society to the fullest is an important area in the work in building communism. This endeavor aims at perfecting the system of socialist institutions, continually advancing socialist democracy, consolidating the juridical bases of the operation of the state and society, and

intensifying the activity of the social organizations. (*Le Monde*, February 26.)

What is striking in this passage is these bureaucrats' obvious revision of the classical positions of Marx and Lenin regarding soviet, socialist democracy. When Lenin, following Marx and Engels, defined soviet or socialist democracy, and when these principles were institutionalized by the first soviet constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in 1918 (which in its general lines was incorporated into the constitution of the USSR in 1924), the focus was much more concretely and specifically on *the rights of working people*.

Then the focus was on the need to *extend* the rights of the working people in the cities and in the countryside beyond those available under a bourgeois democratic republic. Nor did this refer only to social and economic rights such as the right to a job, equality with respect to the means of production (that is, abolition of private ownership of the means of production), and the right to free education and medical care. It also referred *explicitly* to *political rights*—the right of any group of working people to free access to the printing presses and meeting halls, the right to form political and social organizations, freedom to demonstrate, freedom of the press, and so on.

These rights, which were reduced to limited formal generalities in the Soviet constitution of 1936, were specifically confirmed in the constitution that was in force from 1918 to 1924. *Furthermore, in the earlier constitution there was no reference to the CPSU as the official party or to its holding a political monopoly.* This corresponded completely to the teachings of Marx and Lenin. Anyone can read this in Lenin's *State and Revolution*. This, however, is not what Brezhnev was talking about.

One of Brezhnev's closest collaborators, Kirilenko, tried to avoid the problem at the French CP congress with the following formula:

The laws of the Soviet state clearly set down and firmly guarantee such individual rights as freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, freedom of conscience and religious belief, the inviolability of the person and the home. All these rights and all these freedoms are fully guaranteed to Soviet citizens. That is the real situation in the Soviet Union. . . .

The Soviet people, whose will is expressed in the laws of our socialist state, is categorically opposed to giving a free hand to individuals who

do harm to the socialist society and the security of the country, individuals such as those who in order to achieve their reactionary objectives do not hesitate to enter into direct contact with imperialist centers of diversion and with foreign counterrevolutionary organizations. (*Le Monde*, February 8-9.)

Obviously the second paragraph contradicts and largely cancels the first. The first paragraph says that all Soviet citizens enjoy complete freedom of opinion and of the press. The second says that we, the Soviet bureaucracy that claims to speak in the name of the Soviet people, will not allow anyone to speak who harms the socialist society. But who decides whether an opinion is harmful to Soviet society? The way the bureaucracy decides this question is well known. Anyone who expresses any criticism of the general line of the CPSU is a troublemaker and should not have the right to speak. But where is this set down in the constitution? Where does it say this in the works of Marx and Lenin? So, this leads us to the paradoxical situation that today in the USSR *anyone who demands the rights of opinion and freedom of the press that are set down in the Soviet constitution is sentenced to long years in prison for anti-Soviet agitation!*

Building Socialism and the Role of Criticism

In his report to the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the CPSU, Brezhnev tried to extricate himself from this theoretical dilemma by a reference to Lenin, raising the argument of the needs of building socialism:

As Lenin said, in our society everything that promotes building socialism is moral, and everything that obstructs this task we reject. . . . We know now, not only in theory but through long years of experience, that true democracy is impossible without socialism, just as socialism is impossible without a continual advance of democracy. (*Le Monde*, February 26.)

Once again, the second part of this proposition totally contradicts the first part. If it is, in fact, true that socialism is unrealizable without democracy, then it follows that democracy promotes building socialism rather than obstructing it. Thus, criticism, even of the general line, must be not only tolerated but encouraged (since, to use Rosa Luxemburg's rich formulation, democracy is always for those who dissent). Without such an open, clear, and sharp counterposition of various political lines and various roads in building socialism, it is impossible either to raise the average level of political consciousness of the working people or to find the best road.

Two recent examples can illustrate this. The Soviet economy has been in a deep crisis for decades. The present grain shortage, which has led to massive purchases in the United States, is only one of the most recent expressions of this. Can anyone claim, to begin with, that if in

recent years (and decades!) there had been an open discussion in the USSR of alternative policies for agriculture and for managing the national economy—i.e., a discussion of alternative models and roads of economic growth—that *no one* could have come up with anything better (that is, more successful for the USSR!) than the Central Committee (CC) of the CPSU?

If they really upheld the Stalinist dogma of the infallibility of the majority in the CC of the CPSU (which hardly anyone would openly do anymore), wouldn't it have been desirable to let the opponents of the general line air their views publicly, since their ineffectualness could only have underscored the authority of the CC of the CPSU? Does anyone, on the other hand, realistically think that if more effective alternatives to the official general line could have been dissected in open discussion, that this would not have greatly benefited the Soviet people and state, as well as the construction of socialism?

The military intervention of the Warsaw Pact armies in Czechoslovakia in 1968 provoked a sharp discussion in the world Communist movement. This debate is one of the sources of the present differences and discords between the Soviet bureaucracy and the West European mass CPs in Italy, France, Spain, and elsewhere.

At the Twenty-Fifth Congress, representatives of these parties spoke, although in a cautious and muffled way, for a pluralistic model of socialism (that is, for the existence of more than one party, and even of opposition parties, during the building of socialism). They did this for their own largely electoral opportunist reasons, to increase their "democratic credibility" with the Social Democracy and the bourgeoisie in their countries. They did not draw the slightest conclusion from this about the need for restoring proletarian democracy in their own ranks and in the trade unions and other mass organizations they lead.

But since Brezhnev let them speak to the 5,000 delegates to the Twenty-Fifth Congress in Moscow, then they were obviously not "agents of the imperialist centers of diversion and of counterrevolutionary organizations." So, how can it be explained that Soviet citizens who defend *identical* views in the USSR are sentenced to long prison terms for "anti-Soviet agitation"?

If there is an open discussion in the world Communist movement about the reasons behind the intervention in Czechoslovakia, and several positions have been taken, including some that directly contradict the general line of the CPSU, why shouldn't such a discussion take place in the USSR? *Why do the foreign Communists from the capitalist countries have more political rights to freedom of opinion and freedom of the press both in those countries and in the Soviet Union than Soviet Communists and Soviet citizens?*

In his report to the Twenty-Fifth Congress, Brezhnev felt compelled to defend the KGB against criticism. He presented things as if this agency were used only against foreign spies and diversionists.



BREZHNEV

This is an obvious falsification of the real state of affairs. There is no end of evidence of the Soviet secret police being used against Soviet citizens solely for the purposes of political repression, that is, against opponents or mere critics (often, even very mild critics) of the general line of the CPSU.

One member of Brezhnev's leading team, the first secretary of the Byelorussian CP, Masherov, broached this question in a less hypocritical way at the Twenty-Fifth Congress. He said, according to the reports in *Le Monde* and *l'Humanité*, without mincing any words: "The anti-Sovietees . . . will seek out enemies of the socialist system in the psychiatric hospitals."

We think that a "socialist" system that locks its opponents up in psychiatric clinics and tries in this way to bring them around to its way of thinking dishonors both itself and socialism. Under Lenin and Trotsky, no such outrages were perpetrated in the USSR, not even in the worst moments of the civil war. In a society that has attained, as they claim, "the highest level of political and social unity" in the entire world, it is not only criminal to do such things, it is senseless as well. How is it that societies such as those of England and Switzerland, which were marked by profound class cleavages, could let Karl Marx and Lenin pursue their literary work freely, and a united class society cannot

tolerate free literary activity on the part of its opponents?

However, what stands out most in Masherov's remark is the confession that persons regarded as "enemies of the socialist system" are confined in psychiatric clinics. Isn't this political repression? A person like the Ukrainian mathematician Leonid Plyushch, who underwent this deplorable treatment, was neither mentally ill nor an enemy of socialism, as anyone can see who talks to him. Even leaving this aside, the "Marxist-Leninist" Brezhnev should recall the following words by Marx and Lenin on this question. In *The Civil War in France*, Marx wrote about the Paris Commune:

The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards of the town, responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class. . . . *Instead of continuing to be the agent of the Central Government, the police was at once stripped of its political attributes, and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable agent of the Commune.* (My emphasis.)¹

In *State and Revolution*, Lenin quoted this passage with approval and added:

And since the majority of the people *itself* suppresses its oppressors, a "special force" for suppression is *no longer necessary!* In this sense the state *begins to wither away*. Instead of the special institutions of a privileged minority (privileged officialdom, the chiefs of the standing army), the majority itself can directly fulfill all these functions, and the more functions of state power devolve upon the people as a whole the less need is there for the existence of this power.²

These quotations show how far the Soviet Union of today is from a real socialist society, and how far the official doctrine of the CPSU is from the teachings of Marx and Lenin. If innumerable "special institutions" exist in order to carry out social repression, if "privileged officials" of the state, economic, military, and police apparatuses (who in fact enjoy gigantic material privileges) exercise and monopolize the functions of leadership and repression instead of letting these be exercised by the masses of working people, then this testifies to the continuation of powerful social contradictions. There can be no question of socialism having already been built. If Brezhnev and his collaborators approve of the *police forces and their functionaries carrying out political repression against Soviet citizens*, then in their own way, they are testifying that the USSR today is not a state modeled on the Paris Commune, which Marx and Lenin

1. *The Civil War in France* (New York: International Publishers, 1940), p. 57.

2. Lenin, *Selected Works*, vol. II, part 1 (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1952), p. 242.

identified with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In doing so, Brezhnev and the others in their own way demonstrate the correctness of Trotsky's thesis that the dictatorship of the proletariat has been replaced by the dictatorship of the bureaucracy, and that it is high time, in the interests of the USSR and world communism, to move forward to

the dictatorship of the proletariat—that is, to soviet democracy with a multiparty system and with more political freedoms for Soviet citizens than those enjoyed in the countries with bourgeois parliamentary democracy.

This would not only accelerate the construction of socialism and quantitatively reduce the social and economic overhead

costs and waste. Above all, it would promote the international extension of socialism, and thus help to bring about a situation where by free and democratic decision the working masses in the West will link their economic potential with that of the USSR and China, so as to solve the problem of world economic development in a harmonious way. □

French and English Workers Unite in Action

30,000 Unionists March in Ottawa to Protest Wage Controls

By Joan Newbigging

[The following article appeared in the March 29 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto.]

* * *

OTTAWA—More than 30,000 trade unionists from across Canada marched on Parliament Hill in sub-zero weather March 22 in a resounding demonstration of opposition to Trudeau's wage controls.

It was a historic day for the labor movement in Canada.

- March 22 was the largest protest demonstration in Ottawa's history.

- March 22 was the first united action in Canada's history of masses of working people in both Québec and English Canada.

- Tens of thousands gave up a day's pay to come to Ottawa March 22, and the action became a widespread one-day walk-out in Québec and in certain points in Ontario.

- And all this was achieved in a clearly limited and partial effort of the labor movement.

March 22 altered the political climate of Canada. It showed the country the immense strength of labor. It proved that union members are ready to act against the controls. It proved that the controls can be beaten.

Louis Laberge of the Québec Federation of Labour echoed the view of the demonstration when he said on Parliament Hill: "This is only the beginning. Unless the government acts, we will organize actions that are bigger, better, longer."

March 22 must be the first step in a coordinated campaign to put an end to the wage controls.

The Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) called the demonstration on the date it was to present its annual submission to the federal government.

But CLC President Joe Morris's courtly discussion with Trudeau contrasted sharp-



TRUDEAU

ly with the mood and the meaning of the demonstration outside.

The roadway around Parliament Hill was already filled with thousands of demonstrators when two giant contingents, one from Québec and the other from the United Auto Workers in Ontario, arrived to swell the ranks.

The Québec contingent rallied across the river in Hull, Québec, drawing together thousands of unionists from Québec's three major federations. The Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and the Québec Teachers Federation (CEQ), while not affiliated to the CLC, decided to support the action and brought out thousands of their members. When the first part of the Québec contingent reached Parliament Hill, the last of the marchers

were still in Hull, more than a mile away.

At the same time, the UAW contingent was approaching the Hill from the opposite direction. It was made up of 3,000 unionists from Windsor, London, and Brantford who jammed a chartered train.

Crowds waiting for the train in small cities across southern Ontario were twice as large as expected. In Brantford, the more than 300 workers waiting for the train were told at 2:00 a.m. that it would not stop because it was full.

They pushed aside police who tried to stop them, and blocked the tracks with baggage carts and their own bodies—halting the train. They squeezed aboard. Nonetheless, hundreds were left behind at other Ontario train stations.

A chartered plane from British Columbia brought 135, and another from the Maritimes brought 108 participants.

Six to seven thousand from Ottawa joined the action, according to CLC estimates.

Treasury Board President Jean Chretien ordered Ottawa civil servants to stay on the job, the CLC reported. But hundreds defied his instructions, and left work to attend the demonstration.

Marchers were still pouring onto Parliament Hill as Louis Laberge and Joe Morris briefly addressed the demonstration. And they continued to arrive as organizers declared that the action was over and urged everyone to go home.

March 22 caused havoc in the auto plants in southern Ontario. The Ford truck plant in Oakville was forced to shut down for the day. The Chrysler car plant in Windsor shut down. General Motors production in Oshawa was halted on one of three production lines. The auto bosses reported their losses in production totaled 1,675 vehicles.

In Québec, public service workers timed a one-day walkout to coincide with the action. A total of 120,000 walked off the job to protest Trudeau's wage controls, and the

lack of progress in contract negotiations with the provincial government.

All Montréal-area schools closed. Almost all hospitals were functioning on an emergency basis only.

Many other Québec workers also walked out, including Ottawa-Hull construction workers, ten thousand Hydro-Québec workers, and three thousand CSN members working for private employers. General Motors had to close its auto plant in Ste-Terese.

It was hardly surprising that the idea of a general strike came up again and again on the demonstration in Ottawa. March 22 itself had turned into a massive one-day walkout.

A number of banners, particularly from Québec, called for a general strike against wage controls. They reflected the concern of many of the marchers that more action, and more far-reaching measures, would be needed if Trudeau ignored the demonstration.

A member of the Vancouver delegation told *Labor Challenge*, "This is a bloody good march. If this doesn't get some results, there will be a lot of pressure for a general strike." Many echoed his remarks.

In addition to the estimated 10,000 Québec unionists who came to Ottawa, another 10,000 marched in demonstrations in twelve cities throughout Québec, including about 5,000 in Québec City.

A solidarity march in Edmonton drew between 700 and 1,000.

The demonstration was spirited despite the intense cold and biting wind. A number of women from a CSN local in Marienville, Québec, sang songs they had written to protest the wage controls. Four Québec unionists carried a coffin marked "the death of collective bargaining."

There were marchers of every age. The march as a whole was younger than previous large actions by CLC affiliates. The proportion of women was noticeably high. A large number of students participated—a new and encouraging feature. Several hundred came from the University of Québec and the Rosemont junior college in Montréal.

Many signs expressed the views of the marchers: "Bill C73 promotes unemployment" (Bill C73 is the wage-control law); "Fight inflation, not people"; "United and organized" (Québec CSN workers); "OSSTF supports CLC" (Ontario teachers districts 14 and 16); "Wage controls bring us uncontrolled wage disparity" (New Brunswick steelworkers); "No compromise on Bill C73" (Hamilton United Electrical Workers).

The demonstration itself had a powerful impact on its participants. Few had expected such a crowd. The turnout was indeed astonishing. Little had been done to build the action. Of the biggest unions, only the UAW worked to bring out its members. Many locals scarcely knew that the demonstration was going to take place.

The CLC leadership pushed the slogan "Whatever happened to price controls," and it was seen on hundreds of placards and buttons. This gave the impression that if some price control measures were introduced, labor could accept wage controls. And it is true that the CLC leadership have never ruled out accepting a modified wage-control scheme.

But the entire march was firm on the key question: Trudeau's wage controls must go. And that's the message that came across.

March 22 only hinted at the vast numbers of working people ready to take action against the controls.

For the thousands who turned out, the action gave a taste of the power of labor.

The Executive Council of the CLC is

meeting in Ottawa to decide what action it will take next.

Its first move was to withdraw March 23 from the Canadian Labor Relations Council and the Economic Council of Canada, two bodies sponsored by Ottawa with the aim of binding the labor leadership into a tight collaboration with the bosses.

CLC spokespersons indicated at the same time that this important step was not the last. They reported that the organization of a one-day general strike was among the proposals put forward at their meeting. A demonstration in Toronto April 28 was also being considered.

March 22 showed that labor stands together against the wage controls. Large numbers of unionists are ready to join in an all-out campaign to smash the controls.

'We Need More United Mass Actions'

[The following is the text of a leaflet distributed to thousands of demonstrators at the March 22 labor demonstration in Ottawa. It was issued jointly by the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canadian section of the Fourth International; and Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec (Québec Socialist Workers Group), affiliated to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

[The leaflet also announced two rallies against the wage controls to be held jointly by the GSTQ and the LSA/LSO in Montréal (March 26) and Toronto (April 9).]

* * *

NO TO WAGE CONTROLS

Stop the cutbacks in social services!

For cost of living escalator clauses!

For the unity of Québec and English Canadian workers to defeat Trudeau's measures!

Governments at all levels claim that workers demands are excessive, that public funds are limited, that we all have to tighten our belts.

These same governments are further lowering our standard of living through cutbacks in health, education, social security, and other social services, while they hand out billions for their profit-making projects. (Olympics, Syncrude, etc.)

Prices and profits of the large corporations continue to climb. The bosses and their governments are trying to make workers and the most oppressed layers of the population pay for the crisis of the capitalist system.

March 22 is the beginning of the response that is needed. We need more united mass actions of all organizations of the working class and others (unemployed,

students, women, etc.) who are hit by these antisocial measures.

Such mass mobilizations are needed to support the struggles and strikes against the Trudeau measures, such as the present struggle of the Common Front of 185,000 hospital workers, teachers, and other Québec employees against the Bourassa government.

It is not possible to win by means of parliamentary commissions, mediators, conciliators, etc. Workers must rely on their own strength.

It's on the level of government that the problem is posed today. To win, workers must kick out big business governments and replace them with their own governments committed to satisfying all their demands.

For an NDP [New Democratic party, Canada's labor party] government in Ottawa!

For a labor party in Québec based on the unions! □

Fried Eggs, Over Easy

The Paris newspaper *Le Figaro* recently assigned two reporters to eat at five of the world's most famous restaurants. The two staffers, in what *Le Figaro* called "an act of heroism," ordered fried eggs, lettuce salad, plain yogurt, and water at each restaurant.

The maitre d'hotel at Maxim's was not amused. "A provocation; a provocation. A total lack of respect for Maxim's!" he sputtered. What was worse, it was done by a Parisian. "Not a foreigner, but a Frenchman! A Parisian!"

Prices ranged from \$34 at the Tour d'Argent and at Lasserre, to \$21 at the Grand Vefour, where the couple skipped dessert. At Maxim's, the eggs were burned.

Recovery for Whom?

By Robert Simms

[The following article appeared in the March 15 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto. It has been slightly abridged for reasons of space.]

* * *

We hear many reports these days that there is an upswing in industrial production and economic growth. At the same time, there is no good news for the working people of Canada. Economic forecasts project that the long lines of jobless workers will lengthen this year.

The Royal Bank of Canada made this kind of contradictory prediction in its February review. It declared, "... we continue to expect that real gross national product in 1976 will increase some 5 per cent above the stagnant level of 1975—although unemployment will most probably increase."

The prospect of more jobless was obviously no cause for alarm at the Royal Bank. They have no intention of sharing any increase in wealth produced by a recovery from the deepest recession since the 1930s.

What kind of recovery are we in, where economic growth goes side by side with mounting unemployment? What does this mean for working people who are already under attack from government wage controls and cutbacks?

An article by Anne Bower in the February 28 *Financial Post* indicated the thinking of Canada's rulers on how they should respond to the new economic conditions. It confirmed that the jobless rate could get worse. "Despite January's 6.6% unemployment rate," Bower said, "it is still widely expected that the rate will average 7% or higher this year, with more than 700,000 Canadians unemployed."

"This year's unemployment total, in short, could easily top last year's."

This is no cause for concern, she explained.

"Such a prospect, however, will not likely throw Ottawa into new spasms of monetary and fiscal ease. At least, most economists are hoping it won't."

For them, "the key concerns of policy-making ought to be inflation, productivity growth, and jobs—in that order."

When it comes to talk about the "recovery," the question working people must ask is, "Recovery for whom?"

The recovery the bosses are hoping for is a recovery for profits based on further attacks on the living standards of workers.

High unemployment has special attractions to the employers right now. An upturn in activity means that the bosses can sell more goods. But rather than hire more workers, the employers find it cheaper and thus more profitable to get more production out of those already employed.

This can be done through automation, new productive equipment, or through speedup.

As a class, capitalists count on a high unemployment rate to make workers still on the job more insecure, less likely to strike, and more likely to settle for lower wages.

Workers have been dealt a series of blows over the last year by the bosses and their government representatives. The attacks were opened up on three fronts—the wage control program, introduced by the Trudeau government to depress real wages and boost profits, the cutbacks in social services, and increasing unemployment.

These antiworker attacks stem from the determination of the capitalist rulers of Canada to make working people pay for the crisis in the profit system.

There are more attacks to come as the long-term problems of Canadian capitalism continue to mount. Big business is not overly confident about the "upturn." Both the Bank of Montreal and the Royal Bank warned in recent economic reports that the recovery could falter, with the growth rate slowing in 1976.

Statistics Canada gave evidence on March 4 that the momentum behind the upturn is weak. When the recovery started last summer, economic growth was running at an annual rate of almost 4%. In the last quarter of 1975, the economy slowed down again to an annual growth rate of only 1.6%.

One sign of weakness is the "ominous trends" in business spending for new machinery and factories noted by the Toronto economists Arthur Donner and Fred Lazar in the *Globe and Mail* February 5. They cited government investment surveys that show that capital spending is likely to be weak from 1977 through 1979. In other words, the capitalists will not invest their profits to expand the economy.

Much of the productive capacity of the Canadian economy is not being used, Donner and Lazar explained, as a result of the recession. This means capitalists can expand production without investing in new machinery or equipment.

In the last half of 1975, the economy was running at only 82% of capacity, compared

with 96% before the recession started.

The bosses' major concern about weakness of the economy lies with the competitive position of Canada relative to its rivals in the international trade arena.

Canadian capitalists are facing a growing problem selling their wares on the world market, and it's showing up in the form of a mounting trade deficit.

In 1975, Canada experienced its first trade deficit in fifteen years. In 1974, Canada had a trading surplus of \$1.5 billion. However, trade sank into the deficit side of the ledger in 1975 to the tune of \$795 million. When the trade deficit is added to such outflows as the profits of foreign-owned corporations, the balance-of-payments deficit is over \$5 billion for 1975—a staggering amount.

Some of the reasons behind the loss are temporary, for instance, the difference in the severity of the recession in Canada and the United States. Exports to the harder-hit U.S. economy were down, while imports into Canada held firm in 1974-75.

However, long-range trends are at work that undercut Canadian corporations' ability to compete. This is shown by the trade deficit on manufactured goods alone, which has almost tripled in the last four years to \$10.5 billion.

Traditionally, Canadian exports of raw materials such as wheat and oil have offset this deficit. In the early 1970s sharp increases in the prices of energy and agricultural exports gave special advantages to Canadian capitalists. They reaped superprofits in world markets from raw material sales and built up a large trade surplus for Canada.

This is changing. The *Financial Times* quoted a senior trade official February 2 as saying: "Looking ahead, there is no way that we are going to get commodity trade surpluses of the magnitude that we have become used to. To that extent, the whole pattern of trade is moving against us."

This development flows from an increasing general crisis of world capitalism. Recovery from the recession in capitalist countries across the world is very slow. There is a generalized slowdown of economic growth in major capitalist countries since the end of the 1960s.

The motor forces of the twenty-five-year postwar expansion—such as the reconstruction of war-torn economies and the process of automation—have shown signs of increasing exhaustion. International markets are more and more saturated and unused productive capacity is building up.

Capitalists respond to these problems by stepping up trade rivalries and converting their economies into machines for international economic warfare, in order to maintain and expand their market shares.

This is what Jean-Luc Pepin, chairman of the Anti-Inflation Board, had in mind when he told businessmen in Montréal recently that Canadians should put aside their fears of big corporations in the

interests of developing "instruments of trade" that could compete more effectively.

The main competitor of Canadian industry is the United States. Two-thirds of Canada's imports and exports are with the United States. Canadian big business is alarmed that U.S. capitalists are more successful in driving down the living

standards of labor. This is the meaning of complaints that "unit labor costs" (a combined measure of productivity and wage rates) are rising faster in Canada.

The same dangers threaten Canadian business in competition with foreign capitalists.

This is what lies behind Trudeau's wage

controls and the cutbacks in social services. Their aim is not to fight inflation but to force working people to shoulder the burden of gearing up the Canadian economy for trade warfare.

The only winners in this war are the bosses and their profit margins. □

Amnesty International Urges Release of Hernán Cuentas

Amnesty International* has called on Peruvian President Francisco Morales Bermúdez to free mine workers' union leaders Hernán Cuentas and Víctor Cuadros and four labor lawyers held in Peru without charges since December 1975.

In a statement issued March 24, Amnesty International announced it had adopted the six Peruvians as prisoners of conscience. This means their cases will receive special attention from Amnesty groups throughout the world.

Cuentas and Cuadros have been on a hunger strike since February 21. They were recently joined in this protest by the four attorneys—Genaro Ledesma, Ricardo Díaz Chávez, José Oña Meoño, and Arturo Salas Rodríguez.

An interview with the wives of Cuentas and Cuadros published in the March 11 issue of the Peruvian weekly newsmagazine *Marka* gave an indication of what the prisoners are going through.

Doris de Cuentas and Elba de Cuadros told *Marka* reporters that they had learned their husbands had been hospitalized at the end of February as a result of the hunger strike. Going from hospital to hospital, they finally located the prisoners March 5 in the Police Hospital. When they insisted on seeing their husbands, the police threatened that if they did not stop their "provocations," Cuentas and Cuadros would be taken off intravenous feeding and removed from medical care.

While arguing with the police in the hospital corridor, Elba de Cuadros reported, "I saw my husband in the doorway of the room. He was pale, emaciated, and unrecognizable. He was wearing only pajamas. He didn't have shoes on. Two PIP [Policía de Investigaciones del Perú, the political police] agents were practically carrying him. You could see that he could not support himself."

The women began to protest vociferously against the removal of their husbands from the hospital. In reply, the cops attacked them and forced them out of the corridor.

Almost immediately two more PIP agents hustled Hernán Cuentas out of the same room.

"It affected me tremendously to see him," said Doris de Cuentas. "He must

* 53 Theobald's Road, London WC1X 8SP, England.

Camejo Demands Release of Cuentas and Cuadros



Informations Ouvrières

HERNAN CUENTAS

[The following message was sent to Peruvian President Francisco Morales Bermúdez April 2 by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president of the United States.]

The arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of mine union leaders Hernán Cuentas and Víctor Cuadros, along with four labor attorneys, last December is an affront to the basic human and democratic rights of all workers.

What are the charges against these fighters for social justice? When will their trial be held? Why have they not been given a chance to face their accusers?

Your government has remained silent on these questions despite the fact that an answer has been demanded by the Peruvian labor movement, which rallied in a protest of 30,000 in Lima; by scores of unionists and union locals in France; by the International League for the Rights of Man; and by Amnesty International, to name only a few of the organizations that have lodged protests.

You stand condemned by your silence. It is clear that Cuentas, Cuadros, and the four labor attorneys have been added to the cells of your political prisoners solely because of their struggle to improve the lives and conditions of the Peruvian working class.

We condemn their arrest.

We pledge our full support to the international effort to win their immediate release.

have lost six or seven kilograms. Like Víctor, he was emaciated, haggard, and yellow. He was unrecognizable."

On December 19, 1975, Doris de Cuentas filed habeas corpus proceedings. At that time, she said, she was allowed to visit Cuentas and bring him food and clothing. The day following her court action, she was told by the chief of state security, "Madam, your husband is totally incommunicado. You have brought this situation about by filing a writ of habeas corpus."

At the end of the *Marka* interview, Elba de Cuadros and Doris de Cuentas de-

manded the release of their husbands, the lawyers, and all others imprisoned in Peru because of their ideas.

New international support to the campaign to free the political prisoners was reported in the March 4 issue of *Marka*. From Denmark, protests to Peruvian authorities demanding action on the case were sent by the Association of Democratic Jurists; International Forum, a youth group concerned with international affairs; and four members of parliament, Steen Folke, Kurt Hansen, Erik Sigsgaard, and Preben Vilhjem. □

Brazilian Political Prisoners Tell How They Were Tortured

["We were dragged to prison between September 1969 and February 1975," states a report written by thirty-five political prisoners in Brazil. "Most of us have incredibly long sentences—up to eighty-two years. To give you an idea of these sentences, the average is more than eighteen years, and all of us have our political rights revoked."

[The twenty-eight-page report was smuggled out to a lawyers association in São Paulo October 25, 1975. The association had complained of not having "concrete facts and objective, specific answers."

[The following excerpts from that report were printed in the February 7 issue of the Portuguese daily *Expresso*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Methods and Instruments of Torture Used by a Many-Tentacled Repressive Machine

Despite the risks run by anyone who exposes any of the countless arbitrary acts that are being perpetrated today in our country, despite the intense and rigorous censorship imposed on all communications media in the country, and despite the protection from publicity and the impunity guaranteed to the repressive bodies, you rarely find a Brazilian who does not have some knowledge of the indiscriminate use of torture against those who oppose the current regime.

On the international level, Brazil is referred to, along with Chile and Spain, as the *Country of Torture*.

Nonetheless, the military government of Brazil does not admit in the slightest that it customarily employs terror and torture as forms of oppression and political repression. When it finds it necessary to say something about the matter, it always does so in a vain attempt to avoid responsibility, trying to blame such practices on some subordinate police authority that is supposed to have gotten out of control. . . .

However, the facts speak too loudly—there are tens of thousands of citizens who, in one way or another, have gone through the establishments of the repressive bodies, which have a perfectly official existence. Many deaths and mutilations have resulted from the daily routine of torture practiced in these institutions.

The tentacles of the repressive apparatus stretch from the north to the south of the country. They extend from the neighborhood police station and the barracks in the cities to the Serviço Nacional de Infor-

mações, Comandos de Operações de Defesa Interna/Destacamentos de Operações de Informações, Centro de Informação do Exército, Centro de Informações da Marinha, Centro de Informação e Segurança da Aeronáutica, Departamento de Polícia Federal, Departamentos de Ordem Política e Social, Pelotões de Investigação Criminal da Polícia do Exército, Grupos de Operações Especiais, etc.¹

All these bodies of the repressive machine are ultimately coordinated by, and wholly responsible to, the Brazilian armed forces. (This does not mean that all members of the military forces are torturers. On the contrary, there are innumerable instances of military men and police officials who, because they opposed the regime in power, have fallen victim to that same machine. Recently, for example, members of the military police from the state of São Paulo were imprisoned and tortured. At least two of them are thought to have been killed.)

The Violence Begins

The violence begins at the very moment of arrest (or, rather, kidnapping). With a great display of force, military and police groups invade homes, workplaces, or schools, terrorizing parents, neighbors, friends, or passersby who happen to be present during the arrest. The shots fired by the police are justified as acts of "self-defense" and attempts "to prevent escape" of the persons about to be imprisoned. The presence of the family—even old people, invalids, or children—does not deter them from continuing violent attacks.

In the vehicles in which the prisoners are transported, the violence is stepped up. It is common for torture by beating or electric shocks to begin right there.

By the time the prisoners reach the headquarters of the repressive body, in most cases they are already blindfolded or have a hood over their heads and show signs of having been beaten up. Once they are shoved into the "interrogation room," the "search for information" begins and may last for several days, weeks, or months.

1. SNI (National Information Service), CODI/DOI (Commandos of Internal Defense Operations/Internal Operations Department), CIE (Army Information Center), CENIMAR (Navy Information Center), CISA (Air Force Center of Information and Security), DPF (Federal Police Department), DOPS or DEOPS (Departments of Political and Social Order), PIC (Criminal Investigation Platoons of the Army Police), GOE (Special Operations Groups).—IP

The "interrogation room" is paneled with insulating material to keep the screams of the tortured prisoners from carrying and being heard in the vicinity. Inside, scattered around on the floor are sawhorses, ropes, electric wires, pieces of wood, rubber hoses, and so on; in fact, all the instruments used in torture.

The Torture Methods of the Brazilian Government

In the following section, we describe the principal methods and instruments used for torture by the repressive bodies. We will begin with those we experienced personally:

- *Pau de arara* [parrot's perch], also known as the "yoke," is one of the oldest methods of torture. Already in use in times of slavery to punish "rebel" slaves, it consists of tying the hands and feet of the victims, who are naked and seated on the floor, forcing them to bend their knees and wrap their arms around them. Then an iron bar is passed through the narrow space formed between the bent knees and the crook of the arms, perpendicular to the longitudinal axis of the body. The bar is hung, supported by two sawhorses (in DEOPS in São Paulo desks are substituted for the sawhorses), leaving the prisoner suspended.

The position causes strong and growing pains throughout the body, especially in the arms, legs, ribs, and neck. Added to that is the cutting off of circulation in the upper and lower extremities. The application of the *pau de arara* is accompanied by systematic electric shocks, suffocation, burns with cigarettes or cigars, and generalized beating—mainly on the most sensitive parts of the body, the genitals, and so forth. That type of torture causes injuries to the spine, knees, legs, hands, and feet, along with other bone, muscular and neurological problems.

During the period you are the victim of such torture it is difficult to walk, and your hands and feet are swollen. These symptoms generally last a long time. (And, at times, they can be the determining factor in extending the period in which prisoners are held incommunicado, so that the most obvious traces of the violence they have suffered can disappear.) It must be stressed that the prolonged application of the *pau de arara* has been the cause of many deaths, particularly when inflicted on persons with heart conditions.

- *Electric shock* is the application of electric currents to various parts of the body of the victim, particularly to the most sensitive ones, such as, for example, the

penis and the anus—attaching one pole to the former and introducing the other one in the latter; or attaching one pole to the testicles and the other to the ears; or even to the toes and fingers, the tongue, and so on. (Among political prisoners the poles are generally introduced into the vagina or anus.)

To generate current the torturers use various devices—a magnet known as the “little machine” in OBAN² and as “little Maria” at DOPS-Rio de Janeiro; a field telephone (in the barracks); a television apparatus (known as “Brigitte Bardot” at DEOPS-São Paulo); a microphone (at DEOPS-São Paulo); the “mechanical piano player,” an apparatus that has various keys permitting control of the voltage of the electric current (at PIC-Brasilia and DEOPS-São Paulo); and even shocks directly from current of 110 or 220 volts.

The shock burns the sensitive parts of the body and causes convulsions in the victim. And it is very common for the victim, on receiving the shocks, to bite his tongue, causing deep wounds. Medical manuals show that electric shock administered to the head causes minor brain hemorrhages, destroying brain tissue and lowering the brain's neurological endowment. At the very least, it causes important memory disturbances and observable lessening of the capacity to think. At times it also causes amnesia. The application of intense shocks has already caused the death of many political prisoners, mainly to victims who have heart conditions.

- *Dragon's chair* is similar to the electric chair. It consists of a wooden armchair lined with zinc plate. The victims are seated on it with their wrists tied to the arms of the chair, their legs forced below the seat and tethered. When electric current is applied, the shocks affect the entire body, mainly the buttocks and testicles. The legs strike against the tethers they are tied with. There are additional complementary maltreatments—the “electric helmet” (a metal pail put over the head, to which electric shocks are then applied); spraying water on the body to increase the intensity of the shock; forcing the victim to eat salt, which adds to the force of the shock, causes tremendous thirst, and makes the victim's tongue—already cut up by his teeth—burn; all accompanied by systematic beatings.

- *Suffocation* is a method of torture whose application varies from one repressive structure to another. One of the most common forms consists of pouring water, a mixture of water and kerosene, ammonia, or any other liquid up the nose of the victim, who is suspended with his head hanging down (as, for example, in the pau de arara). Another form consists of plugging the nostrils and introducing a hose,

2. Operação Bandeirantes, a military force specializing in hunting down revolutionists.—IP

Geisel Wins Kissinger's Seal of Approval



GEISEL and KISSINGER: During his February tour of Latin American capitals, Kissinger gave the blood-soaked Geisel regime the White House seal of approval. At a ceremony in Brasilia February 21 marking the signing of a diplomatic accord, Kissinger told the press: “There are no two people whose concern for human dignity and for the basic values of man is more profound in day-to-day life than Brazil and the United States.”

through which the water is piped, into the mouth. Additional forms include submerging the prisoner's head in a tank, drum, or pail of water, by forcing his neck down; “fishing,” in which a long rope is tied under the arms of the prisoner and he is thrown into a little water or even a river or lake, and then the rope is slackened or pulled on from time to time.

- *Telephone* consists of beating both ears with the hands at the same time. Such a method of torture has been responsible for breaking the eardrums of several political prisoners, in some cases causing permanent deafness.

- *Karate session or Polish corridor.* The prisoner is placed in the center of a circle of several screaming torturers, who punch, kick, and deliver karate blows to him. This torture procedure leaves many marks and has led to the extension of the period of incommunicado imprisonment for the victim. At times, such a “session” develops with the torturers using pieces of wood, clubs, truncheons, rubber hoses, cowhide whips, or rubber tires.

- *Truth serum.* This is the name the repressive bodies give to Pentathol. Sodium pentathol is a salt that is a barbiturate. (Barbiturates and other hypnotic drugs have a progressive effect. First they sedate, then they act as general anesthesia, and finally they gradually depress the

bulbaceous centers [of the brain].) Generally it is applied with the prisoner on a bed or cot. The drug is injected intravenously, drop by drop. We know that in medicine this drug is used under strict “control,” since it has serious side effects and can even cause death if doses are excessive.

- *Ether plugging* consists of applying a sort of compress soaked in ether. It is applied to the particularly sensitive parts of the body, such as the mouth, nose, ears, penis, and so on; or by introducing wads of cotton or wool—also soaked in ether—into the anus of the victim, generally when on the pau de arara. (In the case of women political prisoners, the wads are also introduced into the vagina.) The extended and repeated application of such compresses and wads causes burns that are very painful.

- *Asphyxiation* consists of covering the mouth or nose of prisoners with pieces of wool, cotton, and so on, producing a strong sensation of asphyxiation and preventing them from screaming. Applied intermittently, choking causes dizziness and fainting in the victim.

- *Crucifixion.* Now known by this name, what it really involves is hanging the victims by the hands or feet on hooks from the ceiling or in stairwells, leaving them hanging and applying electric shocks, *palmatoria* [beating on the soles of the feet

or palms of the hands], and other usual tortures.

- *Drilling a little oil.* The victim is forced to place the tip of one finger on the floor and run in circles without moving the finger, until he falls exhausted. This is accompanied by beatings, kicks, and all sorts of violence.

- *Tin cans* consists of forcing the victim to balance in bare feet on the jagged edges of two open tin cans, generally the type used for marketing condensed milk. At times this is continued until the feet bleed. When the victim loses his balance and falls, the beatings are stepped up.

- *Refrigerator.* The prisoners are locked in a cell of approximately 1.5 square meters with a low ceiling so that it is impossible for them to stand up. The interior door is metal and the walls are lined with insulating plates. There is no opening to allow light or sound to come in from the outside. A refrigeration system alternates low temperatures with high ones supplied by a heating system. The cell is totally dark most of the time. At times on the ceiling small colored lights flash on and off rapidly, at the same time that a loudspeaker installed in the cell emits sounds of screams, horns, and other things at a tremendous volume. The naked victim stays there for periods varying between hours and days, often without any food or water.

Besides all the methods described up to here, which we have experienced on our own flesh and blood, there are others that should be mentioned. As for those not directly experienced by us, we have witnessed their application on other prisoners with our own eyes, and we in fact live with fellow inmates who have suffered them. In addition, we have reliable information about their use on other prisoners. They are the following:

- *Crown of Christ* consists basically of a steel band that goes around the skull and has a screw that is used to tighten it. Political prisoner Aurora Maria Nascimento Furtado, among others, was murdered through the application of this method of torture. Her corpse showed a depression in the region of the skull where the band was placed; the eyeballs were protruding from their sockets, and so forth.

- *Ether injections* is the application of subcutaneous injections of ether, which cause shooting pains. Normally, that method of torture causes the death of adjacent tissues; the extent depends on the area reached by the ether.

- *Barbecue* consists of moistening some parts of the body with alcohol and then setting them on fire.

- *Sexual abuse.* There are innumerable cases of women political prisoners raped by the torturers, who generally take advantage of times when the victims have fainted.



Biganti/Newsweek

Examples of How Quick They Are to Mutilate and Kill

We know of almost 300 murders that have been committed by the military regime from 1974 to the present. We also know of innumerable cases of mutilation by torture. We could say much about the matter in an extended report of the facts. However, we limit ourselves to personal testimony about the conditions we describe. To start, we will report sixteen murders of political prisoners, which in all cases the signers of this document witnessed or have specific knowledge of.

- *Virgílio Gomes da Silva.* He was arrested September 29, 1969, on Avenida Duque de Caxias in São Paulo at 10:00 a.m. by CODI/DOI (OBAN). Taken to OBAN headquarters, he was tortured with his wrists shackled at his sides. His whole body was kicked, mainly his head. Such tortures were witnessed for approximately fifteen minutes, and his screams were heard by other political prisoners there until Virgílio fainted.

Later the screams continued for some hours that same afternoon, until the death of the victim. Some prison mates saw the blood stains on the floor of the room, blood the torturers themselves said was Virgílio's. Those directly responsible for his torture and murder are army Major Waldir Coelho, Captain Homero César Machado, Captain Benoni de Arruda Albernaz, Captain Mauricio Lopes Lima, Captain Dalmo Luiz Cirilo, police officer "Raul Careca," and others. The squad of Captain Albernaz (Captain P.M. Coutinho, Captain P.M. Tomaz, detective Paulo Rosa, Sergeant P.M. Paulo Bordini, etc.) was the main group responsible. Up to the present, Gomes da Silva is recorded as a fugitive in the Second Session of the Second Military District Court of São Paulo. His prison mates reported his torture and death in cases 168/69 and 207/69, heard in the already mentioned Second Session.

- *Roberto Macarini.* He was arrested in

April 1970 by the Second Army—CODI/DOI (OBAN), in whose headquarters he was tortured for two consecutive days. His screams were heard by others being held there. Among those who participated in the abuse were Captain Benoni de Arruda Albernaz, Captain Homero César Machado, and their respective squads. According to the torturers themselves, Macarini was taken to Viaduto do Chá in the center of São Paulo for an alleged meeting with comrades. There he threw himself into the Vale do Anhangabaú [a chasm with a highway at the bottom], perhaps as the only way to put an end to the abuse that would continue when he returned to OBAN.

- *Hiroaki Torigoi.* He was shot and imprisoned January 5, 1972, on Rua Albuquerque Lins in the Vila Buarque section and taken to OBAN headquarters. There he was tortured to death, while other political prisoners detained there heard the dialogue between torturers Otávio Gonçalves Moreira Júnior and "Amici." Given Torigoi's physical condition, the two were discussing whether they should bring him to the hospital or let him die right there. Days later the newspapers publicized an account that attributed his death to gunfire at the time of his arrest.

- *Hélcio Pereira Fortes.* He was arrested on January 25 or 26, 1972, by CODI in Rio de Janeiro. Brought in for OBAN in São Paulo, he was seen by other persons being held there to be in horrible physical condition, scarcely able to walk. On January 28, 1972, the newspapers reported that he died in an "escape attempt" at Santo Amaro.

- *Frederico Eduardo Mayr.* He was shot and imprisoned February 25, 1972, by the Second Army—CODI/DOI (OBAN) and subjected to torture all that day. He was seen in one of the torture chambers of OBAN, where he was being tortured in the "Dragon's Chair." He was also seen when he was taken to wash up. After that, there was no news about him, except when trial 100/72 began in the Second Session of the Second Military District Court in São Paulo, where he was recorded as dead.

He was tortured by Squad C of OBAN, which is made up of "Oberdan," Aderval Monteiro ("Carioca"), Gaeta ("Mangabeira"), "Caio," and others. Complaints were made about his murder over and over again in depositions in that same trial, but Judge Nelson Machado Guimarães refused to draw up any writs. It was also brought to the court's attention in case 88/72, during which the same judge failed to take note of the report of the circumstances of Frederico's death.

- *Kléber Gomes.* He was arrested and bayoneted to death in June 1972 by paratroopers from Rio de Janeiro at the Xambioá Military Base, north of Goiás. Prison mates of Kléber witnessed his murder and heard the fact confirmed by the soldiers themselves. Up to the present,

his death has not been recorded in the trial of any military district court of the country, although a complaint about it was made by a political prisoner in the jurisdiction of the First Session of the Second Military District Court in São Paulo.

• *Lourival Paulino*. He was imprisoned in May 1972 by the army at Xambioá Military Base, north of Goiás. Political prisoners there witnessed the abuse inflicted on Lourival, who was taken from the base and reported dead by suffocation. This fact was also reported in a letter sent to the First Session of the Second Military District Court of São Paulo by a political prisoner in that jurisdiction.

• *José Júlio de Araújo*. He was arrested August 18, 1972, on Rua Domingos de Moraes, Vila Mariana, São Paulo, by the Second Army—CODI/DOI (OBAN) and was beaten on the spot with rifle butts. Taken to OBAN headquarters, he was tortured in the hours that followed. His arrival was noticed by the prisoners held by that repressive body. His screams were heard for some hours. On the following day, in OBAN itself, jailer Maurício José de Freitas ("Lugareti") showed the prisoners a copy of the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*, where the death of José Júlio was reported as something that happened in the shooting that followed an "attempted escape" on Rua Teodoro Sampaio in the Pinheiros section.

• *Carlos Nicolau Danielli*. He was arrested December 28, 1972, on Rua Loefgreen, Vila Mariana, by the Second Army—CODI/DOI (OBAN) and taken to OBAN headquarters. There he was beaten up in the patio. Tortured for three days without stop, he died December 30, 1972. He was seen being taken on a cot, bloody and already dead, from the headquarters of that repressive body. On January 5, 1973, torturer "Captain Ubirajara" showed several clippings from the newspapers to political prisoners there who had followed all the facts. Our clippings reported the official communiqué on Danielli's death. It was explained as something that happened "during an exchange of gunfire" in the Jabaquara section. In the official communiqué you can read, moreover, that Danielli was taken to an alleged meeting with comrades and that "at the agreed-on hour a white Volkswagen, license number CN-1006, passed the spot slowly and parked about ten meters in front. Then Carlos Nicolau Danielli ran in the direction of the vehicle, attempting to flee. At the same time, he warned the two occupants of the Volkswagen, whom he recognized as his comrades. The latter opened fire against the members of the security forces. There was intense cross fire that left Carlos Danielli mortally wounded." Torturer "Ubirajara" stated, "This is the version we want to have told and that is how it will be. And this is how it will be for you too." Accusations about Danielli's

murder were made several times during the trial in which he was reported killed in a "shoot-out," a trial carried out in the First Session of the Second Military District Court in São Paulo. The verdict in this trial was pronounced March 12, 1975.

• *Alexandre Vannucchi Leme*. He was arrested March 16, 1973, by the Second Army—CODI/DOI (OBAN) and taken to OBAN headquarters. He was tortured one whole night, and several prisoners there heard his screams and threats from the torturers. After noting his death the following afternoon, the torturers cleared out the cells from which the body could be seen most easily as it was being removed. However, even so, many political prisoners were able to see Alexandre's corpse being dragged out and the patio of the jail being cleaned of the blood that covered the floor and marked the track left by the body.

Later, in an attempt to hide the crime, the torturers searched the cells, pretending to be looking for sharp instruments. They explained that Alexandre had committed suicide with a barber's razor. Days later, the torturers showed those political prisoners a newspaper that carried this report of

Alexandre's death—"run over by a truck in the Brás section during an alleged meeting with comrades." Torturer Gaeta ("Manga-beira") said, "We give out the version we want! We decide what to do about such chicken shit." These facts were bared in the case heard in the First Session of the Second Military District Court in São Paulo, which ended on March 12, 1975.

Under the Pretext of Shoot-outs and Traffic Accidents

From our report of some cases of political prisoners being murdered during torture (note that we told only about cases we ourselves witnessed or have specific knowledge of), you can see that the pretext of "shoot-outs," "traffic accidents," "escape attempts," and "suicides" was the most common expedient used until 1973 in an attempt to cover up the murder of opponents of the regime. Since then, the predominant method has been to talk about "disappearances" of political prisoners, who supposedly were never in the hands of any repressive body. □

Son of PSP Leader Juan Mari Brás

Santiago Mari Pesquera Murdered in Puerto Rico

By Steve Wattenmaker

[The following article appeared in the April 9 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

* * *

The oldest son of Puerto Rican Socialist party (PSP) leader Juan Mari Brás was assassinated on March 25 in Puerto Rico.

The body of Santiago Mari Pesquera, twenty-four, was found slumped over the wheel of a car in Caguas, a small town about twenty miles from San Juan. Pesquera had been shot once in the head.

Puerto Rican police have charged twenty-three-year-old Henry Coira Stori with the murder. Stori's father is a Cuban exile who is employed as an executive by Eastern Airlines.

The PSP is demanding that the police conduct a serious investigation to discover the full story behind the assassination.

At a news conference in New York March 26, José Alvarez, first secretary of the U.S. branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, denounced the assassination. He labeled the murder another episode "in the repressive history that independence forces in Puerto Rico have

gone through . . . since the invasion of Puerto Rico by the U.S. Army in 1898."

Alvarez pointed out that not one individual has been convicted in connection with the more than 200 violent attacks against the PSP and other proindependence groups during the last several years.

Shortly before Pesquera's murder, a smoke bomb was thrown at the PSP's Central Committee offices in Puerto Rico and a shot was fired into the house of PSP leader Rosi Mari, daughter of Juan Mari Brás.

Alvarez linked the murder and these other recent attacks on the PSP to the election campaign the party is running in Puerto Rico.

The Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (Internationalist Workers League), sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Puerto Rico, sent a message of solidarity to Juan Mari Brás and expressed their willingness to join with the PSP and other groups in "mass protests against this vile assassination."

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president of the United States, sent a message to the PSP expressing "sadness and outrage at the brutal assassination of Santiago Mari Pesquera."

AROUND THE WORLD



Madrid Cracks Down on Opposition

Police in Barcelona attacked demonstrators with rifle butts, tear gas, and rubber bullets April 4. Scores of protesters demanding amnesty for political prisoners, home rule for the Catalan region, and democratic liberties were arrested. The police did nothing to interfere with a right-wing march held at the same time.

In Madrid, 200 persons were arrested the same day in order to prevent a demonstration. Nevertheless, protests and clashes with police were reported there too.

An earlier example of the regime's policy of "liberalization" came on March 29, when the authorities banned a news conference scheduled by a new political alliance called the Democratic Coordination and arrested two of the group's leaders. Marcelino Camacho, a leader of the illegal workers commissions, and Raúl Marodo of the People's Socialist party were both detained by police. Camacho was earlier released from prison under the limited pardon declared by the regime in November.

The regime branded the Democratic Coordination group "subversive" because it includes the Communist party in addition to Social Democrats and left-wing Christian Democrats.

In a separate incident, police attacked an antigovernment demonstration of 5,000 persons on the eve of King Juan Carlos's arrival in Seville during the last week of March. Thirty protesters were injured and forty were arrested.

Gulf Oil to Resume Operations in Angola 'As Soon As Possible'

A representative of the Gulf Oil Corporation said April 2 that the company would resume operations in Angola "as soon as possible" at the request of the Angolan regime of the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

The Gulf announcement followed an appeal by the MPLA, published in the March 26 issue of the Luanda daily *Jornal de Angola*, asking Gulf to resume its operations immediately, without waiting for the end of negotiations on a new contract.

The royalty and tax payments from the Gulf oil production was the MPLA's single largest source of income in 1975, until the State Department pressured Gulf into suspending operations in December. In

March the State Department lifted the U.S. economic embargo on Angola, and Gulf released \$102 million in payments that had been held in escrow.

An Angolan government official cited in the March 22 *Washington Post* said that the MPLA was asking for an immediate resumption of production because it lost \$1.5 million in payments each day that the wells remained idle.

The resumption of production is also important for Gulf Oil. According to the Gulf representative, the Angolan operations contributed 10 percent of Gulf's foreign earnings, or about \$20 million based on the 1975 production level.

Editors of Six Peruvian Dailies Fired for Printing 'Alarmist News'

The Morales Bermúdez regime in Peru has dismissed the editors of six national daily newspapers. According to a March 25 Reuters dispatch from Lima, the government "told their replacements to print more balanced and less alarmist news."

An immediate effect of the shakeup, Reuters reported, has been a "marked reduction" in coverage of news about strikes.

The regime has also imposed measures designed to prevent journalists from launching any new publication not already in circulation.

This may become an important issue. Although the new editors claim they do not plan mass dismissals, all labor guarantees assuring the safety of journalists' jobs have been suspended for ninety days.

Eighteen Indicted in South Korea for Demanding Democratic Rights

Eighteen leading South Korean dissidents were indicted in Seoul March 26 on charges of violating a May 1975 emergency decree that bans virtually all criticism of the regime. Included among those who are to stand trial are Kim Dae Jung, a 1971 presidential candidate of the opposition New Democratic party, and Yun Po Sun, a former president of South Korea.

The arrests and charges stem from a statement released by twelve civil-rights and religious figures March 1, calling for the restoration of democratic rights and the resignation of President Park Chung Hee.

"These acts clearly violate the emergency decree," a prosecution statement said. If

convicted, the defendants face a minimum sentence of one year in prison and a possible suspension of all civil rights for up to ten years.

1,055 Basque Priests Score Madrid

Denouncing the "extraordinary measures of repression" taken by the Madrid authorities against the Basque working class, 1,055 Basque priests have declared their support for the right of the workers to form unions independent of the fascist state apparatus.

The March 28 declaration gave a detailed account of the events leading up to the murderous police attack on striking workers in the Basque town of Vitoria and said that the attacks on the working class were "a way of denying the rights of the Basque people."

"We've spoken out on human rights before, but now it's time to take a stand on social rights," a spokesman for the priests said.

24-Hour Strike Shuts Down Japan

Nationwide strikes by more than two million transportation, communications, medical, mining, and harbor workers virtually paralyzed Japan March 30. Transport Minister Mutsuo Kimura estimated that 33.4 million persons were affected by the walkouts.

Although strikes by public workers are illegal in Japan, they are carried out every year as part of the spring contract negotiations. In 1974 the unions won a nationwide pay increase of 32 percent; last year they won raises of only 15 percent or less; and this year, the unions are asking for increases averaging 16.5 percent. Offers from the bosses have averaged about half of that, but inflation in Japan was nearly 10 percent over the last twelve months.

U.S. Helped Cover Up Pesticide Deaths in Jamaica

A February 6 memorandum of the Environmental Protection Agency, made public by columnist Jack Anderson, reveals that American officials helped cover up seventeen deaths that occurred in Jamaica from pesticide contamination.

The memorandum reported that grain or flour contaminated with parathion had been imported from West Germany and made into bread. Two doctors from the

U.S. disease control center helped investigate the incident, which was hushed up because "resulting publicity could significantly impact the Jamaican economy."

This was presumably a reference to the Jamaican tourist industry. The memorandum noted that "the U.S. Embassy is aware of the situation."

Moynihan Hails Israeli A-Bombs

Speaking before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee March 25, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Daniel P. Moynihan hailed the news that Israel had ten to twenty nuclear bombs ready for use. Referring to the CIA action in leaking the news, Moynihan said, "I think it is a good thing to get it out, lest anybody have any illusions about what could happen."

The Arabs, Moynihan added, "have got to know what they can get themselves into."

"I would hate to have them wake up and find they hadn't thought of that."

Appeal for Kim Chi Ha

Almost one year has passed since the Park Chung Hee government in South Korea rearrested Kim Chi Ha on charges of "subversion." Little is known about the dissident poet's condition in prison because of the restrictions against visits.

On March 8, the International Committee to Save Kim Chi Ha released an appeal by his mother in Tokyo. She said that since Kim's arrest, his family's home is "like a graveyard" and "when his son cries for *aboji* [father], we cannot help but weep sad tears. . . ."

Rev. Mun Jong Guang, who read the appeal at Myongdong Church in Seoul on March 1, was reported to have been arrested as a result.

30,000 Teachers Strike in Greece

More than 30,000 high-school and elementary-school teachers went out on a four-day strike March 17 throughout Greece to protest the Caramanlis government's failure to purge supporters of the junta from education.

No Foreigners Allowed

As of April 1 foreign residents who are not citizens of the Common Market countries will be barred from settling in the city of Cologne. This racist ban, which follows similar moves in Munich, Frankfurt, Hanover, and West Berlin, is aimed at Turkish and southern European immigrant workers.

Bonn has reduced the number of immigrant workers living in West Germany from 2.6 million in 1973 to just over 2 million today. Any West German city whose population includes more than 12

percent of foreigners can automatically declare itself an "overcrowded settlement area" and impose the residence restrictions. Cities whose foreign population exceeds 10 percent can apply for the ban to be imposed.

Soviet Dissident Loses Job

Igor A. Melchuk, a Soviet linguist who wrote a letter to the *New York Times* in defense of human-rights activist Andrei Sakharov, has been ousted from his post at the Moscow Institute of Linguistics.

Members of the institute's faculty charged that his letter, published January 25, had "besmirched our country," and was "a slander against our way of life."

The vote against Melchuk, taken on March 25 by secret ballot, was 19 to 2 with 3 abstentions.

French SP and CP Gain in Elections

The French Communist party and Socialist party, running in an electoral alliance, polled between 52 and 53 percent of the vote in the regional elections in March. SP leader François Mitterrand declared that "a national trend is now established" and claimed that "the Left is clearly in the majority in France."

The SP won nearly 475 seats on the regional councils, which serve a largely advisory function. The CP won about 200 seats. Stalinist leader Georges Marchais blamed the CP's poorer showing on the SP. He said it failed to turn out its voters in cases where CP candidates were running in the second-round runoff elections.

Former Political Prisoner Tells of Conditions in Malaysian Prison

An estimated 400 political prisoners are being held in Malaysian detention centers, according to a March 26 New Asia News dispatch. Many have been imprisoned for more than six years, including two leaders of the Labor party of Malaya, detained since 1964. There are two camps for political prisoners in Malaysia, Batu Gajah and Taiping Kamunting.

The dispatch, based in part on a February 15 report of the Committee on Malaysian Political Detainees Families, also drew on an interview in Kuala Lumpur with Juliet Chin, a former political prisoner.

Chin was a fourth-year architecture student and the president of the student union at the University of Singapore before she was deported to her home country of Malaysia. She was then arrested on December 11, 1974, after a solidarity rally for Tan Wah Piow, a student who had been arrested a month earlier.

The authorities charged that she had sent telegrams abroad calling for international support for squatters who were evicted from their homes near Johore Bahru, and for international protests



Manchester Guardian Weekly

against the arrest of thirty alleged members of the Malaysian Liberation Front.

Chin was held in solitary confinement for sixty days before being transferred to Kamunting detention camp, where she spent the rest of her year of detention.

Although she said that she herself was not mistreated, many other political prisoners were. One prisoner was forced to wear a metal helmet, which was then beaten with a hard object. He was later admitted to a hospital for ear damage. Wong Chin Soo, a former assistant general secretary of the Labor party of Malaya, suffered severe nervous breakdowns and eventually died. In December 1975, a former prisoner died as a result of beatings that had caused his kidneys to malfunction.

Most of the men in the detention camps have been beaten around the stomach and kidneys with fists or iron bars, Chin said. She also heard of sharp objects being inserted under prisoners' fingernails.

After Chin was released, restrictions on what she could do or say were placed on her by the Special Police. In particular, she is forbidden to take part in any political or trade-union activities.

Détente Opens Doors to Dow Chemical

Dow Chemical, a company once known as the main producer of napalm for the imperialist war machine in Vietnam, has found a new area of operations. It recently agreed to jointly build and operate a \$700 million petrochemical complex with the Yugoslav company Industrija Nafta of Zagreb.

Dow, which will own 49 percent of the petrochemical complex, has agreed to continually update the technology used there. The plant, which will be built near the Adriatic port of Rijeka, will produce an estimated \$550 million worth of products each year. Under Yugoslav laws, Dow will be able to repatriate profits.

The Struggle of Soviet Jews Against Stalinist Oppression

By David Frankel

[Second of two parts]

The policy of the Soviet regime in the 1920s was not limited to the struggle against anti-Semitism. "During the first period of the communist regime Jewish cultural life was encouraged. In 1925 there were 250 Jewish schools in the Ukraine. There was an institute of Jewish culture in the Ukrainian Academy of Science. A number of Jewish theatrical companies existed. In 1935 there were ten Yiddish newspapers in the Ukraine. Jewish scholars, writers, and poets enjoyed facilities for creative activity."¹⁸

A similar picture is given by Ben Ami in *Between Hammer and Sickle*:

In the twenties, the thirties, and, to a certain extent, even in the early forties, throughout the Soviet Union, but mainly in the heavily Jewish areas of the Ukraine and Belorussia, there were still hundreds of Jewish schools whose language of instruction was Yiddish, and which were attended by tens of thousands of students. A flourishing, widely read Yiddish press existed, which included dailies, weeklies, monthlies, and so on. There were dozens of Yiddish theaters where both original and translated plays were staged and in which many talented actors performed. There were Jewish choral ensembles, as well as dance and musical groups. Thousands of Yiddish books, printed in hundreds of thousands of copies, were published. . . .¹⁹

The Stalinist Reaction

But all these efforts took place in a wretchedly poor, peasant country, one that was surrounded by a hostile world. Even in the best of circumstances it would have taken many years to overcome the heritage of the barbaric past.

The Bolsheviks had never expected to build a socialist society within the confines of backward Russia. They thought that the example of the October revolution would soon be followed by the working class in the more advanced industrial countries of Europe, especially Germany. When the wave of revolutionary uprisings in Europe that followed World War I was defeated, the reaction was felt in the land of the soviets as well.

18. Lionel Kochan, ed., *The Jews in Soviet Russia Since 1917*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 38.

19. Ben Ami, *Between Hammer and Sickle* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967), pp. 25-6.

The defeats in Europe, combined with the poverty of the country, demoralized and discouraged many who had once been revolutionists. People began turning inward, worrying about their individual problems. This was the basis for the formation of a bureaucratic apparatus motivated by the pursuit of privilege, not by any revolutionary principles or theory. In December 1924 Joseph Stalin gave this emerging social formation a "theoretical" rallying point with his concept of building "socialism in one country."

The political essence of the Stalinist reaction, which was eventually to wipe out virtually the entire generation of Bolshevik fighters who led the party through the October revolution and the civil war, was the rejection of the prospect and necessity of international revolution—the basis of Marxist internationalism—and the reassertion of Russian nationalism. There was no way that the Jews—previously the chief victims of the reactionary policies of Great Russian chauvinism—could be expected to escape the effects of its revival.

Through one of the grim ironies of history, although the Jews were victims of Stalinism, they were also blamed by many for the miseries caused by the bureaucracy. During the years of the revolution and the civil war, Jews had flocked into the Communist party and also into the newly opened positions in the Soviet state. This Jewish influx had counteracted the boycott of the Bolshevik regime by the Russian intelligentsia. In Lenin's words, it had "sabotaged the saboteurs."

Although Jews were less than 2 percent of the Soviet population following the establishment of independent states in Poland and Lithuania, they were 5.2 percent of the Soviet Communist party in 1925. At the fourteenth party congress in November 1927, 10 percent of all the delegates were Jewish.

The prominence of Jews in the Soviet regime was seen by the backward layers of the working class and peasantry in the light of a lifetime of anti-Semitic propaganda. And as the privileged bureaucracy grew more and more estranged from the masses, it attempted to direct their anger against the Jews.

This aspect of the degeneration of the Soviet regime, as well as the basic causes for the rise of Stalinism, were explained by Leon Trotsky. He led the Left Opposition inside the Soviet Communist party, gathering together the revolutionists who remained true to the program of Marxism. In

an article on "Thermidor and Anti-Semitism," written in 1937, Trotsky explained:

The Ukrainian bureaucrat, if he himself is an indigenous Ukrainian, will, at the critical moment, inevitably try to emphasize that he is a brother to the *muzhik* and the peasant—not some sort of foreigner and under no circumstances a Jew. Of course there is not—alas!—a grain of "socialism" or even of elementary democracy in such an attitude. But that's precisely the nub of the question. The privileged bureaucracy, fearful of its privileges, and consequently completely demoralized, represents at present the most antisocialist and most antidemocratic stratum of Soviet society. In the struggle for its self-preservation it exploits the most ingrained prejudices and the most benighted instincts. If in Moscow, Stalin stages trials which accuse the Trotskyists of plotting to poison the workers [a charge reminiscent of the traditional ritual murder slander against Jews], then it is not difficult to imagine to what foul depths the bureaucracy can resort in some Ukrainian or central Asiatic hovel!²⁰

'Dissatisfied Jewish Intellectuals'

Trotsky notes that in 1926, after Zinoviev and Kamenev joined him in the struggle against the bureaucracy, "there opened wide a perfect chance to say to the workers that at the head of the Opposition stand three 'dissatisfied Jewish intellectuals.'"

Stalin did not let the opportunity pass by. Trotsky writes:

In the months of preparations for the expulsions of the Opposition from the party, the arrests, the exiles (in the second half of 1927), the anti-Semitic agitation assumed a thoroughly unbridled character. The slogan, "Beat the Opposition," often took on the complexion of the old slogan "Beat the Jews and save Russia." The matter went so far that Stalin was constrained to come out with a printed statement which declared: "We fight against Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev not because they are Jews but because they are Oppositionists," etc. To every politically thinking person it was completely clear that this consciously equivocal declaration, directed against "excesses" of anti-Semitism, did at the same time with complete premeditation nourish it. "Do not forget that the leaders of the Opposition are—Jews." That was the meaning of the statement of Stalin, published in all Soviet journals.²¹

During the Moscow Trials of the 1930s,

20. *Leon Trotsky on the Jewish Question* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), p. 24.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Trotsky points out, when his son "was charged with the utterly incredible accusation of plotting to poison workers, the GPU announced in the Soviet and foreign press that the 'real' (!) name of my son is not Sedov but Bronstein. If these falsifiers wished to emphasize the connection of the accused with me, they would have called him Trotsky since politically the name Bronstein means nothing at all to anyone. But they were out for other game; that is, they wished to emphasize my Jewish origin and the semi-Jewish origin of my son."²²

The use of anti-Semitism in the fight against the Left Opposition was the first example of this historical weapon of reaction being used by the Soviet leadership. It was not long, however, before there were others.

One example was the fate of the Jewish leadership in Birobidzhan. This region, on the Soviet-Chinese border, had been set aside for Jewish colonization in the mid-1920s. In 1934 it was declared an autonomous Jewish territory. However, its distance from the main centers of Jewish population, lack of material aid, and overall bureaucratic mismanagement resulted in only a small trickle of Jewish emigration to the region. In 1936 the top Jewish leadership there was arrested and accused of "artificially implanting Jewish culture into a region which was not predominantly Jewish."

The internal pressures behind the resurgence of anti-Semitism inside the Soviet Union were multiplied by the rise of fascism in the rest of Europe. One indication of what was to come was the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact in August 1939. Maxim Litvinov, a Jew, was replaced by V.M. Molotov as Soviet foreign minister in order to avoid any embarrassment in the negotiations.

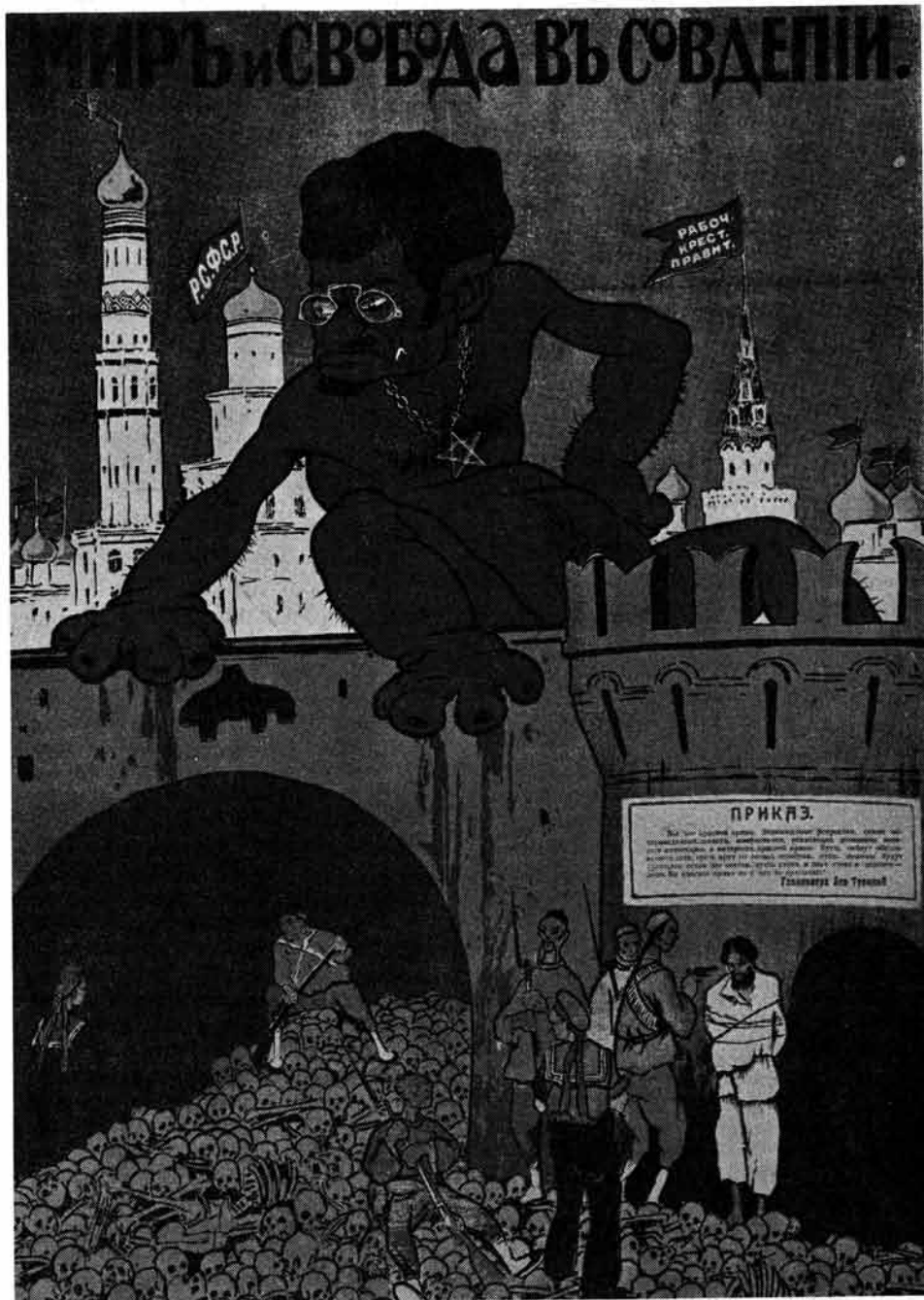
In an article written during the "thaw" of the mid-1960s Mark Gallai, a Jewish test pilot who had been awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, recalled his puzzlement:

The fascists were no longer called fascists—it became impossible to find the word in the press and even in semi-official lectures and speeches. What we had been taught to abhor as hostile, evil and menacing from our Komsomol [Young Communist]—nay, Pioneer—days, suddenly became, as it were, neutral. This was not stated in so many words, but the feeling stole into our souls as we looked at photographs of Molotov standing next to Hitler, or read reports of Soviet grain and oil flowing into fascist Germany, or watched the Prussian goose-step being introduced at that very time into our armed forces. Yes, it was very difficult to understand what was what!²³

In September 1939 Hitler invaded Poland and World War II began. Stalin, who

22. Ibid., p. 25.

23. Kochan, *Jews in Soviet Russia*, pp. 270-71.



Anti-Semitic White Russian poster depicting Trotsky as the ogre of the Kremlin.

had agreed in advance to divide Poland with Hitler, took over the eastern portion of the country. Jews fleeing the Nazi advance were denied entry to the Soviet-controlled zone.

Stalin's Policy in World War II

The refusal of the Stalinist bureaucracy to expose Hitler's crimes against the Jewish people lest this upset the Soviet Union's diplomatic relations with the Nazi regime was not rectified following Hitler's invasion of the USSR. The Nazi propaganda machine, like that of the White armies during the civil war, played up the suppo-

sedly Jewish character of the Soviet regime, telling soldiers at the front that they were dying for the Jews. Stalin, in reply, asserted the *Russian* character of his regime.

As Trotsky pointed out in his 1937 article cited above, the bureaucrat "will, at the critical moment, inevitably try to emphasize that he is a brother to the *muzhik* and the peasant—not some sort of foreigner and under no circumstances a Jew."

The Soviet war effort provided the Jews with one of their few opportunities to resist Nazism with arms in hand, and it is hardly surprising that they responded

with an effort that was proportionally far greater than their size in the Soviet population. But the Stalinist bureaucracy has covered the contribution of the Jews to the defense of the Soviet Union and the struggle against Hitler with silence.

Ilya Ehrenburg, a Jewish writer famed for his servility to Stalin and his ability to accommodate himself to whatever twists and turns were necessary to keep up with the party line, testified that during the summer of 1943 Aleksandr Shcherbakov, head of the army's Political Commissariat and a close associate of Stalin, instructed him to play down the exploits of Jews in the Red Army.

The blatant glorification of "Mother Russia" as opposed to the internationalism taught by the Bolsheviks reached such a point that *Izvestia*, the Soviet newspaper, reported a toast by Stalin at the war's end in which he declared the "Russian people" to be the "most outstanding of all nations of the Soviet Union."

Stalin's wartime policy played into the hands of the Nazis instead of strengthening the defense of the Soviet state. The refusal to openly counter the anti-Semitic propaganda of the Nazis made it seem to many as if the fascists were right, and the Soviet regime was trying to cover something up.

In the Ukraine especially, where hatred of the Stalin regime made the masses look for an alternative, the Nazis were welcomed in many villages as liberators and were successful in recruiting a significant layer of people to help in the extermination of the Jews. Even after the mass of Ukrainians had turned with hatred on the Nazi occupiers, the attacks on Jews did not end.

A Ukrainian Jew who left Kharkov and the USSR in 1944 reported: "The Ukrainians received the returning Jews with open animosity. During the first weeks after the liberation of Kharkov no Jews ventured about along in the streets at night."

The report went on to describe "many cases [when] Jews were beaten on the market place and one was killed. . . . In Kiev 16 Jews were killed in the course of a pogrom. . . . Returning Jews receive no more than a small proportion of their property. . . . The Ukrainian authorities are greatly antisemitic."²⁴

In the postwar period Stalin openly encouraged and orchestrated the backward bigotry that remained among large sections of the Soviet population for his own cynical purposes. His anti-Semitic campaign reached its worst depths in the period beginning in 1948.

This, incidentally, occurred during the same period that Stalin gave strong diplomatic support to Israel. Stalin backed the formation of the Israeli state in the November 1947 United Nations vote to partition Palestine. During the 1948-49 war

the sale of Czechoslovak arms to Israel was arranged by Stalin. This proved to be a significant factor in the Zionist victory. Stalin found support to Israel quite compatible with his anti-Jewish policies inside the Soviet Union. The Israeli leaders, for their part, chose not to make a big issue of what was going on inside the USSR as long as Czechoslovak arms were forthcoming.

'Murderers in White Aprons'

During World War II, Jewish schools and cultural institutions throughout the western part of the Soviet Union were either destroyed or abandoned as a result of the Nazi invasion. When the war was over, they were not allowed to reopen. Then, in 1948, the entire remaining Yiddish cultural establishment, including newspapers, publishing houses, and theaters, was closed down. Almost all those actively involved in these fields were either executed or imprisoned. During the years 1948-49 not one Yiddish book was published in the Soviet Union.

Beginning in 1949 a campaign against Jewish intellectuals as "rootless," "cosmopolitan," and "passportless" was carried out. Newspapers would list the original, Jewish names of "cosmopolitans" in parentheses after their adopted Russian names in order to make the link clearer. Ilya Ehrenburg was identified at one public rally as "Cosmopolitan Number One."

In his memoirs Ehrenburg described how he was prevented from bringing out a book on the Nazi slaughter of Soviet Jews in this period. There were also numerous examples of new editions of books published in the USSR in which material relating to Jews and anti-Semitism was simply deleted. While the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia* published in the 1920s and 1930s had twenty articles, taking up seventy-six pages, whose titles began with "Jews," or "Jewish," the second edition in 1952 had one two-page article. This article explained that "the Lenin-Stalin national policy of equality of rights and friendship of the peoples has led to a situation in which 'the Jewish question' does not exist in the U.S.S.R."²⁵

The overtly anti-Semitic campaign begun by Stalin following his destruction of all organized forms of Jewish expression in the Soviet Union culminated in the infamous "Doctors' Plot." In January 1953 nine professors of medicine (six of them Jews), were publicly accused of conspiring to "wipe out the leading cadres of the Soviet Union."

These "murderers in white aprons," as they were called, had supposedly been working for the "international Jewish bourgeois nationalist organization" as well as British and American imperialism.

They were said to have been trained by "the hypocrite Mikhoels" [the most famous Yiddish actor in the Soviet Union and chairman of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, murdered on orders from Stalin in January 1948]. Mikhoels, in imagery worthy of a passion play, had supposedly sold himself to the United States "for thirty pieces of silver." His followers, "loyal adherents of the Zionist kehillah," were "the personification of baselessness and abomination, the same kind as that of Judas Iscariot."²⁶

Jewish medical specialists and teachers, technicians, nurses, and students, were expelled from schools, hospitals, and laboratories. The Soviet historian Roy Medvedev has described how "the organs of the NKVD hastily prepared for a massive expulsion of the Jews from the main cities. . . . In several districts of Kazakhstan, barracks for Jews were urgently erected. A text of an appeal to the Jewish people, which several distinguished scientists and cultural leaders of Jewish nationality had to sign 'requesting' resettlement, was prepared; several large-scale factories passed resolutions about the eviction of Jews. . . ."²⁷

In his biography of Stalin, Isaac Deutscher expressed the opinion, "If the intrigue had been allowed to run its course—if the trial of the doctors had been held—it could have only one sequel: a nation-wide pogrom."²⁸

Fortunately, Stalin died before the affair reached its climax and his successors denounced the whole frame-up.

Behind the Anti-Jewish Campaign

The fact that Stalin's anti-Semitic campaign reached such intensity during the period of 1948 to 1953 was not coincidental. This was the period of the cold war, and Stalin made conscious use of anti-Semitism in order to tighten his grip on the East European states conquered by the Red Army during the war.

In May 1949 the first of the East European purge trials began in Hungary with the arrest of Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Rajk, a top Stalinist leader. Three of Rajk's six codefendants were Jews, and a hint of things to come was given in "confessions" that one had been a member of a "Trotskyite-Zionist group," and another had spied "together with Zionist agents."

The use of anti-Semitism in the elimination of any potential opposition leaders in Eastern Europe reached its culmination in the 1952 trial of Rudolf Slansky, the number two leader of the Czechoslovak

26. Korey, *The Soviet Cage*, p. 86.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

28. Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin: A Political Biography*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 627.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 306.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

Communist party. Of the fourteen defendants in the Slansky trial, eleven were Jews. They were accused of being "Trotskyite-Titoist-Zionist bourgeois nationalist traitors and enemies of the Czechoslovak people." Where names were not obviously Jewish, the indictment added the identification of original names in parentheses.²⁹

Demands for socialist democracy in Poland in 1968 and in Czechoslovakia that same year were met with massive "anti-Zionist" campaigns. When six Soviet dissenters demonstrated in Red Square on August 25, 1968, against the invasion of Czechoslovakia, police agents attacked them with shouts of "These are all dirty Jews."

Although there has been no campaign as sinister as the Doctors' Plot since Stalin's death, his bureaucratic heirs continue the policy of fanning anti-Semitic prejudice in order to maintain this option for use during political emergencies. In addition, Jews are routinely used as scapegoats for certain types of economic problems, and they are discriminated against culturally and in the area of political advancement.

Some of the anti-Semitic literature produced in the Soviet Union has been camouflaged as "antireligious propaganda." For example, *Minskaia Pravda*, a newspaper in the capital of Byelorussia, said in its April 4, 1961, edition, "Money! That is the God of the Minsk Jewish religious community and their aides."

In October 1963 the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences published a book by Trofim Kichko titled *Judaism Without Embellishment*. "What is the secular God [of the Jews]?" Kichko asks. "Money. Money, that is the jealous God of Israel."³⁰

Kichko's book was printed complete with caricatures of hook-nosed rabbis. Even U.S. Communist party chief Gus Hall felt compelled to protest against this crude slur. Such material is produced in large quantities in Ukrainian and Moldavian, languages that very few Soviet Jews are fluent in. The purpose is clearly not to convince religious Jews that they should be atheists, but to circulate anti-Semitic propaganda.

Stalinist 'Anti-Zionism'

Anti-Zionist material that crosses the boundary of anti-Semitism is the main area in which Jews are defamed in Soviet literature. A recent example was an article in the Soviet weekly *Ogonyok*, dated October 12, 1974, by Dimitri Zhukov. The article claims, "The impertinence and the

greedy aspirations of the Zionists are based on the fact that the greater part of industry, finance and news media in the capitalist countries is under the influence of the Zionist bourgeoisie."

It goes on to say, "In the post-war years alone, 70 milliard [billion] dollars have been extracted from the Latin-American countries. Three-fourths of this amount got into the hands of the monopolies led by the Zionist 'elite': Lehman, Lazar, Blaustein, Stillman, Warburg, Kuhn, Guggenheimer, Leb, Cahn, Rosenwald and Schiff."³¹

The invention of these fictional Jewish ruling class families was matched by an article in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* on October 4, 1967, which claimed: "Zionist lawyers comprise about 70 per cent of all American lawyers; 60 per cent of the physicists (including those engaged in secret work on weapons of mass destruction) and over 43 per cent of industrialists. Adherents of Zionism amongst American Jews own 80 per cent of local and international news agencies."

In the area of admitted fiction, there have also been cases of open anti-Semitism. One example was the novel by Ivan Shevtsov, *In the Name of the Father and the Son*, published in 1970. According to Shevtsov, Zionism even "sent its agents into the international Communist and workers' movement," as when "Judas-Trotsky (Bronshstein), a typical agent of Zionism" became "international provocateur Number One."

The record since Stalin's death in the areas of political and cultural discrimination has been no better. As late as 1940 there were 85,000 to 90,000 children—20 percent of the Jewish student population—studying in schools where Yiddish was the language of instruction. Today, there is not a single Yiddish school or Yiddish class, in spite of the fact that in the 1970 census 380,000 persons still gave Yiddish, or one of the less common dialects spoken among Eastern Jews, as their mother tongue.

In the area of political representation, 10.8 percent of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party was composed of Jews in 1939. This figure stands at 0.3 percent today, far below the percentage of Jews in the population.

When the Khrushchev regime undertook a much-publicized campaign against economic crimes in the early 1960s, the practice of printing Jewish names in parentheses after Russian-sounding ones was restored. More than 50 percent of those executed for economic crimes were

Jews, and in the Ukraine it reached 80 percent.

At the same time that the bureaucracy suppresses the national rights of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and dozens of other nationalities within the USSR, it plays them off against the Jews. The Ukrainian people, for example, are justifiably concerned about the destruction of their national heritage through Russification. The bureaucracy, while continuing to push its Russifying policies, seeks to divert the resentment of the Ukrainians towards the Jews, who are an urban, mostly Russian-speaking minority. Thus, Khrushchev told a delegation of the French Socialist party in 1956:

"Our heterogeneous populations have their republics. . . . Each of them has an autonomous government. Formerly backward and illiterate, these peoples now have their engineers and professionals. . . . Should the Jews want to occupy the foremost positions in our republics now, it would naturally be taken amiss by the indigenous inhabitants. The latter would ill-receive these pretensions, especially as they do not consider themselves less intelligent nor less capable than the Jews."³²

The fact that 92 percent of all top party posts on the USSR level are held by Russians reveals the real attitude of the bureaucracy toward the national question. The argument that Ukrainians, Byelorussians, or other minority nationalities are not sufficiently represented in one or another area is not used by the bureaucracy against the Great Russian oppressors, but against the Jews, who have themselves been oppressed by Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and other nationalities at the same time that all are oppressed by the Great Russians.

While the demand that all Russian-speaking officials in the Ukraine learn to speak Ukrainian, whether or not they are Jewish, is a reasonable one that would be supported by revolutionists, the bureaucracy's false concern about filling posts with representatives of different Soviet nationalities is one more way in which the Jews are in practice discriminated against.

In summing up the experience of the Jews in the Soviet Union it would be foolish and one-sided to deny the enormous progress that was made as a result of the revolutions of 1917. It is crystal clear, however, despite the protestations of the

32. Korey, *The Soviet Cage*, pp. 52-53.

29. An account of the Stalinist record of anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe can be found in Paul Lendvai's *Anti-Semitism Without Jews: Communist Eastern Europe* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1971).

30. Other examples are cited by Korey in *The Soviet Cage* and by Kochan.

31. The National Jewish Commission of the U.S. Communist party issued a statement on this article published in the March-April 1975 issue of *Jewish Affairs*. While admitting that the article "contains a number of gross inaccuracies and statements with distinct anti-Semitic implications," the bulk of the statement was devoted to attacking the persons who protested.

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Stalinist apologists, that anti-Semitism remains a potent force. As in everything else, the stand of the Stalinist bureaucracy on the Jewish question is in complete contradiction to the traditions and ideals of socialism. What is needed is not a reevaluation of the socialist program, but only its application.

A Program for Jewish Rights

In view of the huge advances in the overall economic and cultural level of the Soviet Union since the early 1920s, it is clear that a return to the revolutionary nationalities policy followed by the Bolsheviks would produce even greater benefits today than it did when it was originally implemented. But the Stalinist bureaucracy is incapable of implementing such a policy. As a result, the question of how to combat the oppression of the Jews inside the Soviet Union is really part of the larger problem of the need for a political revolution by the Soviet workers, peasants, and oppressed nationalities that would throw out the bureaucrats and reestablish a workers democracy in the USSR. The experiences of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 are indications of what the future holds for the Stalinist regime.

However, in the course of the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, the various oppressed layers of the population will mobilize around demands that reflect their own specific experiences. In the case of the Jews, these would include the demand to end the discriminatory quotas in education and admission to professions; full rights for the Yiddish language and for the development of Yiddish culture; respect for the right to practice the Jewish religion without discrimination or interference; and the right of those who want to leave the USSR to emigrate.

In addition, a genuine socialist government in the Soviet Union would be duty bound to spread the truth about the anti-Semitic crimes of Stalinism and the heroic role of the Jewish fighters who helped to found the Soviet state and defend it during World War II. And it would open up the possibility for those who so desired to live in an autonomous territory in which Jewish culture would predominate.

Unfortunately, because of the popular identification of the Jewish dissidents in the Soviet Union with Zionism, some who solidarize with the struggle of the Palestinian people against national oppression in the Middle East are reluctant to support the equally valid struggle of the Soviet Jews against their oppression at the hands of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Those who take this view are in error; in the first place, they are wrong about the character of the Jewish struggle in the USSR. It is not inspired by the desire to join in the oppression of Arabs in the Middle East, but by the desire to either alleviate or escape from oppression inside

the USSR. The legitimacy of this struggle is clear from the entire history of the Jews under tsarism and under Stalinism.

From this point of view, the struggle of the Soviet Jews deserves the same *unconditional* support that revolutionists give to any struggle against national oppression. The fact that many of the most active participants in the struggle—or at least those whose resistance is most publicized—have adopted a pro-Zionist political outlook does not change the attitude of revolutionists toward this fight. Those who have become pro-Zionist have been driven in this direction by the oppression they have experienced at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucrats, and that is where the blame belongs. Furthermore, the only way to convince Soviet Jews to reject Zionism and turn toward revolutionary-socialist solutions is by standing with them on the ground of support to the struggle against anti-Semitism in the USSR.

Special arguments have been raised by some around the issue of Jewish emigration from the USSR. No other national group is allowed freedom of choice in this area either, but because of the particular circumstances this demand has become identified as a specifically Jewish issue.

The great majority of Soviet Jews do not want to emigrate; they simply want to live in the country of their birth without any discrimination. However, it is hardly surprising that many others do want to get out of the USSR. Even though this demand alone is insufficient to solve the problem of discrimination, it is one of the democratic rights that must be defended against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Soviet Jews and Palestinian Liberation

Underlying the objections to the right of Soviet Jews to free emigration is the idea that restrictions on this right somehow help the Palestinian people in their struggle with Israel. This is a shortsighted view that leads to reactionary conclusions. The logic of this position would be to support the antidemocratic restrictions imposed by the Stalinist bureaucracy, and to call on the bureaucracy to impose further restrictions.

Such a stand would undermine the Palestinian liberation movement as much as the antibureaucratic movement in the USSR. The Palestinian people have appealed to the world to support them because they are fighting against oppression. To refuse the same support to others carrying out such a struggle could only weaken that appeal.

The Zionists themselves often use the argument that the Jews of Europe were so oppressed that they were justified in coming to the Middle East and dispossessing the Palestinians. They are easily answered by explaining that the oppression of one people cannot be ended by

supporting or participating in the oppression of another. That is the program of bourgeois nationalism, not of Marxism. This is also the case when the oppression of the Palestinians is used as an argument against the rights of Soviet Jews.

Of course, emigration from the Soviet Union is not the same thing as immigration into Israel. The first involves the relations between the Soviet bureaucracy and the oppressed Jews, along with any others who might choose to leave. The second involves the relations between Jews and Arabs, and in this case the Jewish settlers have oppressed the Palestinians. In the present context in the Middle East the restoration of the Palestinians' right to self-determination is the first priority. Once that is achieved, the residents of Palestine can decide on a democratic immigration policy based on the capacities of the country.

The importance of distinguishing between the right of Jews to leave the Soviet Union and the right of the Zionist movement to colonize Palestine is underlined by the fact that many of those Jews who do decide to leave the USSR are not Zionists at all. The number of Soviet Jews reaching Vienna who chose not to go to Israel was 4 percent in 1973, 19 percent in 1974, and had gone up to 35 percent by the first four months of 1975. This percentage will increase if larger numbers of Jews leave the USSR.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has consciously used the charge of Zionism as a means of undercutting world support for Jewish rights in the Soviet Union. But while oppressing the Jews, it does nothing to help the Palestinians, using their struggle as a pawn in its cynical diplomatic maneuvers.

A strong stand in opposition to anti-Semitism and the oppression of Jews, no matter where it takes place, is essential for any movement that hopes to win the Jewish population away from Zionism. The reality is that the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people and the movement of Jews in the Soviet Union against their oppression are complementary. It is necessary to reaffirm the basic tenet of Marxist internationalism, that a blow against oppression anywhere in the world helps the class struggle everywhere.

Universities Shut Down in Burma

All universities in Burma were ordered closed by the government March 24 following a peaceful march by 2,000 students through Rangoon demanding the release of imprisoned students and the postponement of examinations. Students occupied Rangoon University for two days, leaving it on the morning of March 25. Two student leaders were arrested and others were reported to have gone into hiding.

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

Theses on Angola

[The following resolution, proposed by the International Majority Tendency at the February meeting of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, received the following vote: 44 for, 17 against.]

* * *

I

1. The formation of an independent state in Angola is the outcome of a political and military struggle waged by many social and political forces. In spite of the existence of an anticolonialist tradition and the scope of the forces mobilized in the armed confrontation, the struggle went on for fourteen years, because of the following specific factors:

a. Portuguese imperialism's interest in controlling the very considerable resources of the country, especially since it could not seriously rely on a neocolonial reconversion because of its economic and political weakness;

b. the necessity for the fascist regime in Lisbon to maintain its colonial empire or suffer the breakdown of the overall socio-political equilibrium on which it was based;

c. the presence in Angola of a significant contingent of colons who were propelled by their racial interests and privileges to defend the traditional colonial structures to the very end;

d. the character of the Angolan socio-economic structure, which was more developed than that of the other Portuguese colonies, which implied more substantial potential for a dynamic of permanent revolution;

e. the absence of a national bourgeoisie of any degree of solidity;

f. the difficulty for the United States to play the card of neocolonialism at the expense of the old colonial power and to contribute to a relatively peaceful reconversion; this was a result both of Washington's politico-military links with the Lisbon regime in the framework of the Atlantic Pact (which involved aid to the Portuguese army) and of the U.S. desire not to endanger the political equilibrium of the Iberian peninsula (the events following April 25, 1974, confirmed just how well founded this concern was from the standpoint of the imperialists).

2. In the course of the war, transformations occurred that accentuated the weight

of some of these factors and, in the final analysis, reduced imperialism's political maneuvering room. In the countryside the traditional structures were shaken, especially in certain regions, by military operations, "preventive" repressive measures ("strategic hamlets"), and massive immigration (mainly to Zaïre). At the same time, capitalist agriculture based on production for the world market was increasingly strengthened, at the expense of subsistence agriculture. As for the industrial economy, very important foreign investment was made in basic sectors (oil), in the small- and middle-sized transformation industry, and in the commercial network. This process was stepped up at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s.

The result of these combined developments was that the relative weight of the capitalist structures increased, the working class became more numerous, as did other wage-earning sectors, the urban petty bourgeoisie was also strengthened, and the bourgeoisies of capitalist countries other than Portugal became increasingly interested in controlling Angola (the United States and the West European powers, mainly Britain). The war was also prolonged because the anticolonialist movement was deeply divided and the neighboring neocolonial states played an extremely ambiguous role. On the one hand, they could not avoid aiding the liberation movements; on the other hand, they tried to control them and fit them into their own political projects, going so far as to become vehicles for imperialist pressure. (The Congolese governments aided the FNLA to the detriment of the MPLA, fostering the wait-and-see military attitudes and equivocal political attitudes of the Holden Roberto leadership; Zambia vacillated in selecting its main ally.)

3. The defeat of Portuguese imperialism was not solely military. In reality, it was determined by the colonial army's inability to crush the armed struggles of the Angolan people, by the major military defeats suffered by the imperialists in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, by the fact that the economic burdens of the war were becoming increasingly intolerable for Lisbon, and by the increasingly serious political consequences in the metropolis of the unending prolongation of the conflict.

During the first phase after April 25 the Spinolista project was to accept the accomplished fact of the complete victory of the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau, to acquiesce to Frelimo's control of Mozambique (while

not abandoning attempts at blackmail and pressure or rearguard battles), and to maneuver in Angola with the aim of preserving more direct influence and more substantial control than in the former colonies. Such an attitude was linked to the far greater importance of Angola to Portugal and to imperialism in general, both economically and strategically. But the decisive element was the division of the Angolan national movement and the possibility of exploiting this division politically and militarily. Because of the revolutionary crisis in the metropolis and the paralysis of the Portuguese bourgeois army, the Portuguese government was unable to carry its operation through successfully and found itself compelled to pull out. But the other imperialist and neocolonialist forces (United States, South Africa, the countries of capitalist Europe, Zaïre, Zambia) plunged into the open breach, thus contributing more or less directly to the outbreak of the civil war.

II

4. The Angolan national movement dates back to the 1920s; ideologically, it goes back even to the end of the past century, and it has its roots in anticolonial struggles extending over four centuries. But it was in the middle and late 1950s that this movement began to acquire considerable influence and to express itself in organized forms. The armed struggle began after the colonial regime rejected any concessions and under the impetus of African and world events (formation of a series of independent states on the continent, the Algerian war, the victory of the Cuban revolution, etc.).

Varied social and political forces participated in the movement: the urban petty bourgeoisie, the radicalized intelligentsia, militants and cadres coming out of the proletariat and peasantry, emigrés in the Congo, etc. It is almost symbolic that the initiatives that marked the opening of hostilities (in February and March 1961) were taken by the two social and political components that were active at the time (nuclei emerging from the petty bourgeoisie and poor masses in the cities, essentially under the influence of the MPLA, and nuclei emerging from the peasantry and the emigrés in the countryside, under the influence of the UPA, predecessor of the FNLA). From the beginning, both the breadth of the layers mobilizing or susceptible to mobilizing in the anti-imperialist struggle and at the same time the difficulty in establishing a united political and organizational framework were felt.

5. During the period 1961-1966 the FNLA, led by Holden Roberto, succeeded in establishing a relationship of forces clearly in its favor.

The MPLA, whose original base was essentially urban, was harder hit by the

repression unleashed in the wake of the 1961 actions and did not succeed in developing a base outside of the Cabinda enclave. Especially between 1961 and 1964 the MPLA went through a very critical phase during which, among other things, it maneuvered with small questionable groups and was seriously affected by a crisis of leadership that even led to the departure of the Viriato de Cruz group (a group claiming adherence to Marxism and to Maoist conceptions). Because of its orientation and its international links, the MPLA was particularly hampered by the action of the Congolese government, which sabotaged its activities and tried to eliminate it from the political scene.

The FNLA was in a better position to resist the repression because of its peasant base. It was able to take advantage of its presence in the border regions and the base it had among the masses of emigrés. It enjoyed aid from or tolerance of the successive governments of the Congo. In face of U.S. rejection of requests for material aid, it tried to take advantage of the Sino-Soviet conflict by initiating an opening toward Peking; it succeeded in getting the Organization of African Unity to recognize the government it had set up, the GRAE (Revolutionary Angolan Government in Exile). Even the tribal component (Bakongo)—always stronger in the FNLA than in the MPLA—represented a factor of strength at the time, since it assured, among other things, the vital links with the emigration and the Congo.

6. The situation started to change beginning in 1966. The MPLA took the initiative again and, utilizing the forces it had consolidated in Cabinda and enjoying the tolerance if not active support of Zambia, opened up new zones of operation (in the East, the North, and later in the North-east). In 1968 the MPLA declared that it held control of one-third of the territory. The strengthening of the MPLA was aided by its more flexible conception of guerrilla warfare and its efforts at organization in the liberated zones, where popular bodies arose in the form of village committees. Thus, it succeeded in overcoming the narrow framework of its previous sphere of action and in emerging as a force operating on a national scale.

During the same period, the FNLA adopted a fundamentally wait-and-see attitude, relying almost exclusively on its bases in the North and its Congolese "rear areas." Pressure from the Kinshasa government contributed to this orientation. Further, the FNLA suffered a split with the departure of Savimbi, who then formed the UNITA. For a long period, UNITA remained very weak, but its existence, under the leadership of a man with very important tribal connections like Savimbi, in any case represented a major obstacle to a national extension of the influence of the FNLA (and, likewise, an obstacle to a supplementary extension of the zone

controlled by the MPLA). The change in the relationship of forces in the field was not without international repercussions: the MPLA strengthened its links with the workers states and the so-called progressive governments (while the FNLA established relations with China); the MPLA achieved a rectification of the attitude of the states of the OAU, a number of which established special relations with the MPLA and, in fact, assured it a status equal to that of the FNLA-GRAE.

7. When the fascist regime in Lisbon collapsed, the Angolan national movement was still divided into three major tendencies. On several occasions, especially in 1972, attempts at unification had been made under the impetus of certain African governments, but without achieving any real results. There were new attempts in this direction in 1974. But it was only at the beginning of 1975 that the Alvor accords permitted the formation of a single government, under the auspices of the former colonial power.

The MPLA was threatened with being put in the position of paying the price for this operation, for three reasons:

—The FNLA and UNITA made a common front, utilizing tribal factors against the MPLA;

—The FNLA and UNITA were favored by the alliance with the neighboring neocolonial governments (with the sole exception of the Congo-Brazzaville, whose influence was necessarily limited);

—The FNLA and UNITA enjoyed the priority support of the imperialist powers.

The MPLA hoped to take advantage of the sympathy of a wing of the MFA—which led it to sow illusions in the MFA and the Vasco Gonçalves government—but in practice it won only very limited and ephemeral advantages in this sphere during the administration of Rosa Coutinho. In addition, it suffered a very deep internal crisis, which divided it into three tendencies and exposed it very dangerously to the influence of neocolonial governments during a certain period.

In this context, the Alvor accords, later confirmed in Nakuru, were the basis of a broad neocolonial operation, at least potentially. But the outbreak of the civil war placed everything in question.

III

8. The concretization of the Alvor project implied the constitution and maintenance of delicate balances among many interested forces, both Angolan and foreign (compromises among various social layers and different ethnic groups and regional formations, among various political and military apparatuses, conflicts of interest among various neocolonial states and various imperialist powers). Directly or indirectly, the Portuguese situation introduced other elements of disequilibrium and contradiction on several levels.

But in the final analysis, it was the dynamic of the movement of the masses in the cities, especially in Luanda, that played the decisive role in the outbreak of the crisis.

The socioeconomic changes that had gone hand in hand with the colonial war had strengthened the specific weight of the urban layers. With the fall of the Caetano regime, all the previous balances were overturned. Petty-bourgeois layers occupied or hoped to occupy the positions abandoned by the fleeing colons. The intelligentsia wanted to seize the opportunity to play an important role in the administration and in the management of the country in general. The working class, whose numerical strength had been increased consequent to the relative industrialization, organized and mobilized to assert its rights and to achieve less miserable conditions. The proletarian and plebian masses of the urban slums in turn organized and mobilized in self-defense against the desperate actions of the hardline colonialists and racists.

Strikes, demonstrations, and mobilizations came one after another up to the great demonstration that assembled tens of thousands of people in Luanda and up to the holding of a national assembly of rank-and-file committees (a general strike had already occurred in Luanda in September 1973).

It was precisely the dynamization of these exploited urban layers, who were unable to be integrated into a neocolonial framework, that blew up the structure erected by the Alvor accords.

9. The mobilization of the Luanda masses was not the result of a deliberate political initiative by the MPLA. In large measure it developed independent of the will of the MPLA leadership and largely outside its organizational framework (in fact, the MPLA's apparatus was not yet established when the mass mobilizations broke out). But because of its traditions, its previously developed roots, the character of at least some of its cadres, and its character as a national and not regional or tribal movement, the MPLA was in the best position to benefit from such a movement by enormously expanding its audience. Moreover, the MPLA faced a very concrete choice: either follow the Alvor orientation through to the end by fighting for a strict application of the accords, which would have implied, among other things, the disarming of "civilians" and entering into conflict with the movement of the masses, or integrate itself into this movement and take over leadership of it in an attempt to channel it at the same time. Given all the other elements acting against it and given that it lacked a sufficiently broad base among the peasantry, the MPLA could only choose the second solution.

The FNLA, on the other hand, which has no real base in the cities and which

counted on being the main beneficiary of the Alvor accords, if not immediately at least in the medium term, launched an offensive against the movement of the masses, accompanied by a bloody repression. The aim was to impose its own control in the capital by cutting the ground from under the feet of its rival organization.

For its part, UNITA completed the turn that led it to drop its socialistic demagogy, abandon any attitude of neutrality, present itself to the Portuguese as the partner in the best position to aid in neocolonial reconversion, and line up with the FNLA. Its regional character, which permitted it to win a significant base, also made it easier for it to take positions against the movement of the urban masses in Luanda and to commit itself against the organization that enjoyed the confidence of these masses.

IV

10. The concrete genesis of the civil war, the cleavage among the indigenous movements, and the international alignments shed unambiguous light on the fundamental nature of the Angolan conflict. On the one side are fundamentally ranged the social forces that have objective interests in struggling for consistent national independence and in rejecting neocolonial compromise solutions; this potentially inscribes these forces within a dynamic of permanent revolution, of the growing over of the national revolution into social revolution. These forces are: the decisive layers of the urban working class—both in industry and services—layers of the agricultural wage-earners, the plebian masses cast out of the economic and social structure by colonialism, broad sectors of the petty bourgeoisie affected by the wave of radicalization, sectors of the poor peasantry that participated in the armed struggle directly or indirectly and underwent their first experiences in political mobilization and organization by entering into conflict with the structure of traditional rural society.

On the other side stand those forces that cling to the privileges of the past, as ludicrous as these may be, those who have an interest in the establishment of a neocolonial society, those who do not want to sever the imperialist umbilical cord definitively, those who want to defend what remains of traditional society. These forces are: the remnants of the colons, the well-off layers of the petty bourgeoisie, the embryonic nuclei of the national bourgeoisie, the traditional chiefs and their acolytes. The outbreak of the civil war in conjunction with the movement of the urban masses reflects in a condensed—and simplified—form the sociopolitical content of the military confrontation.

The fact that the FNLA and UNITA are supported by American imperialism, the major European imperialist powers, the

racists of South Africa, and the bloc of the most conservative or even reactionary neocolonial states, while the MPLA enjoys the support of the workers states (with the ignoble exception of China), primarily that of the Soviet Union and Cuba, and the neocolonial governments which are still unable to jettison either the traditions of struggle of their national movements or the mass sentiment that still exists or which want to polish up their "progressive" images confirms and strengthens the analysis of the dynamic of the indigenous forces. Moreover, it is clear that a possible victory for the FNLA-UNITA bloc would not only mark a success for the counterrevolution in Angola, with a tragic consequence of bloody repression, but would also strengthen the positions of imperialism in this region of very great strategic importance, would breathe new life into the South African racists, and would lead to the formation of more reactionary regimes in a series of African countries.

11. The intervention of the imperialists in the Angolan civil war was inspired by their need to defend their extremely important economic, political, and strategic interests in Angola itself and above all throughout this region of Africa.

The U.S. government was subject to contradictory pressures: On the one hand, there were tendencies favoring an intervention because of specific economic interests or political considerations. On the other hand, there was resistance from groups that were concerned about the negative consequences for their interests in a series of African states that could result from a basic commitment to the FNLA-UNITA bloc and to the Pretoria regime; further, some politicians were more inclined to play the card of integrating the MPLA into a neocolonialist project. But the overall political and strategic stakes involved compelled Washington to opt for supporting the FNLA and UNITA. If this support has so far not been translated into a direct military intervention, it is because of the situation created by the recent defeat in Vietnam and the fear of provoking a rebirth of the antiwar movement, especially among the Black minority. For its part, the South African regime was propelled to intervene because of its desire to defend long-standing economic interests and because of its concern for maintaining its strategic and political ramparts. The Pretoria regime committed itself especially because it is now being undermined by a serious crisis, a crisis that could come to a head in the event of a victory of the anti-imperialist forces in Angola and possibly in other countries of the region, stimulating the struggle of the most important proletariat of all Africa and placing the very existence of the regime in question.

The action of the Soviet bureaucracy is explained by its desire to play an important political role both in the region and in

Africa in general and its determination not to relinquish at the decisive moment the advantages it may draw from the support it has long since granted the MPLA. At the same time, the Soviet bureaucracy is motivated by the need to make gains against China in the international communist and workers movement and among the masses of the colonial or semicolonial countries. Nor may it be excluded that the internal situation in the Communist party of the Soviet Union on the eve of its new congress may be involved. The Cuban intervention, while reflecting the basic political accord between Havana and Moscow, has special importance because of the very fact of its massive and direct character; this intervention represents a genuine challenge to American imperialism, in the best traditions of revolutionary internationalism.

12. The definition of the character of the civil war and the comprehension of the potential for a dynamic of permanent revolution, based on the analysis of the social forces and not of the political organizations, are not in contradiction with characterizing the MPLA as a movement with a petty-bourgeois leadership. The nature of the MPLA has been petty bourgeois since its origin, both because of its social composition and because of its political conceptions and orientations.

To the extent that it acquired a mass influence, became an important component of the anti-imperialist movement, and committed itself to a prolonged armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism, the MPLA is, more precisely, an expression of a revolutionary petty-bourgeois nationalist current. The ideological and political influence exercised from the beginning by elements with Stalinist or Khrushchev training is not in contradiction with the MPLA's ideology as a whole. This is true not only because petty-bourgeois revolutionaries can utilize Marxism, especially a deformed Marxism, as an ingredient in their conceptions, but more concretely because Stalinist theses on the revolution by stages and bureaucratic conceptions of the relationship with the masses tend to coincide with the line of collaboration with the so-called national bourgeoisie, the conceptions of the state and party, and the bureaucratic methods of organization which have characterized and still characterize the MPLA. The fact that the MPLA organized committees in the liberated zones and, immediately after April 25, 1974, called for the creation of committees in the cities must not obscure the fact that these committees were conceived on the basis of paternalist and authoritarian criteria, that the internal functioning of the MPLA itself has always suffered from very serious bureaucratic deformations, that even during the past several months the MPLA's take-over of the mass movement in Luanda has en-

tailed a restructuring of the committees from above, with the elimination of cadres and militants denounced as ultraleftists or anarchists and with severe purge measures.

13. The rapid and substantial successes won by the army of the People's Republic of Angola are not the result solely of military superiority; they are explainable politically above all. While the FNLA and UNITA proved incapable of mobilizing the masses in their zones of influence or of raising the morale of their troops, the MPLA was able to rely on a solid urban base to start from. Up to now, the peasant masses have not played an active role. Nevertheless, their mobilization remains essential not only for a definitive victory in the civil war, but more generally for the future of the Angolan revolution. The decisive point remains the conquest of a broad peasant base. Any possible underestimation of these problems would have very negative consequences not only on the current military conflict but also and more generally on the future of the Angolan revolution. That is why it is a political priority to struggle for an agrarian reform that breaks the power of the large landlords and capitalist farmers, loosens the vise of poverty of subsistence agriculture and its remaining tribal structures, guarantees the small and middle peasants adequate prices for their products and allows them to escape the claws of the middlemen, and aids the population of the countryside in resolving the elementary problems created by the colonial war and the civil war.

At the same time, measures expropriating imperialist property—in any case a legitimate response to the combined military attacks against the People's Republic of Angola—would have the effect of solidifying the ranks of the anti-imperialist forces through concretely demonstrating to the masses that they are being called upon to fight in defense of their most pressing interests.

But the struggle for consistent anti-imperialist objectives must go hand in hand with the revolutionary and democratic rank-and-file organization of the masses. The experiences of the past two years, especially at the height of the urban mobilizations, must be maximally capitalized on by the relaunching of democratic and revolutionary bodies whose leaders are elected by the masses and can be removed if they do not accomplish their tasks, leaders who do not enjoy any material privileges. The strictest respect for democratic rights, including the right of expression of the various political currents and organizations, is a necessity that is particularly felt after centuries of colonization and long years of merciless imperialist repression. A mass democratic revolutionary organization opposing any bureaucratic grip or authoritarian con-

straint also represents a crucially important instrument for the struggle against traditional reactionary structures and tribal remnants.

Militants who have gone through the struggle experiences of the past two or three years and who have assimilated the lessons of the anticapitalist struggles of the masses of other countries, including East Europe, can and must play an important role in this battle. Finally, the anti-imperialist struggle of the Angolan masses will be strengthened to the extent that tight links are established with the revolutionary movements of southern Africa, which, through their struggle, are weakening the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury, ramparts of imperialism in this part of the continent.

14. The catastrophic military defeats of the FNLA and UNITA have compelled the imperialist and neocolonial forces to revise their policy. Some neocolonial governments have already made a turn: They have recognized the People's Republic of Angola and are seeking a compromise with the MPLA. The imperialists of the United States and West Europe could follow them down this road, working out a wide-ranging operation to integrate the People's Republic of Angola more or less quickly into a relatively "progressive" neocolonial project. Well-off petty-bourgeois circles, embryonic nuclei of the "national" bourgeoisie, an entire constellation of profiteers and careerists provide the material base for such an operation. The rightist tendencies of the MPLA, which had already been leaning toward compromise solutions, particularly with UNITA, may play the game through to the end. This project of the MPLA leadership—expressed, for example, in the basic law of the People's Republic—is not at all in contradiction with such a neocolonial operation, as is confirmed, among other things, by the recent overtures toward Zaïre and Zambia.

In face of such a possibility—and in any case to prevent the rapid defeat of the enemy from paradoxically having negative consequences for the revolutionary struggle—it appears all the more necessary to mobilize and organize the masses into democratic bodies that guarantee mass autonomy of any exploiting class and any bureaucratic apparatus. This task, which will not be accomplished by the petty-bourgeois leadership of the MPLA, will have to be taken up on a priority basis by revolutionaries linked to the mass movement.

V

15. The resolution on Africa adopted at the Eighth World Congress of the Fourth International in 1965 declared in regard to Angola:

"It is clear that a genuine revolutionary Angolan leadership does not yet exist and

that internal conflicts and struggles of the nationalist movement will probably continue to appear for a whole period. In determining which field of action they will give preference, the fundamental criterion for revolutionary Marxists is who at a given stage exercises real mass influence and who is actually fighting, because that is where the logic of the revolutionary struggle most easily permits the formation of a revolutionary vanguard. The line of a leadership or a few leaders cannot be a decisive criterion, all the less so in the case of insinuations or suspicions about this or that person. . . . Without hiding its criticisms and while developing its own concepts on the nature of the Angolan revolution, the Fourth International will continue to solidarize with the forces in actual struggle, which are primarily the peasant forces organized at the present stage essentially in the FNLA. The Fourth International holds that the unification of the FNLA with other existing forces (which the FNLA says it favors in principle) would prove profitable, naturally on condition that it be realized in the struggle, on the basis of a clear anti-imperialist and anticolonialist program, without which the indispensable unity in the armed struggle would suffer."

Although the criteria applied were correct and the analysis of the relationship of forces in the field was basically accurate, a self-criticism is nonetheless necessary; it can be synthesized in the following terms:

a. The February 1964 resolution of the United Secretariat and the resolution of the Eighth World Congress overestimated the possibilities of the FNLA's overcoming its tribal origins and the consequences of its regional dependence and thus of escaping the influence exercised by the neocolonial Congolese governments, vehicles for imperialist pressure.

b. The same resolutions did not take account of the MPLA's possibilities and capacities of relaunching action in other parts of the country and underestimated the role that could be played in that event by its ideology, which is more progressive than that of the FNLA.

c. The Fourth International delayed considerably in the analytical verification of the situation in Angola and consequently in making the necessary political and tactical adjustments. Even the resolution of the Tenth World Congress in February 1974 limited itself to the very general assertion that "the furtherance of the process of permanent revolution . . . can only be carried out on the basis of a clarification within the MPLA and Frelimo" and pointed to "the task of building revolutionary Marxist cadres."

16. In the civil war that broke out on the eve of the formal proclamation of independence, the Fourth International chose the camp of the People's Republic of Angola founded by the MPLA against the

holy alliance of imperialists, racists, and indigenous reactionaries. It stands on the side of the masses who are mobilizing to defend the independence won through a determined armed struggle, to defend their primordial interests against all exploiting layers and classes, both foreign and "national," for the expropriation of the capitalists and landed proprietors and the formation of a workers and peasants government based on democratic revolutionary committees, direct expressions of the masses.

Such an attitude in no way implies that the Fourth International abandons its criticisms of the MPLA leadership, which it characterizes as petty-bourgeois nationalist and not as proletarian communist, and which will not be able to carry out the task of building a workers state. Alignment in the same camp and solidarity in a common struggle are not in contradiction with the indispensable battle for the political independence of the working class and revolutionaries and for the construction of a proletarian revolutionary leadership and a revolutionary Marxist organization.

Angolan revolutionary Marxists unreservedly commit themselves to the military struggle against the reactionary holy alliance until the definitive victory, for the defense of the People's Republic of Angola, for the complete independence of Angola. In their political campaign they emphasize the necessity for an active and conscious mobilization of the masses, for their organization into democratic and revolutionary committees, the delegates elected and revocable at all times; they further emphasize the defense of democratic rights for all those fighting in the anti-imperialist camp. They carry out an indispensable task of theoretical and political clarification on the nature and strategy of the revolution in Angola by attempting first to regroup the cadres and militants who have already undergone experiences in struggle and mass mobilization and have critically reflected on these experiences.

17. The Fourth International must take an active part in a campaign of solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola organized on a world scale. This campaign should demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all imperialist and neocolonialist forces; it should call for political and material aid from the workers states and the international workers movement, the halt of all shipments of arms and matériel to the FNLA-UNITA bloc, and the recognition of the MPLA and the People's Republic of Angola.

The Fourth International denounces the attitude of the Chinese bureaucratic leadership, which, after aiding the FNLA, is now adopting a hypocritical neutral attitude, thus giving a practical demonstration of the nefarious character of its conceptions

and analyses and of a policy based on denouncing the USSR as the main enemy, a policy actually aimed at reaching a compromise with American, European, and Japanese imperialism.

African revolutionary Marxists, conscious that the defeat of the imperialists and neocolonialists in the Angolan civil war would have enormous repercussions throughout the continent, would create favorable conditions for the overthrow of

the racist regimes of South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, and would undermine the bases of the reactionary neocolonial regimes, will campaign for militant support to the People's Republic and the Angolan fighters in the circles of the African political vanguard, in the mass organizations, in the trade unions, and in the organizations of workers and students abroad.

February 14, 1976

Charged Under 'Terrorism' Act

Six SWAPO Members on Trial in Namibia

Six members of the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) are on trial in Namibia (South-West Africa) on charges under the Terrorism Act. All are accused of having taken part in "terrorist activities" aimed at "overthrowing the lawful administration."

The six defendants—three men and three women—are Aaron Muchimba, Andreas Nangolo, Hendrik Shikongo, Rauna Namibinga, Naimi Nombowo, and Anna Ngaihondjwa.

The case against the six is part of a broader South African campaign to crush the Namibian independence forces. The Pretoria regime, which has substantial investments in Namibia, administers the territory in violation of United Nations resolutions and in defiance of the wishes of the country's Black population.

In mid-1975, South African forces escalated counterinsurgency operations against SWAPO guerrillas, who were operating from bases in southern Angola. At the same time, they launched a program of forced resettlement in the densely populated areas of northern Namibia in an attempt to isolate the guerrillas from their supporters.

Using the August 16, 1975, assassination of Ovamboland Chief Minister Filemon Elifas as a pretext, South African authorities also arrested about 200 leaders, members, and sympathizers of SWAPO and of the Namibia National Convention. Although SWAPO is severely harassed by the authorities, it is still officially a legal party.

Many of the Namibian political prisoners were subsequently released. Some of them told of being beaten, tortured, or mistreated while they were in jail. In addition to the six defendants now on trial, two other SWAPO leaders, Sam Shivute and Ruben Hauwanga, are still in prison.

The trial of the six began in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia, on December 1, 1975. Of the six, Shikongo is the only one charged with involvement in the assassination of Elifas. He is alleged to have provided transport for the assassins. If

convicted, he faces a possible death sentence.

Muchimba and Nangolo are charged with having given money, a radio, and a landrover to persons opposed to the white regime. The three women are each accused of having given 10 rand (US\$11.55) to antigovernment groups.

During the preliminary hearing in December, the six were asked by presiding Judge-President F. H. Badenhorst if they had any complaints concerning their detention conditions. All said they had been beaten by the police and given bad food.

During the two days of the December hearings, 200 persons picketed the court, singing SWAPO freedom songs and carrying placards with such slogans as: "We suffer for a free united Namibia." The protests were cited by the judge as a reason for transferring the trial to Swakopmund. The trial was then adjourned until February 16.

A correspondent for the London monthly *Africa* magazine commented in the March issue that "the South African authorities are attempting to discredit SWAPO politically by alleging that SWAPO members favour a policy of general violence against their opponents, which suggest that a move to formally ban SWAPO in Namibia may be imminent."

The September-December 1975 issue of *Namibia News*, published by SWAPO, declared: "Every effort must be made to put pressure on the South African regime for the release of all Namibian political prisoners and detainees. We appeal to our sympathisers in the international community to protest to the South African Government against the imprisonment and detention of SWAPO members and supporters, and the continuing South African occupation of Namibia."

Messages and letters of protest should be sent to Prime Minister Vorster, State Buildings, Pretoria, South Africa. SWAPO has also asked that messages of solidarity be sent to the six defendants, addressed to SWAPO, P.O. Box 1071, Windhoek, South-West Africa. □

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

A Concorde on Rails?

By André Fryx

[The following article appeared in the March 13 issue of *Lutte Ouvrière*, a weekly newspaper published in Paris. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The TGV project, that is, the high-speed train (Train à Grande Vitesse) between Paris and Lyon, has provoked a number of protests, mainly from environmental groups and farm representatives in the areas the future line will cross.

The TGV turbotrain runs at about 250 kilometers [about 155 miles] an hour and would make Paris less than two hours away from Lyon. The plans are to lay special tracks that would bypass the big cities and link Paris and Lyon directly. The environmental groups have attacked the project as an ecological catastrophe. The TGV will lay waste 1,800 hectares [about 4,450 acres] of land and raze about 500 hectares [about 1,235 acres] of forest, without taking into account the quarries that will have to be opened along the length of the roadbed. The tracks are to be surrounded by a fence and will be difficult for cattle, farm machinery, and wild animals to cross; on the average there will be only one crossing point every 1,200 meters. In addition, there is a danger that the underground water tables will be affected, according to the environmental groups. And then there is also the question of the noise caused by the train.

The SNCF [Société Nationale des Chemins de Fer—State Railroad Company] answers all these arguments by stating that studies have been made and that when all is said and done the inconvenience will be far less than that caused, say, by a superhighway.

However, those who live alongside the future line have in no way been won over by the claims of the SNCF. Above all, they challenge the notion that the inconvenience is justified by the train's usefulness. The TGV will shorten the Paris-Lyon route by two hours, enabling its clientele of businessmen to travel more quickly. The only cities to be served are Paris and Lyon, and it is likely that the cities located on the present Paris-Lyon line will soon receive poorer service. As for the cost, it is

currently estimated at 3.6 billion francs [about US\$800 million] . . . and in all likelihood will end up costing two to three times that much.

In short, at a time when the country is painfully lacking in public facilities, particularly in genuine mass transportation, the SNCF and the government have chosen to invest billions of francs in a prestige project destined for a privileged clientele. The financial scandal of the TGV is in the same league with the Concorde or the Vilette affair. The difference is that the government thinks it will have no trouble in forcing the residents affected to accept the TGV, whereas it was unable to force the Concorde on American airports!

That Wozy Feeling

A recent study by the U.S. National Cancer Institute has found that chloroform, a chemical compound that acts as an anesthetic, causes kidney tumors in rats and liver cancer in mice. Following the disclosure in 1974 that drinking water in New Orleans contained chloroform and sixty-five other organic chemicals (some of which also were suspected of being cancer-causing), the Environmental Protection Agency conducted a survey of the water in eighty major cities. Chloroform was found in varying amounts in the drinking water of all eighty cities.

AFL-CIO Official Charges Cover-up on Chemicals Known to Cause Cancer

Reports on the cancer-causing properties of about 150 industrial chemicals remain unreleased by the National Cancer Institute, an official of the AFL-CIO charged in March. One of the examples cited by Sheldon W. Samuels, the director of health, safety, and environment for the AFL-CIO's industrial union department in Washington, was dimethylcarbonyl chloride, known as DMCC.

DMCC, Samuels said, "may be one of the most potent carcinogens [cancer-causing substances] known." He said that both the National Cancer Institute and Ashland Oil Co., which produced the chemical, were aware of the danger from DMCC as early as 1972. Recent tests

showed that a large majority of rats that inhaled DMCC at concentrations of only one part DMCC per million parts of air developed nose cancer within months.

Ashland continued to produce the chemical until 1975.

Acropolis Under Glass

The Greek government says that it has come up with a "solution" to the air pollution that has been damaging the Acropolis. The decision was announced after a United Nations study reported that air pollution had done more damage to the monuments in the last forty years than in the last four centuries.

According to a report in the March 28 *New York Times*, the government said it will eventually replace the sculptures still on the Acropolis with plaster casts. In the meantime, it might enclose the statues in glass cases to protect them from pollution.

Asbestos Dust Kills 40 in Britain

At least forty workers at the Acre Mill asbestos plant in Britain died of asbestosis, a lung disease caused by breathing asbestos dust, according to a report released March 29 by Ombudsman Sir Alan Marre. The plant operated from 1939 until 1970, closing down after new asbestos control regulations came into effect.

Marre's fifty-page report revealed that as early as 1949 a factory inspector recognized that the conditions in the plant would probably cause asbestosis. But nothing was done for more than two decades.

16 Plutonium 'Incidents' in Japan

Four months of testing were completed in January on Japan's first plutonium-extraction facility, according to a report in the April issue of *Environment*.

Critics of the plant, which is designed to extract plutonium and uranium from 250 tons of spent nuclear fuel a year, charge that it is unsafe.

Gensuikin News, published by the Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs, says that sixteen incidents of spillage and leakage during the testing period show that the plant will be a hazard when it is handling actual radioactive fuel.



For a Living Wage in Puerto Rico!

[The following article appeared in the January-February issue of *La Verdad*,¹ a revolutionary-socialist newspaper reflecting the views of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (Internationalist Workers League). The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

At the end of last year, the Bankers Association gave itself a medal. They informed the press that they had made excellent profits during the preceding twelve months. Deposits had risen, along with income from automobile- and home-finance loans. The volume of credit had reached \$1.24 billion.

The group of banks that accounts for most banking had deposits totaling \$3.4 billion. Their profits are large, since almost no taxes are paid on such income. At the same time, the government has saddled us workers with a special income-tax surcharge that is supposed to last "for three years." It has recommended a wage freeze for public employees, imposed the "merit principle," and—to top everything off—wants to subject us to the recommendations of the Tobin Report.²

The powers that be have been telling us about a budget deficit, in an attempt to justify greater austerity and convince us that they are trying to avoid more layoffs. However, the possibility of layoffs at the AFP³ is being talked about, and 729 workers at the Department of Health have been thrown out of work.

[Governor Rafael] Hernández Colón has appealed for an alliance between private and public employers—i.e., the state—to achieve necessary economic recovery. The chairman of the Association of Manufacturers, Ramón B. Rodríguez, has said: "In good times, social legislation enables workers to share in the wealth. However, these are not times of plenty. They are not even normal. They are times that demand sacrifices from those who have jobs for the

benefit of those who need them."

Such sacrifices involve accepting the galloping inflation and a general wage freeze. Another "sacrifice" is accepting state control over the trade unions—the essential weapon of the organized workers—through the Helfeld Unionization Plan⁴ in the private sector. This plan would penalize honest trade-union leaders and workers who show concern about the well-being of their fellow workers.

Let's take a look at what employers in the public sector have to gain from such an alliance.

The banks will continue to pay almost no taxes, because of their alleged "right to profit." These leeches claim they have nothing to do with the depression, and so they should not be called on to make sacrifices.

Petrochemical, pharmaceutical, and other private corporations will keep their tax exemptions. Companies without exemptions will continue to pay taxes that are small relative to their profits. Moreover, they will still pay water and electricity rates proportionally far lower than those paid by the average consumer. Such provisions are defended on the grounds that the corporations are supposed to have a right to higher profits.

In the event of strikes, the bosses will continue to get police protection for the strikebreakers they bring in. The bourgeoisie has a "National Labor Relations Board" that answers directly to its dictates and interests. Moreover, the government is quick to mobilize the National Guard against the workers when the bosses ask them to. This, of course, is in defense of the "national interest."

These corporations will get help in their attempts to keep the workers' wages here at almost half those for corresponding jobs in the United States. Even in 1973, the hourly wage of Puerto Rican workers in the electrical industry was \$2.25, as compared with \$3.79 for the worker in the United States. The difference was \$1.54 an hour.

Definitely, the ones least threatened by the constant rise in the cost of living are the big corporations.

The profit to be gained by the bosses in the public sector will show up in their salaries and expense accounts, as well as in other fringe benefits they get for their

"self-sacrificing labor" of trampling on the working people. There will be no wage freeze for legislators, agency executives, and directors of public corporations, who have instituted the "merit" principle, meaning that they can promote, transfer, or suspend a worker whenever it suits them. The rise in the cost of living presents no danger to the livelihood of "our self-sacrificing" rulers. They have made sure of that at the expense of the wage earners.

Is There Some Disadvantage to the Bosses in This Holy Alliance of Free Enterprise?

The disadvantages of this potential alliance are all for the workers. It will freeze their wages, thereby putting the burden of the budget deficit on their shoulders. Moreover, Tobin has proposed new taxes. This would deepen the poverty the great masses of workers suffer, as the result of the galloping inflation in this country.

There will be an increase in the taxes on the rentals of previously tax-exempt low-cost homes valued at more than \$15,000.

Unionized workers face the danger that the closed and union shops will be eliminated in the public corporations, which would threaten the survival of trade unions functioning there. This new attack on the working class is proposed in the so-called Helfeld Unionization Plan.

We Demand a Living Wage and Jobs for All!

To make this demand meaningful we need a program of action. Here is our suggestion:

Call for including a clause in collective-bargaining agreements providing for automatic raises, starting from the minimum wage in the contract, in accordance with rises in the cost-of-living index.

We must press to assure that every Puerto Rican worker earns no less than \$3.00 an hour, since this is a subsistence wage.

Every trade union should fight as hard as it can to win contracts that guarantee raises tied to increases in the cost of living, taking wages earned currently in each specific case as the starting point.

The cost-of-living increase should be calculated by a Price Index Board made up of economists and other researchers in the service of the workers. To this end, we call for a meeting of affiliated and unaffiliated trade unions to plan the necessary steps to set up such a Price Index Board. The need for such a body arises from a fact the workers have realized for some time—the DACO⁵ has not had any real power to control prices, since it is a tool of the government itself.

1. Six-month subscriptions to *La Verdad* cost \$1.80 in Puerto Rico; \$3 in the United States, Canada, Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central America; and \$4 in Europe and South America. They may be obtained by writing to *La Verdad*, Apartado 22699 Estación de la Universidad, Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00921.

2. A proposed austerity program for Puerto Rico.

3. Autoridad de las Fuentes Fluviales (Waterworks Authority).

4. A plan restricting unionization rights among public employees, the most stable sector of the Puerto Rican work force.

5. Departamento de Asuntos del Consumidor (Consumer Affairs Department).

Moreover, the trade unions must mobilize the workers—the organized, unorganized, and the unemployed—in order to oppose any moves to pass more anti-working-class legislation, like the Helfeld Unionization Plan, which is an attempt by the state to control the unions. We must fight to keep the gains we have won up to now! What is more, as an alternative, we should propose unrestricted unionization of all public employees and the rest of the workers.

We must mobilize to demand that the banks, financiers, and the petrochemical

Jobs for All in Puerto Rico!

[The following article appeared in the January-February issue of *La Verdad*, a revolutionary-socialist newspaper reflecting the views of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (Internationalist Workers League). The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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During fiscal 1974-75, according to the year-end report of the Planning Board, 37,000 Puerto Rican workers lost their jobs. The Labor Department says that a mere 18.8 percent of workers on the island are unemployed, which comes out to 166,000 workers. This percentage does not include those who are only employed part time—157,000 persons between October 1974 and October 1975. Nor does it include those unemployed who, according to the government, have stopped looking for work.

If we add these figures to the official 18.8 percent, we find that in the labor force today more than 35 percent are unemployed.

The government prepared to confront this situation at the start of the year, taking legislative steps to impose restrictions and cutbacks on the employment of government workers and other sections of workers. Among these measures are the new Personnel Law and the Reduced Hours Law,¹ paralleled by increases in rates for water, light, and telephone.

These measures are an attempt to shift the crisis of the system onto the backs of the workers while leaving the bourgeoisie untouched. They mean that the administrators decide whether to keep workers on the job or throw them into the street. This is one of the provisions of the Personnel Law.

To avoid the Federal Minimum-Wage Law—which would increase the current

and other multimillion-dollar corporations pay the proper taxes on their profits. *Let the bosses pay for the budget deficit!*

The unions and associations must call assemblies where the workers can decide on actions to fight the high cost of living, as well as the antilabor laws that have been passed and those the government wants to pass. Standing committees should be set up in these assemblies to take charge of keeping the membership informed on a daily basis. The unions or associations should issue bulletins for this purpose.

Higher wages to meet higher prices! □

minimum pay to \$2.20—bosses can cut the hours of the workers they decide to keep on in order to freeze wages at the present level. If the federal minimum wage had been complied with, Personnel Director Milagros Guzmán said in a statement December 3, the weekly earnings of government employees would have risen by \$27.

The government refuses to grant any raises, even to the 5,000 of its workers who get starvation wages of less than \$350 a month.

Throwing the burden of the recession on the backs of the workers, the Housing Department has already laid off 108 workers this year. In addition, the Health Department has laid off more than 700 employees—laborers, nurses, and doctors—thus deepening the crisis in medical care.

These layoffs have recently prompted workers in this sector to threaten a strike in order to defend their jobs and to maintain the standard of the services.

The same thing is happening in the Department of Education, where hundreds of teachers have been thrown out of work and educational resources—books, audiovisual materials, paper, and so on—have been cut back.

The workers at the Waterworks Authority also are preparing to fight the layoffs of workers classified as temporary help. In the private sector, the building industry will throw 20,000 workers into the street—half of those who work in that industry.

In all government agencies the situation is tense. Last year the 37,000 workers lost their jobs because of government “austerity” and a purported 280 bankruptcies in industry.

Day after day we see our jobs threatened, while for the bosses this means a chance to keep labor costs lower. The unemployed act as a reserve army to fill the openings left by those who cannot keep pace with the “speedup” of production.

For workers, unemployment means the denial of our right to enjoy a decent life; it means competition among workers for

jobs; it means a decline in our standard of living. So, we have to unite and demand that our unions protest, picket, strike—whatever is necessary—to keep this situation from continuing. We cannot think that food stamps² are going to get us out of this predicament.

Only by establishing a mutual solidarity agreement between those who are working and those who are not can we block the threat of unemployment that hangs over our class. The available work must be shared by all those able to work. The length of the workweek must be set according to this principle, without any cut in the current day's pay.

Such a measure—known as the sliding scale of hours of work—can be included as a clause in proposed contracts. How possible it is to win it will depend on how strongly the trade unions and other militant sectors of the working class mobilize against capital. We must not permit more layoffs. We must demand jobs for all. □

2. More than 70 percent of the Puerto Rican population depends on U.S.-provided subsidies on food, which take the form of food stamps.

4 Indian Opposition Parties to Merge

Leaders of four opposition parties, as well as a number of independents, declared in a news release in New Delhi March 26 that they had decided to merge into one party to oppose Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's ruling Congress party. The news release said that nineteen party leaders and independents met in Bombay the previous weekend and appointed a steering committee of four persons to complete the merger within two months.

The parties involved in the merger move are the Socialist party, the rightist Jan Sangh, the Tamil nationalist Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Advancement Association), and the Organisation Congress, a conservative grouping that split from the Congress party in 1969.

The statement cited Gandhi's June 1975 coup as a reason for the merger: “What has happened during the past nine months has convinced us that the Government has been deliberately destroying our democratic structure brick by brick and now has established an authoritarian regime which it wants to perpetuate.”

According to the statement, Jaya Prakash Narayan, the leader of the mass anticorruption movement in Bihar state from 1974 to 1975, offered his “advice and guidance” to the new group. Narayan was arrested immediately after the Gandhi coup, but was released a few months later because of his failing health.

1. Legislation directed at curtailing the rights of public workers to unionize and imposing a freeze on wages and job openings for this sector of the work force.

Kissinger Bate Sables sobre Cuba

Por Antonio Soto



Herblock/New York Post

[Lo que sigue es la versión en español del artículo "Kissinger's Saber Rattling Over Cuba," que apareció en el número del 5 de abril de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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El Presidente Ford y el Secretario de Estado Kissinger han subido el tono y la intensidad de sus ataques contra Cuba, usando como pretexto la presencia de tropas cubanas en Angola. En relación a esta propaganda belicista, el Pentágono ha revelado que está estudiando planes para un posible ataque o, por lo menos, un bloqueo naval y aéreo.

El pasado 23 de marzo, por ejemplo, en una conferencia de prensa en Dallas, Texas, los reporteros preguntaron a Kissinger si sus amenazas significaban que la isla iba a ser invadida. Kissinger contestó: "No deben extraer conclusiones a favor o en contra." Hasta entonces, tanto Kissinger como Ford se habían rehusado a especificar la naturaleza de las medidas que adoptarían contra los cubanos si éstos no hacían caso de sus advertencias.

El Senador Richard C. Clark, quien preside el subcomité de Relaciones Exteriores del Senado sobre Asuntos Africanos, afirmó que Kissinger había sido "terminantemente serio" en que los EUA están preparados para adoptar la "acción directa" contra el gobierno de Fidel Castro.

Las declaraciones de Clark aparecieron en un artículo del *Daily News* de Nueva

York el 25 de marzo, donde también se informaba que un funcionario del Pentágono había dicho que se estaban considerando diversas opciones para un posible ataque contra Cuba.

El Secretario de Prensa de la Casa Blanca, Ron Nessen, y un representante del Pentágono, William I. Greener, declararon el 25 de marzo que se estaban estudiando planes sobre el tipo de ataque que podían escoger. Greener habló incluso sobre reuniones del Estado Mayor Conjunto y del Consejo Nacional de Seguridad "sobre las posibles acciones que se pueden adoptar respecto a Cuba."

Según el *New York Times* del 24 de marzo, "fuentes militares calificadas" estaban estudiando planes para un bloqueo naval y aéreo, ya que un bloqueo tipo 1962 era cosa del pasado, en vista de que ahora los cubanos cuentan con aviones con gran capacidad de transporte.

Ford Necesita Superar a Reagan

Diversos comentaristas señalan que los problemas con que cuenta Ford en las elecciones primarias de 1976 son la verdadera causa del batir de los sables sobre Cuba. La política exterior de Kissinger ha sido duramente atacada por Ronald Reagan, el competidor de Ford por la nominación republicana en las primarias. Lo que está en juego es ganar el apoyo del ala más reaccionaria del Partido Republicano.

Bajo el título "Vagas Advertencias de Kissinger," el columnista del *New York Times*, James Reston escribió en la edición del 24 de marzo de este influyente diario: "O significan solamente una postura intrépida para satisfacer a los partidarios de Reagan en la campaña presidencial, o significan que los Estados Unidos finalmente han decidido trazarle una línea a la intervención militar por parte de los cubanos y los rusos."

Las referencias a la "intervención cubana y soviética" son, por supuesto, parte de la campaña diseñada para ocultar el problema más importante: la precaria situación del régimen racista en Zimbabue (Rodesia). El ascenso del movimiento nacionalista negro amenaza al gobierno dictatorial minoritario de Ian Smith. También pelagra el coloniaje sudafricano sobre el territorio de Namibia.

La mención que hace Reston sobre las elecciones en los Estados Unidos parece pertinente. David Frankel, en *Intercontinental Press* del 15 de marzo, llamó a

atención sobre este aspecto de los ataques contra Cuba por parte de Kissinger y Ford:

"[El reto a la dominación imperialista sobre el sur de Africa] es la verdadera causa de preocupación en Washington. El intento de culpar a los cubanos por incitar problemas en Africa es un truco cínico en la campaña de Ford por obtener el voto de la derecha en los Estados Unidos. Y es parte de la publicidad diseñada para justificar una intervención norteamericana más intensa en contra de los movimientos libertarios en Africa."

Los acontecimientos que se han suscitado desde que Frankel escribió su análisis confirman su evaluación.

Mientras se recrudecía la contienda por sacarse ventaja el uno al otro entre Ford y Reagan, Kissinger escalaba sus ataques contra Fidel Castro.

Al mismo tiempo que viajaba de un lado a otro para promover a Ford, Kissinger hablaba en varias ciudades aparentemente sobre el tema de qué política exterior es mejor para los Estados Unidos. En esta gira política por la provincia, Kissinger ha lanzado casi a diario ataques contra Cuba. Cuando se dirige a públicos derechistas, aboga por una política exterior "más ruda." El *Los Angeles Times* del 10 de marzo informó que había declarado estar en favor del uso de armas nucleares en caso de ataques "regionales."

Cenando con unos 1,500 conservadores en Dallas, Texas, Kissinger se exployó sobre su tema anticubano ante un público que le escuchaba atentamente. Sus referencias al bloqueo de la intervención cubana y soviética fueron entendidas a la perfección por sus oyentes racistas, quienes consideran a la política exterior como una extensión de la política que practican en casa.

Washington considera a la situación en el Sur de Africa como una preocupación de primer orden.

Kissinger y Ford se encuentran en



Pierotti/New York Post

aprietos por el hecho de que no pueden adoptar una postura abierta a favor de sus aliados en Sudáfrica y en Rodesia, a favor de gobiernos minoritarios. La prensa admite que una política manifiesta en este sentido tendría consecuencias desastrosas para Washington. De hecho, Kissinger se siente obligado a insistir que favorece una transición a un gobierno mayoritario.

El armar un gran escándalo sobre las "nuevas aventuras militares" de Fidel Castro está diseñado como una cubierta para la ayuda a los regímenes racistas blancos en Africa, sobre los cuales pende una amenaza.

Por supuesto, los sectores más conservadores de la prensa capitalista piden que Kissinger no se quede en las puras palabras y—como dice un editorial en el *Wall Street Journal* el 26 de marzo—que "bloquee la utilización" de las tensiones en el sur de Africa por parte de las potencias "neoimperialistas" (se refieren a la URSS y a Cuba). En realidad, están llamando a defender con todo a los regímenes racistas en contra de la "agitación," que es atribuida a la intervención extranjera.

Quizás guardan la esperanza de que Cuba y la URSS puedan ser persuadidas para que presionen al movimiento nacionalista negro a que abandone la lucha.

¿Se Prepara una Agresión Militar?

Todavía está por verse si Kissinger y Ford están de hecho organizando un ataque militar o económico en contra de Cuba. Pero, al menos hasta ahora, parece dudoso que se contemple un asalto antes de las elecciones presidenciales de noviembre.

En la propaganda electoral que está sacando la maquinaria de Ford, la Habana es acusada de contemplar una intervención militar cubana en América Latina. Los incondicionales que producen esta literatura saben perfectamente que ésta no es la política de la Habana. Es bastante notorio que Kissinger mismo, en la práctica, no parezca estar tratando de impulsar a que los países latinoamericanos se alinien para montar un nuevo ataque sobre Cuba.

Fue después de la visita de Kissinger que Costa Rica volvió a comerciar con Cuba; esto es, a pesar de que el Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores costarricense, Gonzalo Fascio, hizo declaraciones contra la presencia de tropas cubanas en Africa.

Fue después de la visita de Kissinger que Alfonso López Michelsen, Presidente de Colombia, anunció que abriría relaciones con el gobierno del MPLA en Angola.

Aquéllos que critican las declaraciones de Kissinger en la prensa han señalado que el Congreso norteamericano no ha discutido medida belicosa alguna en contra de Cuba, y recuerdan que este organismo se opuso a mantener la intervención de los EUA en Angola. Esto es lo que se podía esperar en un año de elecciones, en vista del ya demostrado sentimiento contra la

guerra de la población norteamericana.

El Pentágono, por supuesto, ha dicho que existen planes para un bloqueo o para una intervención militar contra Cuba. Estos planes existen desde hace tiempo y seguirán existiendo mientras que los EUA permanezcan como país imperialista y Cuba como estado obrero.

Kissinger, Ford y el Pentágono, es obvio, no están bien dispuestos hacia Cuba, y la

misma lógica de sus ataques puede conducirlos a mostrar que sus amenazas son substanciales; esto es, alguien puede apretar un gatillo para demostrar que las armas están cargadas.

Este peligro no puede ser desechado. Todos aquellos que se oponen a una nueva aventura militar de los EUA como la de Vietnam—o la de la Bahía de Cochinos—deben permanecer alertas. □

DOCUMENTOS

iBoicot al Congreso Sindical Franquista!

[Lo que sigue es una editorial proyectada para ser publicada en el número 43 de *Combate*, el periódico de la Liga Comunista (LC), una organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional en España. Las notas de pie de página son de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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1. Las recientes movilizaciones de centenares de miles de trabajadores han llevado al sindicato fascista a la más grave crisis de su historia.

Sus pretensiones de dividir a los trabajadores con su normativa de convenios, de impedirles cualquier expresión de sus derechos sindicales de huelga, reunión, libre negociación, etc., se han enfrentado con la más amplia movilización obrera y popular desde el año 1937. Frente a las estructuras verticalistas y su legislación antiobrera, las masas trabajadores han impuesto las asambleas y la huelga, gigantescas concentraciones y manifestaciones. Han elegido comités revocables con el fin de dirigir la lucha y llevar directamente la negociación con la patronal, han reforzado las comisiones obreras. Aunque el vertical, pese a tambalearse, todavía sigue en pie obstaculizando la puesta en pie de los comités de huelga, la negociación directa, las asambleas libres. Todo ello debido fundamentalmente a los esfuerzos desesperados de las "candidaturas unitarias y democráticas"¹ por supeditar la lucha obrera a los cauces de la CNS.

La correlación de fuerzas lograda con la movilización obrera crea mejores condiciones que nunca para la lucha de los trabajadores. Hace posible que éstos, frente a la debilidad agónica de la dictadura, impongan la legalidad de hecho de sus organizaciones. Pone de manifiesto la necesidad y la posibilidad de que la clase

obrero rompa de cuajo con el aparato fascista de la CNS y ponga en marcha el proceso de constitución de su sindicato.

Este proceso pasa a través de asambleas en cada fábrica de todos los trabajadores que quieran sindicarse. A través de congresos constituyentes a escala de localidad, nacionalidad: hacia el congreso general constituyente.

En este proceso los trotskistas defendemos la alternativa de un *sindicato único de los trabajadores*, democrático, con derecho a tendencia e independiente de la patronal, del Estado y de la iglesia.

2. La dictadura coronada es plenamente consciente de las crisis de la CNS. Sabe que del mantenimiento de ésta depende su misma existencia, y trata desesperadamente de prolongar la vida del vertical. Multiplica su demagogia para embellecer la fachada del sindicato fascista. Habla de "ampliar la autonomía de las organizaciones profesionales," sobre la base de mantener intacta toda la maquinaria vertical y la línea de mando. Martín Villa² prepara para antes del verano la farsa del congreso del *sindicato fascista* para consumir esta maniobra, en abierta provocación a las aspiraciones de la clase obrera.

La alternativa que ofrece el PCE³ tampoco satisface las necesidades de los trabajadores. Llevado por su alianza con capitalistas, prefiere en el terreno sindical pactar con los verticalistas "progresistas," manteniendo aspectos fundamentales del vertical, que destruir éste hasta sus raíces. Esta orientación es la que la Coordinadora General de Comisiones Obreras propugnaba en su "manifiesto de unidad sindical," cuando llamaba a los jerarcas verticalistas "quienes su militancia nacional sindicalista no haya sido excusa para conseguir privilegios y prebendas" a que faciliten que "la creación del sindicalismo democrá-

1. Planillas de candidatas formadas por representantes de las comisiones obreras, que participaron en las elecciones de la CNS (Central Nacional Sindicalista) de junio de 1975.

2. D. Rodolfo Martín Villa, ministro de relaciones sindicales.

3. Partido Comunista de España.

tico se haga con los menores traumas y enfrentamientos posibles."

3. El congreso sindical fascista es una maniobra de mantenimiento del vertical. Es la *negativa más cerrada a la libertad sindical* de los trabajadores y todos sus derechos sindicales. Es una agresión por toda la banda que reclama la más contundente respuesta.

¡Fuera el congreso del vertical!

¡Abajo la CNS!

¡Libertad sindical!

¡Por un congreso constituyente sindical, en el que los trabajadores decidan que sindicato quieren!

Estas consignas deben presidir el más amplio boicot al congreso fascista. Los trabajadores deben poner en pie *asambleas masivas* en las que se pronuncien contra éste y por el sindicato que desean. Deben decidir *paros generalizados*. Organizar y centralizar *manifestaciones multitudinarias en la calle*.

Deben decidir la *dimisión de todos los*

enlaces y jurados honrados de las "candidaturas unitarias y democráticas." Como *condición básica para que se incorporen masivamente a la puesta en marcha del proceso sindical constituyente*, que debe tomar impulso decisivo en esta respuesta a la provocación de la dictadura.

La *Coordinadora General de Comisiones Obreras*, abarcando todas las tendencias existentes en las comisiones obreras (Coordinadora de Euzkadi de Comisiones Obreras [CECO], Local de Barcelona, etc.), debe tomar ahora mismo la iniciativa para realizar una *reunión general con UGT y USO¹ con el fin de preparar e impulsar conjuntamente esta campaña de boicot de masas al congreso de la CNS*.

Comisiones obreras, por ser el organismo indiscutiblemente con mayor influencia en

4. Unión General de Trabajadores (el brazo sindical de los socialdemócratas), Unión Sindical Obrera (que forma parte de la Asamblea Democrática de Euzkadi).

el movimiento obrero, por su vocación unitaria e independiente, tiene en sus manos esta tarea fundamental. Que debe ir acompañada del más serio esfuerzo por su *reconstrucción por la base*, beneficiándose de las tremendas posibilidades abiertas por las luchas, *proponiendo y esforzándose por integrar en su seno a la UGT y USO*, garantizándoles el derecho a tendencia. En todo caso debe coordinarse desde la misma empresa, a todos los niveles con estas organizaciones sindicales.

4. Esta es la alternativa histórica que actualmente recae sobre los hombros de los partidos y organizaciones de la clase obrera, para la cual no cabe ninguna excusa. Esta es la tarea de todos los trabajadores: de los metalúrgicos, albañiles, bancarios, enseñantes, sanitarios, etc., que debe encontrar el apoyo solidario y entusiasta de la juventud y de todos los oprimidos.

Buró Político de la Liga Comunista

4 de marzo de 1976

¡Unidad de los Trabajadores para Derrocar al Franquismo!

[El 3 de marzo la policía española agredió brutalmente a trabajadores huelguistas en la ciudad vasca de Vitoria. Cuatro trabajadores resultaron muertos y cerca de 150 lesionados. El ataque fue contestado con protestas en toda España, en las cuales dos manifestantes más fueron muertos por la policía.

[Respondiendo a estos acontecimientos, el Buró Político de la Liga Comunista, una organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional, está circulando la siguiente declaración en España. Las notas de pie de página son de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Desde el 9 de enero, los trabajadores de Forjas Alavesas, Mevosa y otras numerosas fábricas de Vitoria llevaban adelante una dura y ejemplar huelga en demanda de sus justas reivindicaciones. Se encontraban entre éstas, junto a los aumentos salariales . . . como puntos básicos, la readmisión de sus compañeros despedidos, la liberación de los detenidos y la imposición de la negociación directa con la patronal por medio de auténticos representantes. Elegidos en las asambleas, revocables por éstas y completamente al margen de la podrida CNS [Central Nacional Sindicalista].

Los obreros vitorianos, rompiendo conscientemente con el [sindicato] vertical, hicieron dimitir a los enlaces y jurados de Forjas, Mevosa, Areitio, etc., eligieron comités en las asambleas de fábrica y los coordinaron entre sí. Constituyeron de esta manera su Comité Central de Huelga, su "Asamblea de Representantes," que integrando a comisiones obreras, estudiantes, etc., dirigía la lucha.

Ante el endurecimiento de la patronal y las autoridades, la "Asamblea de Representantes" llama al pueblo de Vitoria a una huelga general para el día 3. La clase obrera y la población vitoriana responderán como un sólo hombre a la convocatoria, paralizando la producción y engrosando manifestaciones multitudinarias desde las fábricas y los barrios hacia el centro de la ciudad. La respuesta de la policía [del Ministro del Interior] Fraga será una masacre, ocasionando la muerte de cuatro compañeros e hiriendo de bala a alrededor de 150.

Pero Vitoria no se amilana. Responderá con bravura, sosteniendo una heroica huelga general en abierto enfrentamiento con las fuerzas represivas. Codo a codo con el pueblo alavés, Euzkadi entera se pondrá en pie de huelga, saliendo el día 8 a la huelga general, haciendo frente valientemente a la brutalidad policial. En todo el país se darán paros y manifestaciones de desigual intensidad, descollando lugares como Tarragona.

En el curso de estas movilizaciones, la represión se cobrará nuevas víctimas. Dos compañeros más serán abatidos de muerte bajo las balas y otros muchos serán heridos, algunos muy gravemente. Alargando la asesina cadena de Elda y del obrero de la construcción muerto en Barcelona.

Tras estos crímenes ya no caben más demagogias democratizadoras. El desmascaramiento criminal del gobierno no puede ir más lejos. Por si no bastaban los discursos y declaraciones de los Arias, Fraga y Areilza,¹ las medidas económicas,

1. Primer Ministro Carlos Arias Navarro, Ministro del Exterior José María de Areilza.

las militarizaciones y la salvaje represión, los recientes asesinatos no ofrecen lugar a duda alguna.

Pero estas muertes y la contundente respuesta de las masas no hacen sino agudizar más gravemente aún los desgarramientos del gobierno y acelerar decisivamente la crisis de una dictadura manchada de sangre y tocada de muerte.

El resquebrajamiento de la CNS por las luchas obreras, el desbordamiento del aparato represivo por la acción directa de trabajadores y oprimidos, el inicio de crisis en el seno de este aparato y en el mismo ejército, el incremento de las explosivas tensiones entre los distintos clanes del régimen . . . marcan el punto más álgido de la quiebra del franquismo coronado.

Pero no es sólo el gobierno quien se desenmascara ante los trabajadores. La "oposición democrática" burguesa, los Ruiz Giménez, Tierno Galván, Pujol² que anidan en la Junta, la Convergencia y los Consells,³ también nos muestran su verdadera cara.

Ya antes, frente a la ofensiva de obreros y oprimidos, nos llamaron a que "cesara la presión de las huelgas sobre el Gobierno" y a que "no se desbordaran las aguas." Incluso tras el discurso de Arias ante las Cortes,⁴ continuaron hablándonos de la

2. Joaquín Ruiz Giménez, figura prominente en la Convergencia Democrática; Enrique Tierno Galván, dirigente del Partido Socialista Popular; Jordi Pujol, figura prominente en la Convergencia Democrática de Cataluña.

3. Junta Democrática, Consell de Forces Polítiques de Catalunya.

4. El parlamento franquista.

“voluntad democratizadora” de los Fraga. Nos repetían una y otra vez las llamadas a la reconciliación y a los aplausos a la policía, a estos perros de presa del capital. Y ahora, aterrorizados por el avance de la movilización obrera y popular, coreando al gobierno, los capitalistas y su prensa, lanzarán una sucia campaña contra los métodos de acción directa de los trabajadores. Contra los piquetes de extensión de huelga y la autodefensa de las masas frente a la policía.

La “Asamblea de Catalunya,” en el colmo del cinismo y la desvergüenza ante la muerte del obrero de Tarragona, se opondrá abiertamente a la movilización. Llamará a los trabajadores y al pueblo tarraconense a que no realizaran la huelga general que tenían prevista y a que los asistentes a los funerales, cuando finalizaran la ceremonia, no se concentraran ni hicieran ninguna manifestación y a que cuando finalizara la ceremonia se volvieran al trabajo o a sus hogares. Argumentando que no había “que provocar más inquietud”(!).

Con todo ello, estos burgueses “oposicionistas” ponen de manifiesto la verdadera esencia de la “ruptura democrática” que nos proponen. Una ruptura que no es más que el intento desesperado de mantener aspectos fundamentales de la dictadura franquista . . . de manera que no peligran la propiedad de banqueros y monopolistas.

Pero el problema fundamental no es lo que haga o diga esta gente que, por sí misma, no tiene ninguna influencia en el movimiento obrero y popular. Lo fundamental es que los partidos de la clase obrera con los que están aliados, en lugar de desenmascarar sus maniobras, se convierten en los portavoces de su actitud dentro del movimiento obrero.

El PCE, por ejemplo, se opondrá a impulsar una movilización decidida contra los últimos crímenes, y en lugar de promover paros y manifestaciones . . . llamará a “minutos de silencio” y todo lo más a paros “simbólicos.” En lugar de combatir con contundencia la cruzada reaccionaria contra los métodos de acción directa, serán sus más enconados defensores. Así, el PSUC—rama catalana del PCE—en una declaración de su Comité Ejecutivo, tomando como indecorosa excusa “la destrucción de algunas cabinas telefónicas,” se enfrentará abiertamente a la dura lucha de los trabajadores de la construcción de Barcelona, denunciando de manera criminal y traidora a los piquetes de obreros como “grupos de fascistas o provocadores externos al movimiento obrero.” Y ésta misma será la actitud que adopte, de la mano del PSUC, la Comisión Obrera Nacional de Catalunya, en un comunicado público.

Pero, a pesar de todos los pesares, lo que ponen de manifiesto los últimos acontecimientos es que cada día de vida de la dictadura significa una carga dolorosa e insostenible para la clase obrera y el

pueblo. Enseña con sangre que, frente al continuismo de la monarquía juancarlista, la única vía es el derrocamiento de la dictadura por la huelga general. Que la



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llamada “ruptura democrática” no es más que un fraude para embaucar a los trabajadores y paralizar su lucha, un obstáculo en ese camino.

Y hoy, la debilidad de la dictadura y la conciencia de todos los explotados y oprimidos de esa debilidad y de sus propias fuerzas, hacen posible más que nunca el avance decidido hacia la huelga general. Exigen de todos los partidos y organizaciones de la clase obrera que dejen de lado posturas como las que hemos citado y aúnen sus fuerzas para ello. Reforzando la actual ofensiva de las masas. Incorporando a ésta las preciosas lecciones de las últimas movilizaciones.

¡Por el Camino de Vitoria y Euzkadil!

Por las reivindicaciones más elementales. Y en primer lugar contra los crímenes y en solidaridad con el pueblo de Vitoria. Por la anulación de sanciones y despidos y la liberación de los detenidos. Por la disolución de los cuerpos represivos. Por la exigencia de responsabilidades por los crímenes franquistas por medio de tribunales libremente elegidos por el pueblo.

Todo ello por la vía de las conquistas que ya hemos ido imponiendo. Realizando asambleas de fábrica y conjuntas. Eligiendo comités de huelga como centros de organización y dirección de la lucha. Levantando comités centrales de huelga, del tipo de la “Asamblea de Representantes” de Vitoria. Imponiendo la negociación

directa con la patronal. Y haciendo dimitir para todo ello a los enlaces y jurados honrados de las “candidaturas unitarias,” los cuales, en todo caso, no deben poner el apego al cargo por delante de las tareas que les planteé la lucha, por delante de las exigencias que tienen como luchadores en los que los trabajadores han depositado su confianza. Realizandi manifestaciones en la calle. Defendiendo éstas y todas las acciones de la represión, por medio de piquetes organizados por las comisiones obreras, los comités de huelga, etc.

Dedicando el máximo esfuerzo a impulsar el poderoso movimiento actual de reconstrucción de comisiones obreras. Imponiendo asambleas libres en los locales de la CNS.

Por este camino que indicamos, es necesario poner manos a la obra en la preparación de una jornada general de lucha a escala de todo el Estado, impulsando acciones generales de ramo y sector, centralizándolas a nivel de localidad y extendiéndolas a escala de cada nacionalidad. La realización de esta jornada haría tambalearse al gobierno, sería fundamental para la conquista de las reivindicaciones y significaría un paso de gigante hacia la huelga general que acabe de una vez y para siempre con la odiada dictadura.

Este plan que proponemos se opone de arriba a abajo al de los burgueses y capitalistas de la Junta, la Convergencia y el Consell. Estos, aterrorizados por el avance de los trabajadores, llevan una batalla desesperada por contenerlo y paralizarlo.

En nombre de las exigencias actuales del movimiento obrero, el PCE, el PSOE, las comisiones obreras y el resto de partidos y organizaciones de la clase obrera deben romper con estos burgueses. Es así, por otra parte, cómo se podrán romper las divisiones que imponen estos organismos de colaboración con el capital y conseguir la unidad del movimiento obrero.

11 de marzo de 1976

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