

Intercontinental Press

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Apartheid Axis Meets in Israel

VORSTER: World's most notorious white racist.

Palestinian Militants Sweep West Bank Vote

Portuguese Government Fans Rightist Sentiment

Washington Refuses Visa to Ernest Mandel

Livio Maitan

The First Congress of the Cuban Communist Party

Israel-South Africa—the Apartheid Axis

By David Frankel

There are few governments in the world willing to invite South African Prime Minister John Vorster for an official visit. On April 9 the regime of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin achieved the distinction of being one of those few.

Even the American government, the central pillar of world imperialism, has hesitated to identify itself too closely with the hated apartheid regime in South Africa. But Tel Aviv did not allow such misgivings to stand in the way of closer relations with its sister regime in southern Africa.

"The red carpet was rolled out for the guests and both Premier Rabin and Foreign Minister Yigal Allon came to greet them," the April 9 *Jerusalem Post* reported.

The South African flag flew from the King David Hotel during Vorster's four-day visit, which was hailed as "unforgettable" by the grateful Vorster. He also declared that his official talks had been "fruitful, constructive, and informative."

Asked about persistent reports that he was shopping for arms in Israel, Vorster replied, "Utter nonsense." He then proceeded—escorted by the commander of the Israeli navy—to examine a guided missile patrol boat built in Haifa.

According to a report in the American magazine *Flight International*, Israel and South Africa have already concluded an arms agreement under which the South Africans will build several Reshef naval patrol boats in their Durban shipyards.

Vorster also inspected an Israeli aircraft plant in Lydda. Reporters with his party were barred from that outing, being taken on a tour of an educational institute instead.

Despite Israeli denials, Eric Marsden said in the April 11 London *Sunday Times*, "there are reports from Johannesburg that South Africa wants to buy the Israeli-made Kfir (lion cub) delta-wing warplane and other military equipment from Israel."

In addition, Marsden suggested that "South Africa may also hope to benefit from Israel's hard-won experience of guerrilla war. . . . The Israelis are the world's experts at sealing hostile borders, flushing out guerrillas and mounting retaliatory raids.

"Mr Vorster's itinerary includes the Golan Heights and the Lebanese border, where he will be able to see the electronic

security fence and defensive network against border raids."

Other details on possible military deals between Israel and South Africa have emerged. The April 17 issue of the British *Economist* said "there are reports that South Africa is interested in a tank designed especially for desert conditions and in an anti-tank helicopter that Israel is said to be developing."

In an April 17 dispatch from Jerusalem, *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith said that "there were persistent reports that South Africa was prepared to finance an expansion of Israel's arms-producing capacity. . . ."

Smith also cited "speculation" that Pretoria "had agreed to provide Israel with supplies of uranium as part of the exchange agreement."

What is definite is that the visit resulted in what Smith called "a sweeping new economic-cooperation pact." He reported that "the agreement is expected to result in an immediate expansion of two-way trade, utilization of South African raw materials and skilled Israeli manpower in joint projects, and the stepping up of already cordial scientific relations."

The pact was a boost for Vorster and his apartheid system in face of the growing pressure from the African masses in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia for majority rule. It was greeted by the white colonialists as a sign of international support for their racist rule. The *Economist* report noted that the favorable outcome of Vorster's visit "has caused surprise, and jubilation, in white South Africa. . . ."

A similar assessment was given in the April 14 *Christian Science Monitor*. In a dispatch from Cape Town, Humphrey Tyler reported, "White South Africa has reacted with a mixture of astonishment and delight to the announcement that Prime Minister John Vorster has negotiated an economic, scientific, and industrial pact with Israel. Even opposition parties acknowledge it is a triumph for Mr. Vorster and a significant breakthrough for his government."

Tyler referred to "the fellow feeling between Israel and South Africa," characterizing them as "two brothers in adversity, as it were, who are cooperating to their mutual benefit."

But outside of South Africa, the treat-

ment accorded the Vorster visit has been less lyrical. "According to diplomatic sources," Terence Smith reported, "the Dutch Government advised Israel that the visit would complicate the efforts of Israel's friends abroad to persuade the world that there is no connection between Zionism and racism."

Rabin was well aware of the way Vorster's visit would be seen internationally. Francis Ofner said in the April 12 *Christian Science Monitor* that the Israeli regime "made no announcement about the impending visit until after it had been first reported by the British Broadcasting Corporation. . . . Even then, the Israeli censor would not allow news dispatches to mention before Mr. Vorster's arrival last Thursday the date on which he was coming."

The Israeli press generally defended the invitation to Vorster despite his unsavory reputation. "The Tel Aviv evening paper *Yediot Aharonot* did recall Mr Vorster's wartime sympathy for the Nazis, but only to reject it as a reason for not welcoming him," said a report in the April 11 London *Observer*.

Reuters reported in an April 9 dispatch that "Mr. Vorster appeared moved when he visited the Yad Vashem memorial to six million Jews killed by the Nazis and laid a wreath on a mass grave for concentration camp victims."

Davar, the newspaper of Rabin's Labor party, argued that it was correct to welcome Vorster because Israeli "consideration for the feelings of the peoples of the black continent did not prevent those countries from cutting their ties with Israel when put to the test in 1973."

However, the rationalizations of Israeli journalists will have little effect on the rest of the world. As the Dutch government warned, Vorster's visit will greatly "complicate" any attempt to deny the racist character of Zionism.

Such "complications" are multiplying at an increasing rate. The mass upsurge against Israeli occupation in the West Bank, the March 30 protest by the Arab population inside Israel, and the murder of a six-year-old child by Israeli troops in Ramallah on April 17 all testify to the real character of the Zionist state.

The fact is that Israel, like South Africa, is a racist colonial settler-state, founded at the expense of the country's native population. It is this reality that is pushing Tel Aviv into a common front with the apartheid regime in South Africa. □

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Will the European CPs Remain Silent?

On April 15 Crimean Tatar activist Mustafa Dzhemilev was sentenced to two and a half years in a labor camp for "anti-Soviet slander." Dzhemilev was convicted despite the fact that a key witness against him said in court that he had been threatened by the authorities and that his testimony against Dzhemilev was false.

Dzhemilev's brother and sister were barred from the courtroom in this supposedly public trial, as were Nobel Peace Prize winner Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Elena. The Soviet press accused the Sakharovs of attacking the police.

On the same day the sentence against Dzhemilev was imposed, Andrei Tverdokhlebov, the secretary of the Soviet branch of Amnesty International, was given a sentence of five years of internal exile. The Soviet press agency did not even bother to wait for the verdict before printing that "Tverdokhlebov had been systematically spreading . . . deliberately false inventions slandering the Soviet political and social system."

These events follow the April 12 announcement that Andrei Amalrik, the dissident Soviet writer, has yielded to official pressure and requested permission to emigrate to Israel.

"This is not a decision taken freely," the thirty-seven-year-old writer declared. "I did not want to emigrate to Israel or anywhere else—ever."

Amalrik was first arrested in May 1965, when he was charged with being a "social parasite" despite the fact that he was working as a playwright. If this was "social parasitism," how should the activities of the four to five agents of the Soviet secret police who followed Amalrik everywhere he went for the last month be described?

With examples like these to point to, reactionary anticommunists have no need to resort to slander. The simple facts have done more than any slander ever could to discredit the Soviet regime in the eyes of the world working class.

Recently, several West European Communist parties have made a point of trying to dissociate themselves from the most repressive aspects of Stalinist rule in the USSR and Eastern Europe, particularly around the case of Leonid Plyushch. Is this latest wave of repression the answer of the Kremlin bureaucrats?

Do the French, Italian, and British CPs intend to remain silent like the American CP? Do they support this latest wave of repression? No one will take their denial seriously if they fail to denounce the continuing violations of democratic rights in the USSR. □

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Portuguese Government Fans Rightist Sentiment

By Gerry Foley

The rising threat to the democratic rights of the Portuguese people has become a major issue in the elections to be held April 25.

There has been a rise in the incidence of violence committed by ultrareactionary forces. For instance, among other actions, a left-wing candidate and one of his supporters were murdered in early April by terrorists, who planted a bomb in the car they were using.

The Costa Gomes government itself is giving countenance to anti-Communist actions. On April 3, two days before the official opening of the election campaign, it released the second part of a report on the attempted ultraleft coup of last November 25.*

The report emphasized the way the CP gained control of the communications media after the April 25, 1974, overturn of the Caetano government and used this control for factional ends. Actually CP control of the media had little to do with the seizure of the radio stations by the putschists last November, which was supposed to be the subject of the inquiry.

To single out the CP, the report cited the following entries made in the log of Emissora Nacional November 25:

7:50 p.m.—Major Barros [director of the station under Gonçalves] told various workers that an armed insurrection was in progress. He said those who supported it should stay, and those who did not could leave. He said further that the uprising was in the name of authentic "people's power." . . .

8:40 p.m.—The supervisors of creative services, Carlos Albino and Eduarda Ferreira, appeared in the studios of Medium-Wave Channel 1. One of them carried the scripts.

Carlos Albino read one, which was accompanied by emotional "revolutionary" music. The words were as follows:

"People's power is born of the people's will, like a child from its mother. Forward, comrades, the time has come for people's power to be born of the people's will. Forward, comrades. Forward, comrades. Forward, comrades."

At Radiotevisão Portuguesa, according to the report, the events began at 5:30 a.m.

A military force from EPAM [Escola Prática de Administração Militar—Practical School of Military Administration] occupied the studios. It was commanded by Captain Clemente and

included Captain Saldanha do Vale, as well as Second Lieutenants Belmiro Santos, Grilo, Rodrigues, and Sardo.

This was the summary of the broadcasting program after the EPAM team assumed full control:

5:02 p.m.—People's power slide.
—First communiqué from parachutists.
—Start of illegal broadcasting.
5:04—People's power slide.
5:13—People's power slide.
5:14—Communiqué from parachutists. . . .
5:33—. . . four minute report on parachutists.
5:37—People's power slide. . . .
6:09—Communiqué from Captain Clemente calling on the working masses to solidarize with the "revolutionary" military men in defending the Radiotevisão Portuguesa and Emissora Nacional against the Comandos under the orders of the Council of the Revolution.
6:10—People's power slide.
6:16—Repetition of Captain Clemente's communiqué.
6:17—People's power slide. . . .
6:31—Repetition of Captain Clemente's communiqué. People's power slide with recitation of poems.
7:14—MFA [Armed Forces Movement] slide.

This sampling from the report should be sufficient to indicate its main purpose, which is to counter warnings, especially warnings issued by candidates of the CP, concerning the threat to democratic rights emanating from the ultrarightists.

Spínola's Plot Creates Stir

The danger from the right is real, however. About a week after the report was released, the West German weekly *Stern* published an article by Günter Wallraff claiming that former President António de Spínola was preparing a comeback in Portugal that would end in an anti-Communist bloodbath.

Wallraff linked the names of Gen. Ramalho Eanes, the chief of staff of the army, Gen. Pires Veloso, commander of the northern military region, and Gen. Morais e Silva, head of the air force, with Spínola's plot.

The article created a stir in Portugal, although it was rejected by all major political forces except the Communist party. The general staff of the army issued a statement saying: "This accusation can only aid those who do not want democracy in Portugal."

Following *Stern's* publication of Wallraff's account, the Swiss government expelled Spínola from its territory.

The official statement of the Swiss

government did not cite Wallraff's exposure of Spínola's activities. But it did say, as quoted in the April 9 *New York Times*, that on March 22 the exiled strongman gave two aides a "special mandate to undertake negotiations concerning 'financial and logistical support'" for the Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal, a right-wing terrorist organization.

The right wing of the Socialist party found the Wallraff exposure embarrassing. While they are not partisans of Spínola, they favor close ties with those who were named as involved in his plotting. Thus the Lisbon daily *A Luta*, which reflects the views of the Social Democratic right-wingers, said April 9 that "observers" thought that Spínola had been used as a pawn in a game designed to discredit those "Portuguese military leaders who oppose totalitarian schemes in our country."

In contrast to this reaction, the Communist party leaders sought to raise a clamor over the sensational details exposed by Wallraff.

Reasons for Differences

In the April 11 issue of the British liberal weekly the *Observer*, correspondent Robin Smyth offered the following interesting explanation of the differing stances taken by the CP and the SP in this matter:

The Communists are this weekend using the latest arms buying scandal surrounding the exiled General Antonio de Spínola to discredit the two officers who are most likely to be chosen by the socialists and the PPD [Partido Popular Democrático—Democratic People's party, the bourgeois liberal party] as Presidential candidates.

Smyth claimed that the SP was looking to the generals implicated by the Wallraff story for an alternative to the present president, General Costa Gomes:

The Communist Party clearly plans to throw its weight behind the candidature of General Costa Gomes. . . .

The Socialists are determined to resist Gomes, who is accused by Soares of playing the Communist game at crucial turning points in the struggle for power since the revolution two years ago.

During the SP's struggle in August 1975 to oust the CP-backed fifth provisional government, SP leaders and newspapers publicly expressed exasperation with Costa Gomes's seemingly ambiguous attitude.

*For an analysis of the first part of the report, see "MFA Report on Putsch Attempt Plays Up Role of Stalinists" by Gerry Foley in the February 2 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, p. 121.

This feeling must have been strong, since the SP leadership had previously looked to him as its main ally in the government.

The Social Democrats want as head of the capitalist state a man who will defend their "right," based on their electoral following, to enjoy the corresponding political spoils. Anyone who makes concessions to their rivals, particularly the Stalinists, is a traitor in their view.

Actually, Costa Gomes, a longtime associate of Spínola, proved himself a cunning bourgeois tactician. At every turn he allowed the CP and its allies just enough leeway to discredit themselves, and then, at the right moment, he sprang the trap.

The ouster of the fifth government head General Vasco Gonçalves at the end of August and the crushing of the Gonçalvesista show of force on November 25 were notable victories for Costa Gomes.

If the CP consistently supported the democratic right of the working masses to decide the fate of the country, its warnings about a rightist coup would be much more effective. Unfortunately, the CP has raised the alarm about a rightist take-over too often simply as a weapon against its rivals on the left, whom it brands as "tools of reaction."

SP Paints Up the Right

A signed editorial in the April 10 issue of *Jornal Novo*, reflecting the paper's new rightist policy, took advantage of the CP's discredited demagoguery to ridicule its current warnings about a coup.

With an unsurpassable shamelessness and unlimited cynicism, the CP has already begun to set its apparatus in motion to prepare the climate for another one of its typical games. What is astonishing is that Cunhal's party is showing such a lack of imagination. It always goes through the same routine. It starts out by talking about an imminent rightist coup, creates the necessary climate of hysteria, and then 'steps forward triumphant to strangle the "counter-revolution."

In the meantime, in the confusion, it has seized more and more places in public and private administration. The scenario, as two years' experience have taught us, is always the same. If the plan fails midway, then the CP fumes against ultraleftist "grouplets," accusing them of "adventurism."

The editorial even tried to use the CP's demagoguery and its implication in the November 25 coup to deny that since April 25, 1974, the right has ever tried to deprive the masses of their newly gained democratic freedoms. It was all just CP "scenarios":

In fact, the CP was the main inspirer and protagonist of the September 28 and March 11 "coups"; finally, wasn't it implicated up to its ears in November 25? This is a reputation they cannot shrug off, and the courage of our military men in publishing the results of the investigations of these "coups" only deepens our suspicions of the comrades of Cunhal and Pereira de Moura. For the public in general, the authors of these roundabout coups are clearly identified.

They are, without any doubt, the CP and the MDP [Movimento Democrático Português—Portuguese Democratic Movement, the CP's petty-bourgeois periphery organization].

In fact the CP was only a cat's-paw of the MFA in the labor movement, the press, and certain sections of the state apparatus. However, beginning in the period after September 28, 1974, and far more so after March 11, 1975, when the bourgeoisie withdrew from the front of the stage in disgrace, the CP appeared to be gaining force. In particular, after March 11 the CP and its allies dominated the press in a very heavy-handed and dogmatic way, thus becoming a highly visible target for popular resentment.

Claims of the Pollsters

After the events of the past year, considerable confusion has apparently developed among the masses about the source of the threat to their liberties. Obviously, the bourgeoisie, which was politically on the run after September 28, 1974, and even more after March 11, 1975, is now again on the offensive.

Furthermore, although the CP and the SP have shared responsibility for the government over the past two years, the hopes inspired in the masses by the fall of Caetano have not been fulfilled. This disappointment has been deepened by the

factionalism of the SP and CP.

The dogmatic nostrums of the centrist and ultraleft groups have also helped to create confusion and promote a decline in interest in politics among the masses.

In the last week before the elections, it seems possible that the MFA may achieve what it hoped for in vain in the Constituent Assembly vote last year—a high rate of abstentions that will open the way for a military demagogue offering to represent the "nation as a whole" and save the people from politics.

On April 13, *Jornal Novo* reported that a poll by ANOP indicated that 40 percent of the eligible voters would fail to cast a ballot this time, as opposed to 6.94 percent last year. The institution attributed this to "the absence of alternatives . . . and the use of doctrinaire slogans and materials."

However, with the approach of the anniversary of Caetano's fall, political interest may increase, as it did last year, when the election eve turned into a vast national celebration of freedom.

So far, the masses' determination to put their newly gained freedom to use has overshadowed their disappointment at all the betrayals of the opportunist parties. This sentiment may still prove strong enough to upset the calculations of the Portuguese capitalists and their international backers. □

Demand Ouster of Ne Win Regime

7,000 Students March in Rangoon

About 7,000 students marched through Rangoon March 23, demanding an end to military rule. The demonstrators went to Rangoon University, where they occupied the convocation hall and declared it a strike headquarters. Throughout the night large crowds listened to student speakers.

Although the Burmese regime sent special riot police to the demonstration, they did not attack the students as they had done during previous protests. The next morning the regime closed all the universities in the country and arrested four student leaders.

The March 23 protest was the fourth major show of opposition in less than two years. When a general strike swept the textile, jute, dock, and oil industries in June 1974, the army crushed it ruthlessly, killing more than 300 persons and arresting 2,000.

In December 1974, when the government refused to give former United Nations Secretary General U Thant a ceremonial burial, 250,000 persons turned out for a protest march. The military again crushed

the protest in blood, killing between 400 and 500 persons.

In June 1975, on the anniversary of the first general strike, large student protests were again held. Workers went out on strike throughout lower and central Burma. Although no one was reported to have been killed, 230 persons were arrested.

In addition to the unrest in the cities, the military regime also faces several guerrilla struggles in the mountainous northern and eastern parts of the country. Some of the guerrilla actions have been carried out by the pro-Peking Burmese Communist party, others by various Shan, Karen, and Kachin nationalist groups fighting for independence or autonomy from the central government.

The guerrilla activities have increased sharply during the past year. In January, the government claimed to have killed 216 Communist and Shan guerrillas in eastern Burma during the previous two months. On April 10 it said that 96 insurgents had been killed in late March. The regime also admitted losing 35 government troops. □

Strikes and Demonstrations in Japan Over Lockheed Bribes

By Ernest Harsch



Business Week

Unionists demonstrate at Marubeni headquarters protesting Lockheed bribes.

More than two months after the Lockheed bribes scandal first hit Japan, demonstrations, strikes, and rallies continue to demand disclosure of the names of the "gray officials" who accepted the payoffs.

One of the most powerful actions occurred April 14 when thousands of transportation workers walked off their jobs. It was the first of a series of short strikes designed to back demands for higher wages and to protest the government's attempted whitewash of the Lockheed scandal.

The strike by workers of the municipal bus, subway, and other transport systems affected about 15.3 million commuters. According to a strike program released by Toshikotsu,¹ the lengths of the strikes were to be increased until April 22. On that day member unions in Tokyo, Osaka, Yokohama, Nagoya, Kyoto, and Kobe planned to walk off the job for the entire morning, while workers in thirty-three other cities were scheduled to strike for most of the morning rush hour. Toshikotsu announced that if its demands were not won by that point, it would stage two more half-day strikes.

The municipal transport workers' strikes

are just one part of the traditional spring labor offensive, called the *kokumin shunto* ("people's spring struggle"). Other labor organizations, such as Sohyo,² the largest trade-union federation in Japan, have also held actions to protest the Lockheed scandal.

In the April 11 *Los Angeles Times*, correspondent Sam Jameson reported that the bribe revelations have created "an all-pervasive air of suspicion here which carries the potential to damage everything from U.S.-Japan relations to Prime Minister Takeo Miki's grasp on power, and the careers and personal reputations of individuals"

"Public outrage has been fired by frustrations over lack of specific evidence and sweeping denials by everyone connected with Lockheed transactions in Japan."

One indication of the political explosiveness of the scandal is the extensive news coverage it has received. According to Jameson, on some days Japanese newspapers carried as many as ten pages of nothing but Lockheed news.

In addition, journalists have started publishing their own newspaper called "*Weekly Peanuts*" to print stories they were unable to get published in their own

papers. ("Peanuts" was a code word used by one of Lockheed's Japanese agents to describe a payoff.)

Disclosures about the involvement of the ruling Liberal Democratic party (LDP) in the scandal have led to a sharp drop in support for the party. One survey indicated that the LDP's support has fallen to 15 percent. According to Jameson, candidates of the LDP have deleted all references to the party from their campaign literature.

"If nothing else," Jameson said, "the reaction has proved that the estimation of Japanese politicians among the Japanese public could hardly be lower. A willingness—even an eagerness—to believe the charges of bribery, even without specific evidence, has pervaded the public mentality from the day the scandal broke."

The uproar over the scandal has cut into the business of the Marubeni Corporation, Japan's third largest trading company and Lockheed's official sales agent in Japan. A number of municipal governments, under mass pressure, have canceled commercial dealings with the company. When Hiro Hiyama submitted his resignation as Marubeni's chairman, he complained of what he termed the "people's kangaroo court" reaction to the bribery revelations.

The main opposition parties in the Diet (parliament) have pressed the LDP government for a full disclosure of the names of the bribe takers.

In addition, the Japan Socialist party (JSP), the strongest of the opposition parties, has called for a full investigation of the reported involvement of the Central Intelligence Agency in the Lockheed payoffs. According to the April 10 *Japan Times Weekly*, the JSP called the CIA's reported financing of Japanese political parties an example of the "structural corruption of politics" in Japan.

The JSP was joined by the Japan Communist party (JCP) and the Komeito (Clean Government party) in a boycott of Diet sessions. The Democratic Socialist party, which emerged from a right-wing split in the JSP in 1959, originally participated in the boycott, but joined the LDP April 9 to help pass the government's \$80.9 billion budget for fiscal 1976.

The April 8 *Japan Times* reported that the leaders of the JSP, JCP, and Komeito were expected to agree on a joint campaign to push for Miki's resignation.

Akahata (Red Flag), the daily newspaper of the JCP, charged in early April that

1. Zen Nihon Toshi Kotsu Rodo Kumiai Rengo (All-Japan Federation of Municipal Transportation Workers Unions).

2. Nihon Rodo Kumiai Sohyogikai (General Council of Japanese Trade Unions).

three former prime ministers and twenty-six other government officials were implicated in the scandal. The former prime ministers named by *Akahata* were Nobusuke Kishi, Eisaku Sato, and Kakuei Tanaka.

Tanaka was prime minister in 1972 when Lockheed poured millions of dollars in bribes to Japanese officials to land a contract for the TriStar passenger jet. Although Tanaka was forced to resign in November 1974 after the exposure of some of his shady financial dealings, he remains a powerful figure within the LDP, heading its largest faction.

On April 2, Tanaka issued a statement denying any involvement in the Lockheed scandal. "Various rumors and speculations are now circulating," he said. "This is very regrettable." Tanaka also claimed that during the past fifteen years he had not met Yoshio Kodama, the powerful rightist underworld boss who acted as Lockheed's chief influence peddler.

Among the many other denials by government officials were those of Kishi, and Yasuhiro Nakasone, the general secretary of the LDP. On April 3, Kishi denied that the CIA had funded his 1958 election campaign, as had been reported in the April 2 *New York Times*. Nakasone also denied that the LDP had received CIA money.

In an attempt to counter demands for an end to the cover-up, Miki has tried to give the appearance of launching a thorough investigation.

Speaking in the Diet April 3, he said, "I will stake my political life on uncovering the truth about the Lockheed affair."

Miki also pledged to look into the allegations of CIA funding to the LDP. "This is another grave problem and the truth of it must be uncovered by every means possible," he said at a televised news conference at his official residence.

Miki quickly made it clear, however, that "uncovering the truth" did not necessarily mean revealing the names of the high government officials who received the payoffs. In reply to the JSP, JCP, and Komeito protests over conditions the White House placed on the disclosure of the names, Miki claimed that unfortunately it was impossible to renegotiate Washington's terms.

In an April 10 dispatch from Tokyo, *New York Times* correspondent Richard Halloran reported Washington's demand that any documents handed over must be used by the Japanese government "exclusively for purposes of investigation conducted by agencies with law enforcement responsibilities and in ensuing legal proceedings, criminal, civil and administrative."

But none of the high government officials who received the payoffs are thought to have actually signed receipts, making it unlikely that criminal charges will ever be brought against them. Thus, under Washington's terms, the names would remain secret.

Since a public disclosure of all the bribe recipients could topple the LDP government and expose the CIA's hand in the affair, Washington is determined to help Tokyo cover up the scandal. But it remains

to be seen whether the American and Japanese governments can withhold the names in face of the continuing protests, particularly by the powerful labor movement. □

Israeli Threats Ineffective

Palestinian Militants Sweep West Bank Vote

"Could the message be more clear?"

"The vote shows the whole world that the West Bankers are Palestinians who want to establish their own national entity and put an end to the Israeli occupation."

That was the way Karim Khalaf, the mayor of Ramallah, explained the April 12 vote in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Khalaf's "National Bloc" slate, which won eight of the nine seats on the Ramallah city council as well as the mayor's office, printed its campaign posters green, black, red, and white—the color of the Palestinian flag.

The day before the election Khalaf told *Washington Post* correspondent Thomas W. Lippman, "We are for the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization], we say it in our speeches, and that is the issue."

Palestinian nationalists swept the municipal elections, which were held in twenty-four towns containing just under half of the West Bank population. The new council members include one man currently imprisoned by the Israeli authorities as a leader of the outlawed Palestine National Front, and five who have served prison terms for their political activities.

The student youth who spearheaded a two-month-long wave of protests against the Israeli occupation in February and March were not eligible to vote. Nevertheless, militant slates won control of the municipal governments in Nablus, Hebron, Ramallah, and Tulkarm—the first, second-, fourth-, and fifth-largest towns on the West Bank. The nationalists also won in several smaller towns.

The result came despite Israeli intimidation and threats. Dr. Ahmad Hamzi Natshi of Hebron and Dr. Abdul Azziz Haj Ahmed of Al Bira were candidates for mayor in their respective cities. Both were deported by the Israeli occupiers March 27 because of their support for the PLO.

Commenting on the West Bank situation, the April 12 issue of the British *Financial Times* noted:

Israel's international standing could well be affected by developments on the West Bank. Foreign governments that have hitherto acquiesced in Israel's occupation, in the hope that this would be a bargaining card for a Middle East settlement, will be less tolerant if the Israeli regime becomes openly repressive of political dissent by the local population. In any case, it is

doubtful how long Israel could afford to hold down a hostile West Bank without undermining its ability to meet threats on other fronts.

A more vivid description of Tel Aviv's predicament was given to *Washington Post* reporter Lippman by a Palestinian village leader on March 27. "Israel," the Arab said, "is like a dog that has tried to swallow too big a bone. She cannot get it down but she cannot spit it out either." □

Indians Were Main Victims in Guatemala Earthquake

Some revealing statistics have emerged in the aftermath of the February 4 earthquake in Guatemala.

The hardest hit area of the country was the highland region where 400,000 Indians live. Deaths in this region numbered 16,000 of the total 22,800 persons killed in the disaster. In addition, 50,000 persons were injured in the highlands of the total 76,500 injuries reported. Ninety percent of the homes in this area were destroyed.

In the eastern provinces hit by the earthquake, 2,700 persons died. In Guatemala City there were 1,200 fatalities and 90,000 were left homeless—almost exclusively in the slum areas.

Slum dwellers were heavily victimized because most of the poorest housing is in ravines or gorges, which are highly susceptible to landslides whenever earth movements occur. The homes of the rich, on the other hand, have been built to costly antiearthquake specifications.

Large-scale industry was not damaged. However, among small factories and workshops with five to nine workers (56 percent of industrial establishments) about 50,000 workers were affected by damage to workplaces.

In agriculture, those who suffered most from the earthquake were the 180,000 small producers who lost their crops and the 500,000 who lost their homes—primarily Indians who are dependent on subsistence production. The big coastal plantations that grow export crops of sugar, cotton, and coffee were only slightly damaged.

3,000 Unionists Call for National Day of Action May 26

By John Blackburn and Kevin Thomas

LONDON—British workers demonstrated their anger March 27 when more than 3,000 delegates came together here at a national Assembly on Unemployment and issued a call for a National Day of Action May 26 to protest unemployment.

Organized jointly by the London Co-op Political Committee (the Co-operative party is affiliated to the Labour party) and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering unions (District No. 8), the assembly was certainly the largest gathering of representatives of local labour organizations in many years.

More than 1,500 trade-union branches from most sectors of industry were represented. There were sizable delegations from regional labour organizations, shop steward committees, trades councils, constituency Labour parties, and the Labour Party Young Socialists, as well as eighty-five delegates from student unions and a number of Labour members of Parliament.

Official unemployment in Britain now stands at more than 1.25 million and is still rising. Real unemployment is much higher, since official figures ignore persons classified as permanently unemployed and those working part time.

Realistic figures would probably put unemployment nearer the two million mark. Moreover, unemployment is concentrated in the city slums and immigrant communities, and among Blacks, women, and the youth.

Neither the present Labour government nor the Tory opposition offers any prospect of change in this picture, and academic research bodies are virtually unanimous that the situation will get worse. The day after the assembly the *Economic Policy Review*, published by the Cambridge Economic Policy Group, stated that Britain is heading for 1.5 to 2 million unemployed and a further drop in living standards by 1980.

Several big protest actions against unemployment have taken place in the last few months. On November 26, 30,000 trade unionists took part in a demonstration and lobby of Parliament in spite of the fact that the action was publicly condemned by Len Murray, the general secretary of the Trades Union Congress (TUC).

In Dundee, 30,000 workers participated in a recent one-day strike action, and in Glasgow 125,000 workers struck for two hours March 24 to protest unemployment.

The atmosphere at the assembly reflected this growing militancy and radicalization. Delegates responded enthusiastically

to speeches calling for "socialist policies," "nationalization of profitable manufacturing industry," and "unity of the employed and the unemployed."

Although the potential to unite the labour movement in a struggle against unemployment clearly exists, the assembly failed to take some of the key steps necessary to build a united campaign of mass action.

What was needed to ensure the success of the assembly was the following:

1. A fully democratic discussion at the conference.
2. A set of alternative economic policies in the interests of the vast majority of the working class.
3. A strategy to organize and broaden the fight for the adoption of such policies by the labour movement.

Unfortunately, the organizers of the Assembly on Unemployment—an alliance of Stalinists and "left" Social Democratic trade-union bureaucrats—failed on all three counts.

Only one set of proposals was up for discussion. It was made clear at the outset in answer to a question from the floor—the only question allowed—that no alternative proposals would be allowed, nor would any amendments to the main motion be permitted.

Moreover, while every delegate was allowed to submit his or her name to speak, the speakers' list was quite openly sifted so as to give preference to those known to agree with the views of the organizers.

The perspective of the assembly organizers was inadvertently stated by TUC General Council member Ken Gill when he complained to the delegates that "today, the official trade-union movement has sold itself for nothing at all."

The leadership of the TUC has fully supported the government's "voluntary" wage limits and gone along with its drastic cuts in spending for social welfare. The Stalinists and "left" Social Democrats want to use the mass movement to pressure the TUC leadership and the government and to support the parliamentary activities of the Labour "left." But they do not want to go beyond this and wage a fight against the basic policies of the Labour party and TUC chiefs, although these policies are anti-working-class to the core.

Thus, Ray Buxton, general secretary of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, talked about the

"drifting apart of the leadership of the trades unions and the rank and file." But Buxton himself only recently intervened in a heavy-handed move to force railway workers back to work when they struck against cuts in railway services.

An example of the outlook of the assembly organizers was that one of the few specific proposals they advanced in the resolution against unemployment was for "selected import controls." This proposal caused an uproar among the delegates, although it was carried by a wide margin.

This nationalistic proposal calls for solving unemployment in one country at the expense of workers in another. Such a policy would line up the workers in support of the trade wars of the imperialist rulers. At the same time, by protecting more expensive British-made goods, it would hurt the standard of living of the working class.

Despite these shortcomings, the assembly did pass some positive proposals for action. The most important of these was the call for the National Day of Action. What is needed now is a campaign in the trade-union movement to demand that the TUC itself organize, build, and lead this action, turning it into a one-day national strike around the demands of no unemployment and no cuts in social services.

An important aspect of the assembly was the sizable number of delegates who were also members of various left-wing organizations such as the International Marxist Group (IMG), the British section of the Fourth International; International Socialists (IS); Workers Socialist League (WSL); and others. This reflects the fact that many newly radicalized workers are looking for an alternative to the openly class-collaborationist and antidemocratic practices of the Stalinists and Social Democrats.

Of these smaller left-wing groups, IS had the largest representation. At the end of the assembly, delegates supporting IS were unable to contain their frustration at the crude maneuvering of the Stalinists and attempted to disrupt the conference by chanting in unison "May 21." (A number of victims of a brutal police attack on a "Right to Work March" organized by IS go on trial May 21.)

There was a lot of support and sympathy among the delegates for those being tried May 21. But the outburst only served to isolate IS from the mass of the conference, making it more difficult for them to gain a hearing for their views. This action played

into the hands of the organizers of the assembly.

The IMG was able to reach agreement with the International Communist League, the Workers' League, and the Socialist Charter group on the need to fight for a democratically run assembly, and several hundred delegates supported a petition making such demands on the conference organizers.

Immediately following the assembly, about 150 delegates from these groups, and also from the WSL and the Revolutionary Communist Group, met to discuss the assembly and the way forward. The April 1 issue of *Red Weekly*, the newspaper of the IMG, explained:

What is really needed at present is agreement

to fight for key demands necessary to meet the crisis, and practical agreements on how to push these forward within the campaign projected by the Communist Party. . . .

What has to be discussed for example is a united front to commit as many unemployment action committees as possible to our fighting policies. Then how we could begin to coordinate this fight nationally through the promotion of a bulletin and fight for a national conference of such advanced action committees. Part of this would be a campaign for all the forces that supported our alternative fighting policies to mobilise in unity behind a joint contingent on the demonstration called for 26 May.

This type of united activity is possible. The political organisations represented together have small but sufficient weight in the movement to make these proposals a reality. □

brutality, adding that "the parents are even more behind the teachers now—and we will win!"

Québec's largest teachers union, the Québec Teachers Federation (CEQ), condemned what it termed the "intolerably brutal attack on . . . the teachers engaged in a peaceful demonstration."

Student groups including the National Association of Québec Students (ANEQ) have spoken out strongly against the board and the police.

The school board commissioners, however, defended the calling of the police in a March 31 statement, saying they "assisted" the board officials who sought to enter the blocked building.

Teachers saw the incident in a very different way. Donald Peacock, president of the Montréal Teachers Association, stated on March 31, "You have declassified us, you have betrayed us—but, by God, you cannot beat us up and continue to sit there in smug complacency. There was no riot and all of Canada has seen your goon squad club us. You stand condemned before all decent men and women."

The police attack was instrumental in unifying and mobilizing the English-speaking teachers. They have been traditionally conservative.

Traditionally outside of the mainstream of militant French-speaking workers, they have suddenly tasted a bit of the police repression usually reserved for French-speaking workers, students, and nationalists.

Close to 2,000 of a total of 2,400 teachers employed by the Protestant School Board of Greater Montréal turned out to the next general assembly on March 29. They have begun to learn a valuable lesson: that the government, the school board, and the police have their own common front to smash public-sector workers' struggles.

The assembly called for an inquiry into the police attack, for legal suits against the police, and for a march on Québec City April 8 to protest government inaction in the negotiations. The MTA has called on students and parents to participate in the demonstration. □

Greek Cypriots Continue Protests Against U.S. Aid to Turkey

The second demonstration in less than a week by Greek Cypriots protesting planned U.S. military aid to Turkey took place in Nicosia April 12.

Marchers numbering 2,000 to 3,000 were met by hundreds of police armed with tear gas and batons when they attempted to approach the American embassy. The building had been ringed with coils of barbed wire strung across adjoining empty lots, and all the doors had been covered with barbed wire and wire mesh.

Seven demonstrators were injured and ten arrested following clashes with the police.

Ten Demonstrators Injured

Riot Police Club Montréal Teachers

By Bob Russell

[The following article appeared in the April 12 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto.]

* * *

MONTREAL—The Protestant School Board of Greater Montréal called in Montréal's riot squad March 26 to attack an orderly demonstration of 500 teachers outside the board's offices.

Police charged the demonstration, attacking teachers and beating them brutally. Ten teachers were injured.

The teachers, members of the Montréal Teachers Association (MTA), have responded with a powerful counterattack against the school board and the police, winning very broad community support. They have projected a protest march in Québec City April 8.

The March 26 demonstration protested the refusal of the board, the largest English-language school board in Québec, to state publicly where it stands in the current contract negotiations.

These form part of the general contract negotiations of Québec's 250,000 public-service employees—teachers, office employees, hospital workers, etc. The Common Front of Québec's three major union federations includes 175,000 of these workers. The Montréal Teachers Association is outside the Common Front.

The Montréal Protestant school board has said repeatedly that it is on the "teachers' side" in the current negotiations. The school board tried to blame the Québec government of Robert Bourassa—its partner in the negotiations—for the

latest offers to teachers. These maintain Québec teachers as the lowest paid in Canada, while increasing their workload and class size.

However, when pressed by the teachers to make a public statement of what the board would consider a fair offer, the board refused.

This was the origin of the March 26 demonstration. Five hundred teachers, parents, and students pledged to close the school board building. The teachers remained peaceful, while successfully blocking all entrances. School board Director-General Marcel Fox took it upon himself to fight the "lawlessness" of the teachers by calling the notorious riot police of Montréal.

The Montréal daily, the *Gazette*, described the police attack as follows:

"About 15 truncheon-wielding policemen cleared the way to the building by swinging sticks, throwing people bodily down the stairs . . . and hitting and kicking the striking teachers who were attempting to close board offices."

As the shocked teachers yelled "Fascists" and "Zieg Heil," the police beat a path into the building for two board officials. The same officials came out two minutes later to announce that the board building was "now closed." Clearly, the beating had aimed only at teaching the teachers a lesson.

Reaction came swiftly, in protests from teachers, parents, unions, students, and others.

Central Parents Committee chairman Judge Max Polak, who witnessed the police attack, sharply criticized the police

French SP, CP Win in Cantonal Elections

By Rebecca Finch

PARIS—"The results of these cantonal elections were not favorable to the majority," French President Giscard d'Estaing said in a television address March 24. In this understated way, Giscard took note of the fact that the government parties were soundly defeated, winning only 43.7% of the vote in the final round of the French cantonal elections of March 14.

The cantonal elections are usually discounted; but this time the voter turnout was 62%, the highest for any election since 1958. This sign of increasing political concern among the masses made the government's defeat even more telling.

The mass working-class parties were the big winners in the elections. In the first round, held March 7, the Socialist party won 26.5% and the Communist party 22.8%, for a combined total of 49.3%. Most of the remaining antigovernment votes were won by the Left Radicals, a small bourgeois party that is part of the Union of the Left electoral coalition with the SP and CP. Other candidates who made a showing included "independent left" (politically close to the SP or CP) and "extrême gauche" (far left), such as the PSU, a left-centrist working-class party.

In the second-round runoffs on March 14, the Socialist party won 30.8% and the Communist party 17.3%, with the total opposition votes amounting to 56.3%. Together, the SP and CP took 269 seats in the cantons away from the Gaullists, the Independent Republicans, and the centrist parties that run the government.

Bourgeois political observers and government figures have been trying to minimize the significance of these election results. As Giscard said in his TV address:

These results expressed real dissatisfaction and worry, to which I will return. But these results do not express a choice of society. You made the choice of a society two years ago, at the time of the presidential election.

The government is hoping that it can overcome the crisis of confidence by the time of the national legislative elections, scheduled to take place in two years.

"Despite the leftist surge, few analysts expect France to vote for the left when the stakes are high," the March 29 *Newsweek* declared. But *Newsweek* failed to inform its readers of the public-opinion polls in France, which showed that the government would have suffered a comparable defeat in legislative elections had they been held at present.

The cantonal election results reflect the radicalization of the French working class



GISCARD D'ESTAING

that was set into motion by the May 1968 general strike. The most recent period has seen a marked increase in militant working-class struggles, the most important in the last seven years. These stem from increasing working-class dissatisfaction with the failure of "Giscardian liberalism" to stem the 10% inflation rate, and the 4.5% unemployment rate, which is very high for France.

As with Britain and Italy, France's economy has been slower to benefit from the economic upturn than the United States and West Germany, a fact sharply illustrated in March by the reduction in the value of the French franc in relation to the U.S. dollar and the German Deutsch mark.

Part of Giscard's earlier strategy had been to offer some minor reforms to appease the deepening dissatisfaction. But these have been totally inadequate and have failed to stop the growing swing to the Socialist and Communist parties that has stepped up substantially since the 1973 elections. This is leading the main

sectors of the French ruling class to favor a more aggressive offensive against the working class.

The election results, with important gains for both the SP and the CP, brought to the surface the long simmering dispute in the governing coalition between the "Giscardian" liberals and the more conservative Gaullists organized in the Union des Démocrates pour la République (UDR), the party led by Premier Jacques Chirac. Albin Chalandon, a former minister in the cabinet and UDR deputy, said March 18:

For eighteen months certain leaders of the majority have not stopped smiling and making advances to the Socialist party, and have thus contributed to establishing its credit in the country.

... the Socialist party is a fearsome adversary ... in reality it's a question of a revolutionary party, in certain respects even more revolutionary than the Communist party.

Chalandon proposed tightening up on the "reforms." This would signify further attacks on the working class, which he views as the way to win back the "traditional electorate." He said the majority must:

... counterpose the truth to the demagogy of the left: we are in an economic crisis and this is not the hour for social progress, but of economic retreat and social solidarity. ... If social demands are not disciplined, we will continue to have a worrisome, dangerous increase in prices that will again put the economic recovery itself into question.

Although Giscard d'Estaing may try to maintain some appearances as a liberal reformer, the real content of his social program is no different from that of the more conservative bourgeois politicians, as was clearly shown in his March 24 television address. Attacking wage demands by French workers, he said:

If those currently working think they must keep all the resources won in the recovery for themselves, where will the resources necessary to create new jobs and pay newly hired workers come from?

In response to those who are critical of the measly reforms the government has doled out, Giscard said:

Naturally, not just anything must be reformed, and not in just any way. Reforms cannot be made for pleasure or caprice.

And if anyone doubted his real intentions, the doubts were dispelled by his concluding call for the protection of France's "security" and the continued use of repressive measures against those organizing in the army in defense of the democratic rights of soldiers, or the workers, students, and farmers whose demonstrations and strikes are increasing in numbers and militancy.

"When, several months ago, a climate of uncertainty or trouble began to develop in our armed forces ... justice acted to eliminate these attempts at disorganization,"

Giscard said in relation to the indictments still pending against those involved in the formation of soldiers committees and soldiers unions in the French army.

"When, recently, disorders took place in the Midi wine-growing area, what was the response of the state authorities?" The question was a rhetorical one only, for the shooting of one of the winegrowers in a recent demonstration has been met with wide protests by political organizations in France.

While the French government has refused to take action on the winegrower's death, it has launched a search for those it claims were responsible for the death of a policeman in the same demonstration.

Several major student demonstrations that took place prior to the Easter vacation period as part of a widespread university strike against government-proposed university-level reforms were attacked by police. The strike and the demonstrations were against changes the government wants to make as part of its efforts to give greater standing to manual labor, which would result in diminishing the quality of university-level education.

In addition, French Education Minister Alice Saunier-Seïté has threatened that diplomas will not be issued to those who continue the struggle after the vacation period.

But although the government is losing support, and mass struggles have been increasing in face of ruling-class attacks, the Socialist and Communist parties have tried to confine these struggles to limited objectives.

The SP and CP have offered no perspective that would lead to workers power. Neither party proposes to break with the bourgeoisie and form a workers government. Neither calls for an SP-CP government. Both the SP and CP insist on maintaining their Union of the Left bloc with the bourgeois Left Radicals, despite the clear indications that the workers parties can now claim to represent the majority in their own right. And, most important of all, neither the SP nor the CP has offered a perspective of extraparliamentary mass action that can mobilize the increasing discontent of the working class and its allies in an effective anticapitalist struggle. To the contrary, the SP and CP are trying to steer all developments into the safe channels of the Union of the Left electoral strategy.

The CP, which finds itself in a minority on the electoral level in the workers movement for the first time since 1936, called on the SP and the Left Radicals to join with the CP in drawing up common slates of candidates according to the proportional strength of each. Such an arrangement would give the CP, with its larger membership of 500,000, a strong advantage over the 150,000-member SP, indicating that the CP intends to continue

its policy of "conflictual union" with the SP.

In addition, the CP has stepped up a drive begun in 1972 to increase the number of its cells in large French enterprises.

These moves are not at all aimed at building a stronger party capable of mounting effective struggle in united actions with the SP and other groups in the workers movement. They are intended to polish the CP's image in the period leading up to the municipal and legislative campaigns. For this, the CP is continuing the policy it affirmed at its recent congress of trying to establish a more moderate, respectable image designed for greater public appeal on the electoral level.

The French Socialist party, now clearly enjoying significant support in the working class, offers no revolutionary perspective for the French working class either.

Free Sabin Arana!

[The following appeal has been issued by *Combate*, newspaper of the LCR/ETA-VI.* We have taken the translation from the April 1 issue of *Inprecor*, fortnightly news bulletin of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Our comrade Sabin Arana, who has had tuberculosis for more than fourteen years, has, during the last several years of his detention in Francoist prisons, begun to suffer from a serious kidney disease. First diagnosed as renal tuberculosis by a prison "doctor," the malady was recognized as kidney stones after a year and a half of treatment. (This means that for eighteen long months, Sabin was treated with products that actually worsened his illness.)

Since the end of December, Sabin has been in the prison hospital of Carabanchel, where he arrived after many years as an exemplary militant: arrested three times, tortured for a total of nearly eighteen days, imprisoned since March 9, 1968, that is, for the past eight years. During this time he has participated in eight hunger strikes and has been condemned to punishments that have totaled more than 300 days in solitary confinement and the loss of sixteen years suspended sentences. Condemned by the Tribunal of Public Order and by military tribunals to a total of thirty-two years in prison, he has been in the prisons of San Sebastián, Madrid, Santander, Burgos, and Segovia; on August 28, 1975 (the day the trial of Garmendia and Otaegui op-

*Liga Comunista Revolucionaria/Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna-VI (Revolutionary Communist League/Basque Nation and Freedom-VI), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain.

SP leader François Mitterrand, in a March 29 interview with *Newsweek* magazine, offered only the perspective of a "two year election campaign" as the answer to workers problems.

Asked what his attitude would be to being appointed premier under Giscard d'Estaing in the event of victory for the Union of the Left in the 1978 legislative elections, he said that the French constitution makes no provision for a state of affairs in which two different democratically elected majorities elect a president of the right and a National Assembly of the left.

"If I had the office of Premier, I could live with any president who would allow me to implement the platform on which I had been elected, that is, the common program of the left." □

ened), he was suddenly transferred to Puerto de Santa Maria, although he had been in the midst of a hunger strike along with eleven of his comrades.

He was later brought to Madrid under terrible conditions: Although he was urinating blood, he traveled from Puerto de Santa Maria bound hand and foot, folded into a ball, and was thrown into a dungeon cell for nearly twelve hours. He arrived exhausted. Shortly thereafter, he stopped urinating blood—because he stopped urinating altogether. A probe had to be introduced.

Now (March 1), the doctors have decided to operate. Above all, we must impose indispensable medical guarantees, Arana's right to choose a nonprison hospital for his operation and recovery. An international campaign has begun. Sabin Arana, who has been a militant for sixteen years (first in the old ETA before 1969, then in the ETA-VI, then in the LCR/ETA-VI), is one of the most respected and esteemed comrades among a whole generation of militants of all organizations who have lived with him in the six or seven prisons in which he has spent the last seven or eight years. *We must win his liberation, save him so he may continue the struggle to which he has devoted his life.*

And along with him, J. Antonio Garmendia, Antonio Durán, and Horacio Fernández Inguanzo, all three of them ill, must be released immediately! **MEDICAL GUARANTEES FOR THE POLITICAL PRISONERS! FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!**

At a Chrysler factory, freedom for Antonio Durán was included among the workers demands, and on February 28 an assembly of miners in Mieres demanded the release of Horacio Fernández Inguanzo.

That is the road that must be followed! □

French Peasants Struggle Against Military Land Grab

By F.L. Derry

PARIS—When the French military decided in 1970 to expand a small army base into a major military complex on the rugged, nearly deserted plateau of Larzac in southern France, they did not take into account the stubborn determination of 103 peasants and their supporters. The normally isolated and self-reliant sheepherders of Larzac have a tough and independent spirit that did not take too kindly to the military's plans to take their land. They refused to leave.

During the next six years, the struggle of the peasants and their supporters reached massive proportions, involving several demonstrations of more than 60,000 and frustrating every effort of the French government and military hierarchy. Now a French court has finally ruled on the question. The land, it decided, has no socially useful value and must be ceded to the army. The peasants have vowed to continue their struggle.

The peasants responded to the court decision in their journal, *Gardarem lo Larzac*. The name of the journal, which means "Preserve Larzac," is in the Occitan language native to the region. It carries articles in both Occitan and French.

"No one can displace us without killing us," the determined peasants answered. "The sham justice of the State Council leaves us more determined than ever. Against anything we will keep our Larzac, which is also that of all those who struggle for justice."

The struggle of the sheepherders touched a responsive chord in France and has received support from a wide variety of political movements. Many ecology and conservation groups have taken an active part in the effort to preserve the natural beauties of the region.

Antimilitarist and pacifist groups have also joined the struggle. Antimilitarist sentiment is high in France, particularly among young people. In some rural areas a sort of pacifism has become almost traditional among the peasants. The Larzac peasants have expressed a principled pacifism in their struggle with the army. "Our crops bring life; the army brings death," they say.

Another important area of support for the "Larzac 103" has come from the immigrant workers organizations in France. The Larzac peasants have counterposed French military expansion, the size of the military budget, and particularly the sale of arms to underdeveloped countries,

to the famine conditions in many African countries.

France, they say, should be producing food for export to the hungry, not guns for their oppressors. This helped attract many groups of immigrant workers who aided in building the many demonstrations in the peasants' defense. Immigrant workers and their families in France number more than four million.

Probably the most important aid the 103 peasants have received has come from the Occitan nationalist movement. Occitan, in several dialects, is still spoken in many areas of southern France, particularly in rural areas. Although incorporated into the state that emerged from the French revolution, these areas have maintained their own language, traditions, and customs.

Recent years have seen the revival of a nationalist movement claiming that Occitania is both economically exploited and culturally and linguistically oppressed by the northern French. They accuse the French government of a conscious policy of suppressing their language and keeping the area economically undeveloped.

It is true that the young generation in the urban areas of the south can no longer speak Occitan, while large rural areas speak almost no French. The transformation in the use of the language has come about so rapidly that it is not unusual for young people, whose parents moved from the country to the towns in the area, to require translators to speak to their own grandparents.

Virtually any question that pits local people from the region against the central government immediately becomes an issue for the nationalist movement. This is particularly true of any issue involving local agriculture or the French army. The nationalist movement has charged for many years that recruitment into the French army has been consciously used as a tool by the central government to break up the regional culture.

Even if the new revival of the nationalist movement has a more urban and politically left character, its traditional ties are with the peasantry and the agrarian economy. Thus, the Larzac struggle, which directly pitted Occitan peasants against the French army, became a clear symbol for the nationalist movement.

In August 1974, I attended one of the large Larzac rallies. The demonstration took place on the barren rocky plateau, and the demonstrators traveled from all

over France to attend. Many camped out on the nearby hillsides, which were soon littered with tens of thousands of tents. The bitter, cold nights, followed by the blistering relentless sun during the day, quickly filled up the little makeshift infirmary.

Most of these determined demonstrators were young, although a significant number were older peasants and workers from nearby towns. At least 60,000 persons attended the central rally, and I was told that the demonstration the previous year had been the same size. The rally was a regular sea of Occitan and Breton flags and slogans. Speeches and songs were delivered in both French and Occitan.

On the last day, a symbolic harvest was held. That spring, the peasants had occupied military land and planted a crop, defying the army to reoccupy their land. Under public pressure, the army backed down. Now the crop was ready, and the 60,000 demonstrators marched across the plateau to harvest it. The proceeds were given to the representatives of the immigrant workers groups to be sent to the famine-stricken areas of the Sahel (sub-Saharan Africa).

The peasants have also received some support from the mass organizations of French workers. The CFDT¹ has been an active supporter of the peasants. François Mitterrand, leader of the Socialist party, tried to attend the 1974 rally but was physically assaulted by a sectarian Maoist group. The Stalinist-dominated CGT,² however, was conspicuous by its absence. More recently, in February 1975, the Communist party pulled out of the Larzac Defense Committee, charging it with having taken unspecified "irresponsible positions." This may have referred to the committee's increasingly antimilitarist slant.

The CP's action clearly hurt the movement. Last summer, for the first time in many years, no central Larzac demonstration took place.

Now the court has ruled on the various legal appeals. "The adverse effect that expansion of the Larzac base will have on a certain amount of farmland, pasture land, cheese production, and highway

1. Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail (French Democratic Confederation of Labor).

2. Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor).

traffic," it said, "is not excessive, given the importance of this project for national defense."

Several years ago, Elie Jonquet, one of the 103 peasants, expressed the determination that still seems to be their trademark. His grandfather had died "of despair" when the army took half his land for the

first military camp in Larzac in 1902. Three of his uncles were killed in World War I. His father was gassed in the trenches during the same war. He himself spent five years in a "stalag," a German prison camp, during World War II.

"I have paid my dues," he says. "I will not budge." □

Strikes Spread Rapidly

Inflation Provokes Growing Ferment in Greece

[The following summary of the recent labor struggles in Greece was published in the April 3 issue of *Ergatike Pale*, the weekly newspaper of the Greek Trotskyists. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

A wave of strikes is rising steadily throughout the country. More and more sections of the working class are mobilizing against the increase in prices that is wiping out their buying power. Tens of thousands of working people are in motion, demanding higher wages and preservation of their trade-union rights. At the same time, they are showing their determination to struggle against the government's antilabor law, which is designed to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the backs of the workers.

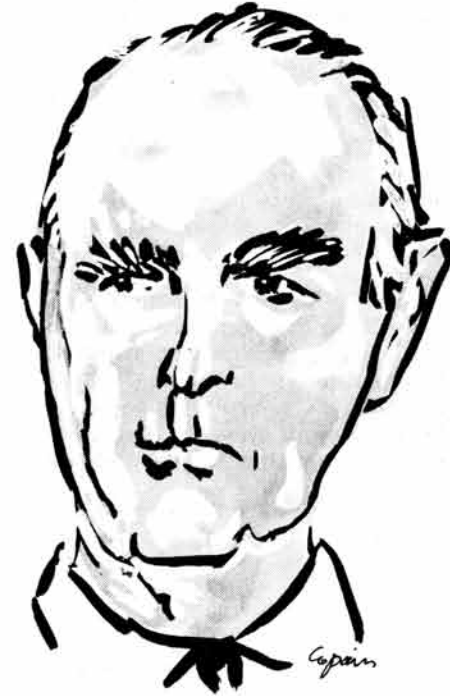
- The 600 workers at the Izola electrical-machinery plant are continuing three-hour-long work stoppages for better conditions. In the coming week they intend to increase these stoppages to six hours, as a further step in the escalation of their struggle.

- The strike at the Matsouke, Elza, and Voulgaride-Chatzestyle printing plants is going into its second month. Since the shutdown is backed by all the lithographers, the strikers are determined to continue until their demands are met.

- The machine operators and drillers at Mettaleia Dhistomou have been on strike for thirty-eight days, in defiance of the bosses, who have tried by every means to break the strike.

- For four days, the workers in the Kynegake furniture factory in Aigalaion have been carrying out two-hour work stoppages.

- The strike of 250 workers at the Phanestropoulos pipe factory in Thebes is going into its third week. The workers are determined not to yield to the pressures of the plant management; they are defending their strike and driving away the strike-breakers the management has been bringing in from Athens. In an assembly held in the EK [Ergatikon Kentron—Workers Center] in Thebes, they voted to continue



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the struggle until their demands were met.

- The strike of twelve glass factories in Athens and Piraeus is going into its second month. The glassworkers are fighting for higher wages and for the reestablishment of an insurance fund.

- The 250 workers in the Stasinopulos factory in Trachana Lokridas are continuing their eighteen-day-old strike, demanding higher wages and the rehiring of a comrade who was fired.

- For ten days, the workers at International Telephone and Telegraph have continued two-hour stoppages despite many attempts by the bosses to intimidate them.

- Demanding a 40 percent raise and better working conditions, the 140 workers at the Adams Abeanagnostopoulos spinning mill in Botaniko have begun two-hour work stoppages.

- The workers of the Ospam electric-lamp company in Petralona went on strike March 30 demanding the rehiring of their union leader, who was fired.

- The night-shift workers at the Choudson knitting mill in northern Ionia discontinued the two-hour work stoppages they conducted from March 30 to April 3, demanding higher wages.

- At Fulgor-Ellas, the bosses began a lockout of 500 workers in retaliation for a three-hour work stoppage.

- Some 500 glassworkers at the Owens plant in Bodosake in Eleusina are continuing the strike they began on March 31 despite violence by the bosses, who have gone so far as to injure three workers, giving an order to a company truck to drive over the strikers gathered at the gates. Undaunted, the workers are pressing their demands for higher wages and higher pay for work dangerous to health.

The strike of 32,000 teachers has ended. They returned to their classrooms April 2.

The decision to "suspend" the strike was taken by the leadership of the Dhidhaskalike Omospondhia Elladas [DOE—Teachers Association of Greece].

The DOE regarded the announcement by the Ministry of Education that it would begin a study of the problems of the profession on January 1, 1977, as a moral victory!

However, the government's false promises cannot divert the bulk of the teachers, despite the collaborationist attitude of their leadership.

The teachers must understand the need for linking their struggle with those of the workers and all working people. From that standpoint they will understand the need for creating a leadership that will fight consistently for their demands, provide perspectives for this struggle, and stop displaying a "sense of national responsibility" and "proper conduct" toward the Caramanlis government. □

Argentine Trade Unionists Sentenced for Possession of 'Arms of War'

Leaders of the bakers and textile workers unions in Argentina have been ordered jailed for up to ten years under the military junta's new decree banning the possession of arms.

During the first week of April, Hugo Oscar González, general secretary of the bakery workers, received a ten-year sentence. Sebastián Chinchinales, a member of the same union, was sentenced to seven years. Four other trade unionists and a functionary of the Labor Ministry were sentenced to three years each.

Their trials were the first under the new military tribunals set up by the junta to deal with "acts of sabotage."

The bakery workers had been arrested in Comodoro Rivadavia March 29. "Arms and explosives of war" were reported found in their headquarters.

Washington Refuses Visa to Ernest Mandel

By Nancy Cole

[The following article appeared in the April 23 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

* * *

The U.S. State Department has decided once again to wield its power to prevent Americans from hearing a point of view not in tune with the government's. Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel has been denied a visa to teach a quarter as guest professor at Stanford University in California.

On March 3, the U.S. embassy in Brussels rejected the requests of the Marxist scholar and his wife, Gisela Mandel. The denials were based on sections of a witch-hunting piece of legislation known as the McCarran-Walter Act, which bars those holding "communist" views from entering the country. A subsequent request for a waiver of ineligibility was finally denied during the first week in April.

Ernest Mandel is the author of the classic *Marxist Economic Theory*. This, along with others of his books, are exten-

sively used as college textbooks in the United States. His latest work, *Late Capitalism*, was described by the April 1976 *Choice* magazine as "one of the major contributions of the last decade to Marxist economics."

Mandel had been invited to teach two classes at Stanford for the spring 1976 quarter: "Post World War II Boom and Its End" and "W. Europe Facing Depression and Fascism 1929-1939: France, Belgium, Spain and England."

The Stanford guest professorship program, organized and financed by the student government, also invited Angela Davis and radical psychologist Claude Steiner.

This is not the first time the U.S. government has chosen to bar Mandel from entering the country. In 1969 he was invited to debate John Kenneth Galbraith at Stanford University. This was to have been followed by a series of engagements at universities and a public meeting at New York's Town Hall.

The McCarran-Walter Act was dredged up to keep him out, despite the fact that he had been granted entry in 1962 and 1968,

during which visits he spoke at thirty universities.

The 1969 ban provoked an outcry of protest from American scholars and civil libertarians. In June 1970 eight prominent professors joined Mandel in filing a lawsuit charging that the exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act are unconstitutional.

Two years later, after victory in a lower federal court, the Supreme Court upheld the act and Mandel's ban.

Yet last spring, when Mandel was invited to speak at a symposium at Cornell University, he was granted a limited visa solely for academic purposes. Mandel was unable to attend at the last minute because of personal reasons.

This governmental flip-flopping has led Stanford students to conclude that the government is "playing politics with our freedom," says Andrea Halliday of the university's student government.

It took a pressure campaign just to get the "no" answer on the waiver to begin with. Leonard Boudin, the attorney who handled the 1970 lawsuit on Mandel's behalf, contacted the State Department several times. The Stanford students pressed Sen. Alan Cranston and Rep. Paul McCloskey to apply some pressure. "They made repeated phone calls," according to Halliday.

Halliday told the *Militant* that the university administration, at the student government's urging, has requested that the State Department explain why the waiver was denied. "Once we get a clarification, we're going to press the university to protest the ban." □

Interview With Ernest Mandel

Why the Right to Hear My Views Is Banned in West Germany

[The following interview with Ernest Mandel was published in the February 15 issue of the *Berliner Lehrer-Zeitung*, the Berlin teachers magazine. The translation is by Russell Block. The introduction is by *Berliner Lehrer-Zeitung*.]

* * *

(The following interview was conducted by Helmut Horst and another teacher who preferred to remain anonymous because he does not yet have tenure.) Ernest Mandel, a lecturer at the University of Brussels and member of the Belgian trade-union federation (ABVV-FGTB) for the last twenty-five years, has become internationally known as a Marxist scholar and leading member of the Fourth International. His most important publications, *Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory* (1967), *Marxist Economic Theory* (1972), and *Late Capital-*

ism (1974), have already sold well over 100,000 copies in West Germany.

At the beginning of 1972, Ernest Mandel was banned from entering the country by then Federal Minister of the Interior Genscher. In this way the state effectively barred him from assuming a post he was offered at the Free University of Berlin. So, Mandel was one of the first group of socialists and communists to be penalized for his political views. His case was one of those that introduced systematic political screening by the states' Agencies for the Defense of the Constitution of all job applicants, regardless of whether they apply for blue-collar, white-collar, or civil-service jobs.

This trend has now reached its high point so far, with state thought-control being accompanied by a propaganda campaign. Its political, constitutional, and social-psychological consequences have

become clear. In the following interview, Ernest Mandel speaks out about this trend.

* * *

Question. Why did the federal government issue an order forbidding you to enter the country in 1972?

Answer. I think we have to distinguish here between the pretext and the underlying reasons. It's generally known that I was nominated for a professorship by the Berlin Free University at that time, and that the West Berlin Senate vetoed this. This led to a protest demonstration in West Berlin. The senator for the interior wanted to prevent me from taking part in this demonstration, and to this end asked the federal minister of the interior, Genscher, to prevent me from entering the country.

When the question of this denial of an

entry visa—which originally was applied just to this one occasion—was raised in the Bundestag, the then federal minister stated: "Professor Mandel will not be permitted to enter the country as long as he maintains his revolutionary views."

In practice, that meant that a person could be denied entry into West Germany solely on the basis of his convictions. Everyone knows very well that my political activities in the Federal Republic, which had been going on for years, involved nothing more than lecturing and writing. What is in fact at issue here is a matter of convictions.

This, of course, is a very serious matter. In reality, if people who wish to overturn or change the system—even those like me who have always emphasized that this must be done with the support of the majority of the population—are not allowed to express this view in the Federal Republic, then freedom of opinion and pluralism have been restricted. On such grounds it would be just as legitimate if the Soviet Union, for example, were to deny entry to every liberal, conservative, bourgeois, or even Social Democratic politician, since such people represent what amounts to a radical, qualitative change in the system there.

Now what is the real reason? The refusal of entry visas expresses a deep lack of confidence on the part of the governmental parties and the big bourgeoisie in the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany].

It is no accident that in the 1950s and 1960s I was free to enter West Germany and speak and write as much as I pleased. Something has changed. In those days, Marxist and neo-Marxist ideas were considered ineffective, totally unimportant, crackpot theories. The self-confidence of the system was solid and stable.

Since the recession of 1966-67, since the wildcat strikes of 1969, and above all in the light of developments in West Germany since then, big business and the bourgeois and other governmental parties have become very unsure of themselves.

Let me point out a historical precedent: When the bourgeoisie in the West felt sure of itself, it was no problem for Karl Marx to write and work for decades as an émigré in England. It was no problem for Lenin and Trotsky to live and work and write as émigrés in Austria or Switzerland. The denial of entry visas is then an expression of weakness, uncertainty, and a feeling of inferiority.

I have always emphasized that if we had a real socialist workers government somewhere in the West, we would not only grant bourgeois politicians, bourgeois professors, bourgeois ideologists, full freedom of speech and the press, but that if we should find that no such people existed, we would have to invent some. We are convinced that Marxist science, Marxist thinking, can only be developed, consolidated, and assimilated through critical

PEN Club Protests Ban



Brian Shannon/Militant

ERNEST MANDEL

[The following item appeared in the March 15 issue of the West German daily *Frankfurter Rundschau*.]

* * *

In a broadcast carried by the West German Radio Network, author Gerhard Zwerenz has called for the election of Ernest Mandel to the West German PEN* Club. Mandel, a scholar and publicist who teaches in Brussels, was born in Frankfurt am Main. "As a Jew, antifascist, and resistance fighter, he was forced to emigrate during the Third

Reich and assumed Belgian citizenship after the war."

In 1972, then Minister of the Interior Genscher banned Mandel from entering the Federal Republic because he is a member of the Fourth International and a leading Trotskyist. Reportedly, the West German PEN Club has already repeatedly called upon PEN Club member Minister of the Interior Maihofer to lift the ban.

"When Moscow refused me an entry visa two years ago," Zwerenz said, "the PEN Club also protested. What we expect from foreign governments—the lifting of bans—we must also expect from our own government." Zwerenz added that when CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Deputy Hupka was refused entry into Czechoslovakia a short time ago, Foreign Minister Genscher protested.

Since the PEN Club's previous protests against Mandel's exclusion have been without result, Zwerenz now publicly suggests "treating Mandel like various dissidents in the socialist countries. The West German PEN Club should elect Mandel to membership. Then we would see if PEN Club member Maihofer still refuses to allow PEN Club member Mandel to enter the country.

"Such a refusal would be so grave an infraction against the principles of the PEN Club that it could not be allowed to pass without consequences," Zwerenz's statement concluded.

*Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists, and Novelists.—IP

debate with other philosophies, other currents. And we have enough confidence in our ideas not to try to avoid such a confrontation.

Q. What political connection is there between the ban on your entering the country and the job discrimination against workers, professionals, and functionaries in public service, which also began in 1972?

A. It should be understood that this ban on my entering the country is not an isolated phenomenon, and that the general political context into which it fits has very serious implications for the future of democracy and the future of the workers movement in West Germany. The target here is not Ernest Mandel, and it is not any far-left "wild-eyed radicals." These groups are so weak in West Germany today that there is no objective reason for

the wide-ranging repression aimed at them.

What is really at issue here is an attempt on the part of the late-capitalist state in the FRG to take preventative measures against a radicalization of the working class, and the workers organizations, and against workers struggles.

This makes my case a very important precedent. What is at stake here is not the expulsion of, or ban on, one revolutionist, but the possibility of deporting Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, English, trade-union leaders if the same charge is raised against them as is raised against me—namely, speaking about and propagandizing for factory occupations.

In other West European countries, factory occupations have been organized by large trade unions with the backing of thousands if not millions of people. Such actions have been endorsed by the leaderships of the trade-union federations. With

the same logic that is now being used to exclude me from West Germany, in the future leaders of mass trade-union federations in West Europe can be kept out.

This throws a very particular, sharp light on the relationship of West Germany to the Common Market, the nature of the Common Market and freedom of movement within the Common Market not just for exploited labor power but for everyone.

It's taken for granted that bankers who travel around Western Europe, foreigners who shut down factories or advocate shutting down factories, that members of the boards of directors of multinational concerns who arrange the closure of affiliates in other countries, that these people do not disturb public peace and order. That's normal. That's seen as absolutely unavoidable because it is determined by eternal economic laws.

But when malicious people like me say to the workers that they should resist factory closings, even if they have to go so far as to occupy them, that is seen as disrupting public peace and order.

So it appears that under the Common Market we have got a double standard as regards rights, that is, a de facto double standard. But in West Germany the only ones who are supposed to have legitimate rights are the representatives of the capitalist class, of bourgeois disorder; the rights of those who spread disorder by unemployment, factory closings, etc., are supposed to be unlimited. And at the same time, the representatives of labor and the ideological representatives of the working class are forbidden to defend themselves against this capitalist disorder with the means they have at hand.

So, I think that just like the decree against radicals, and the political job discrimination that followed, the barriers against entering the country represent a very serious limitation on the democratic freedoms of the German workers movement in general. I think that it is necessary to form a solid united front to defend democratic freedoms against such decrees and administrative measures.

Measures directed today against the representatives of small left groups can be used tomorrow against broad sectors, even the Socialist party and the DGB [Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund—German Trade Union Federation]. If you listen carefully to Herr [Franz Josef] Strauss, if you listen carefully to other outspoken tendencies among the bosses, it is easy to see that for these gentlemen the line is not drawn between legitimate political activists and terrorists, nor between radical and moderate socialists.

Rather they aim to make outlaws out of everyone who wants to change the system at all. That is the object of these "decrees on radicals" and political job-discrimination measures. Fortunately the numbers of those who wish to change the system are not limited to the members of

small extremist groups but stretch deep into the ranks of the Social Democracy and the trade unions.

All these measures are just as dangerous for the future of democratic freedoms for the workers movement as the notorious Paragraph 48 of the Weimar constitution. In the future, under different political conditions, under a different relationship of forces, they can be used against broad sections of the mass organizations.

That is why we must apply the general rule that we will not tolerate any part of the organized workers movement being made into outlaws or discriminated against. We have to defend the principle that democratic freedoms are for the entire population, without any exceptions, and without any reservations as regards ideas considered dangerous to the state. The fact that the state sees a threat in the mere political expression of ideas holds a terrible danger to preserving democratic freedoms.

The question of what ideas are considered becomes simply subject to arbitrary decision and interpretation. In the Federal Republic of all places it should not be forgotten that the German trade unions have already been banned once under the pretext that it was necessary to stamp out the plague of Marxism in Germany. It was this excuse that was used during the National Socialist reign of terror to liquidate the free German trade-union movement. It is a total illusion to think it can't happen again.

Q. One of the professional groups especially singled out to be penalized under the so-called radicals decree includes teachers and educators. What is the function of intellectuals in education in late-capitalist society? Why are left-wing intellectuals in education seen by the state as a danger at the present time?

A. I would broaden the scope of this question a bit. What we should consider for a moment is the general philosophy underlying the so-called radicals decree. You can't support the academic freedom solemnly proclaimed in the West German constitution, and at the same time declare that only teaching and research that supports the state is allowed.

The idea that views inimical to the state, or views regarded as inimical to the state, cannot be freely taught and investigated is fundamentally totalitarian. It is an idea completely in keeping with the mentality of the present ruling party in the Soviet Union. The Soviet leaders say: We have freedom to teach and do research insofar as this does not endanger the existing state and social order. From a socialist point of view, from a Marxist point of view, this is a monstrosity.

Ideas never endanger a state or social order. The state and social order are only endangered by their internal contradic-

tions. If certain revolutionary ideas become effective, it is only because they correspond to, and express, the interests of important sections of the population. In other words, they take on force because large strata of society do not agree with the existing state and social order. Otherwise the ideas would be totally without effect.

If today in the Soviet Union someone calls for a multiparty system or freedom of the press, this threatens the existing state order only because there are many people who are ready to take up these demands. If today in West Germany propagandizing for factory occupations or workers control is already considered to be a threat to the existing social order, this is only because it is felt that under certain conditions such demands can find wide acceptance among a significant portion of the population.

If an idea really is regarded only by a small portion of the population as a legitimate expression of its historical interests or aspirations, then a society that proudly proclaims to uphold cultural and ideological pluralism has no justification whatever for banning its expression, even in the schools.

We also have to take for granted that in order to develop critical thinking in students in the schools and universities, education must give them access to all the great intellectual currents of the time. Any other concept of education means, in reality, state regimentation of education, and education in state doctrine. If it could be shown that there was a 1 percent concentration of Marxists in the population and a 99 percent concentration of Marxists among the teachers, then there would be a certain disproportion. In this case, the teachers would be attempting to bring about a change in the political relation of forces by influencing school and university students on a massive scale.

But, of course, this is not the reality of the situation. Rather it is a question of a small minority of left socialist teachers who are to be prevented from practicing their profession.

The reality is that the powers that be want to prevent socialist ideas from being communicated through the educational system to any portion of the population whatsoever, in any manner whatsoever. This stands in absolute contradiction to academic freedom, in absolute contradiction to pluralism, and I repeat: This corresponds to a totalitarian system of dividing up intellectual currents into those that "undermine the state" and are therefore forbidden, and those that "support the state" and are therefore permitted.

The supporters of the "radicals decree" should at least muster enough honesty and objectivity to say this publicly. Then it would be easier to understand what is at issue here. They should not try to hide behind every conceivable pretext that

obscures the real state of affairs, at least for part of the population.

Q. Why is it possible for communists and socialists to work in the civil service as teachers and educators in other European nations, Italy and France, for example?

A. In the first place, I think this can be attributed to a more deeply rooted democratic tradition in these countries. Curtailment of academic freedom there would encounter considerably greater resistance because large sections of the working class and the population as a whole have considerably more courage of their convictions than is the case in the Federal Republic. Secondly, this can be explained by a more favorable political relationship of forces. At any rate, that also plays an important role.

Q. Don't the "incompatibility resolutions" of the DGB and its member unions contribute to the increasing rightward shift in the political relationship of forces in the FRG?

A. The DGB is caught in a contradiction that is becoming increasingly acute. This contradiction is shared by the federal government. The government's foreign policy stance toward the Soviet bloc is positive. Big business supports this insofar as it contributes to reducing tensions in Europe. But as a result, more and more representatives of Communist governments and trade unions from the Soviet bloc are invited to the FRG.

At the same time, within the framework of European integration, more and more ties are being established with West European left trade unions that have many Socialists and Communists in leading positions, who are thereby given increasing opportunities for exercising an influence in West Germany.

When West German citizens who hold the same, similar, or even sometimes more moderate views than these visitors are hounded and driven out of the unions, the contradiction becomes clear. What sense is there in throwing a German socialist out of the DGB and at the same time sitting down at the table with Mr. Shelepin? □

*Former head of All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions in the Soviet Union.—IP

Former Czechoslovak CP Leaders Urge Release of 'Prague Spring' Victims

Fourteen former Czechoslovak Communist party leaders have called for the release of leaders of the "Prague spring," which preceded the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

In an open letter, published in Vienna, the fourteen said the jailed leaders had only advocated policies now espoused by West European Communist parties.

Twelve Persons Beaten During Interrogation

Dublin Police Jail 23 in Attempt to Smash IRSP

By Steve MacDonogh

DUBLIN—Wholesale arrests of members of the Irish Republican Socialist party in Dublin indicate a concerted attempt to smash the left-republican organization. The brutality accompanying interrogations has sparked a campaign against the rising tide of police brutality and in defence of civil liberties.

Seventeen members of the IRSP and six friends and relatives of members were arrested and held for varying periods between March 31 and April 10. All were questioned about the recent robbery of the Cork-Dublin mail train, and five have been charged with conspiracy and with the armed robbery of £221,000 [about US\$409,000].

Of those arrested, twelve were beaten during interrogation, some very seriously. One was so badly injured that he was transferred on the orders of the High Court to a hospital, suffering from concussion and loss of memory. The cases of members who were beaten are being taken up by the Association for Legal Justice (ALJ).*

Speaking on Friday, IRSP leader Seamus Costello was emphatic that all those charged can prove conclusively that they were not at the scene of the crime with which they are charged. "This is quite clearly an attempt to smash our party, to suppress our paper, and possibly to close our offices, as was done in the case of the Provisional Sinn Fein offices three years ago," he said.

This is not the first time that the IRSP has come in for intensive harassment from the Gardai [police] in Dublin. Following an explosion and murder on a railway line at Sallins on June 18, 1975, police arrested the majority of IRSP members in the Dublin area. Costello was held for forty-eight hours, others for different periods, but no charges resulted.

"This was a deliberate attempt by the state to link the IRSP in the public mind with the Sallins case," Costello said.

The line of questioning pursued by the Special Branch interrogators on that occasion indicated that they had no evidence to link the IRSP with the case. Later, it became clear that it had been the work of the Ulster Volunteer Force, since fingerprints found at the scene matched the fingerprints of UVF members who died at the scene of their murder of musicians of the Miami Showband at a fake road-block near the border.

"We believe," Costello said, "that the

*11 South Frederick Street, Dublin 2, Ireland.

goal of these latest arrests is the same as the previous harassment. But this time they have gone much further. They have carried out systematic torture of our members, and the fact that it was so systematically carried out by teams of interrogators indicates that it must have received government approval."

Costello was arrested on April 5, held for forty-eight hours, rearrested within the precincts of the Bridewell Police Station, and held a further eleven hours. As in the cases of other IRSP members, he was moved from station to station during his period of detention. The only way his solicitor was able to locate him was by threatening to bring an action of habeas corpus in the High Court.

Particular attention appears to have been reserved for Osgur Breathnach, editor of the *Starry Plough*, who was first arrested March 31, held for forty-eight hours, rearrested, held again for forty-eight hours, and rearrested again.

In a habeas corpus action, a doctor stated that Breathnach was in need of hospital treatment as a result of injuries received while in police custody. The court ordered that he be transferred to a hospital until April 8, when the court again ordered that he be released. However, as he stepped out of the court he was rearrested and charged with the train robbery.

On the evening of April 9, Mick Barrett, a friend of one of those charged with the robbery, was arrested. Barrett is a witness to the fact that the charged man was nowhere near the scene of the crime. By arresting him and attempting to implicate him, it may reasonably be presumed that the police intend to destroy his credibility as a defence witness.

At the same time, the friend at whose house Barrett was arrested was also arrested; and on the morning of April 10 the friend's wife and thirteen-year-old son were also arrested. None are members of the IRSP. Two other non-IRSP members who were held earlier were members of Provisional Sinn Fein and the Revolutionary Marxist Group respectively. □

Police Chief Killed in Mexico

A Veracruz state police chief was killed April 16, an Associated Press dispatch from Poza Rica reported.

According to AP, the police officer was killed "by machete-swinging peasants when he tried to clear 150 squatters off farmland."

The Police Campaign to Suppress the IRSP

By Gerry Foley

When Dublin police jailed five members of the Irish Republican Socialist party in the first week of April, they claimed that the arrests were in connection with a mailtrain robbery in Sallins, County Kildare, a week before.

However, the men who were pulled in obviously did not belong to some mysterious republican "expropriation squad." The names of most of them would be familiar to any journalist who visited the IRSP offices. They were well-known political activists. One of them, Osgur Breathnach, was the editor of the IRSP's newspaper, the *Starry Plough*.

Breathnach was arrested first on a political charge, under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act (OASA). He was picked up March 31 and held forty-eight hours. He was released April 2, and then rearrested under the same statute at 12:30 April 5. Once again, he was held for forty-eight hours, and when the maximum period of detention elapsed, he was released and immediately rearrested under the same statute.

Before the third period of detention ran out, the authorities announced that they intended to charge him under a "substantive" common law charge, presumably in connection with the train robbery.

Furthermore, Breathnach was obviously brutally beaten. Before his arraignment on April 8, he was examined by Dr. Noel Smith, who in sworn testimony said, according to a summary in the *Irish Press*:

He found him [Breathnach] to be suffering from headaches, loss of memory, pains in the back of his head and neck and he was suffering from concussion.

He had a large swelling on the top rear part of his head and bruising on his arms and buttocks and his right leg and left leg.

Dr. Smith said that all the injuries were on the back part of the body and were not consistent with falling backwards. There were no marks on the front part of the body.

After this examination, the court ordered Breathnach hospitalized.

The battered prisoner said that he had been forced to incriminate himself, the *Irish Press* reported:

Mr. Breathnach said it was made clear to him that this [beating] would continue unless he made a statement. He subsequently made a statement implicating himself in the commission of a criminal offence.

Another IRSP member charged with implication in the Sallins robbery was Michael Plunkett, a man with many years' experience as a political activist and one of

those who kept the party office functioning. He was one of those responsible for press releases, for example, in 1975, following the formation of the IRSP.

Charged along with Plunkett was Edward Noel Kelly, a young activist from the former branch of the "Official" republican movement in Dún Laoghaire, the port of Dublin. This was one of the most active units of the "Official" republican political organization, and went over almost in its entirety to the IRSP when the latter was formed.

Another member of the Dún Laoghaire group was arrested but not yet charged, Gerry Roche, a former leading activist in the Dublin Young Socialists.

In short, if the police had simply raided the IRSP office at any busy time, they probably would have picked up the same men. And if they decided to arrest those who were there most often and regularly, they would have picked up the same men.

The brutal beating the police gave Osgur Breathnach, the one whose job in the party propaganda apparatus would probably be most difficult to fill, is a telling indicator of the political motivation behind the arrests. Breathnach is also a member of a prominent republican family.

One of the persons arrested in this sweep, Cathal O Cionnaith, was not and never had been a member of the IRSP. He was a former member of "Official" Sinn Féin, who left to join the Provisional republican movement when the former organization adopted a Stalinist political line in 1974. He described his arrest and questioning the April 16 issue of the Provisional weekly, *An Phoblacht*:

At about 10.00 a.m. on the morning of Wednesday 7th April, I was arrested under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act. I am not a member of the I.R.S.P. and the Gardai [police] involved knew this. They came to search the house, and to interview or arrest my sister—Ite Ni Chionnaith—a member of the I.R.S.P. I was in the house at the time and although, or perhaps because, they knew me to be a member of Provisional Sinn Féin, they arrested me as well as my sister.

We spoke Irish to these Gardai all the time they were in the house. However, when we arrived at the Bridewell and I insisted on answering in Irish, I was dragged to an interview room by a plain clothes man. He shut the door behind me and began to strike me about the face, both with a book and with his hands. I was struck about six times before this man was restrained by colleagues who followed him into the room. His colleagues subsequently denied all knowledge of the assault, despite visible bleeding. After the assault my upper and lower lips were bleeding and still show some bruises. There are

cuts on the inside of my lips, and my nose still shows small signs of bruising and is rather swollen.

I was questioned early that afternoon for about an hour and was finger-printed and photographed (under the O.A.S.A. Act). Most of the questions were about my Sinn Féin activities and not about the train robbery, supposedly the object of my arrest in the first place. Although this questioning took place on early Wednesday afternoon, and I was not subsequently questioned, I was not released until 10.00 this morning (Thursday) after a complete twenty four hours had elapsed.

I can only conclude that intimidation was the sole object of my arrest. My sister is a witness to the state of my face after the assault.

O Cionnaith is also a former leading activist in the Dublin Young Socialists. In fact, in their investigation of the "great train robbery," the police seem to have netted a rather large cross section of the graduates of the small Dublin radical youth movement who are still active politically. All of them have been well known for years to the Irish political police.

Moreover, in O Cionnaith's case, like that of Breathnach, the police do not seem to have conducted a very scientific investigation.

The circumstances of this wave of arrests, insofar as they are known, indicate that the decline in the mass anti-imperialist movement has emboldened the police to try to suppress the most radical republican and socialist elements.

However, the Irish government is more sensitive than most to international public opinion, and protests from outside the country can be particularly effective in preventing victimizations of Irish patriots and socialists.

Obviously a frame-up is in preparation against the IRSP, since the accused have been systematically beaten to extract confessions. The Dublin mass-circulation press itself has already presented sufficient evidence to prove that the Irish government has gravely violated the minimum standards of justice and human rights.

Protests against this outrage can be sent to Prime Minister Liam Cosgrave, Leinster House, Dublin 2, Ireland. Copies should be sent to the IRSP office at 1A Essex Gate, Dublin 2, where further information may also be obtained. □

Secessionist Group Banned in Ghana

The National Liberation Movement of Western Togoland has been banned by the Ghana military junta, according to the March 15 issue of the London weekly *West Africa*. Being a member of the group, attending its meetings, contributing funds, or carrying out its propaganda activities is now punishable by fine or imprisonment.

The National Liberation Movement of Western Togoland calls for the secession of the Volta Region of Ghana and its incorporation into neighboring Togoland.

Icelandic FBK Votes to Join Fourth International

An Icelandic radical youth organization, the Fylking-Baráttusamtök Sósíalista (FBS—The League, Socialist Struggle Group), voted March 12 to apply for the status of a sympathizing group of the Fourth International. At the same time, it changed its name to the Fylking Byltin-garsinnadhra Kommúnista (FBK—Revolutionary Communist League).

In a lead editorial in the March issue of its paper *Neisti* (Spark), the Fylking explained its decision as follows:

The first serious study of Trotskyism and how to apply it in Icelandic conditions began in internal discussions in 1974. Since that time, there has been an ongoing discussion in the organization, in which the various currents in the communist movement have participated. There have been thousands of pages of internal discussion bulletins, as well as many cell meetings, conferences, and congresses devoted to these questions. At one or another level, all members of the organization have participated in this discussion and in the struggle that culminated after the Twenty-Ninth and Thirtieth Congresses.

Never before in Iceland has the membership of a left group had complete freedom to organize in tendencies and factions so as to be better able to develop their views and present them to the other members of the organization. Not only have organized tendencies participated in the congresses of the organization, but minorities were guaranteed the right to representation in the leading bodies of the organization in accordance with the number of votes they gained at congresses. Thus, the Fylking broke from the Stalinist traditions of the Icelandic Communist movement.

This also promoted democratic discussion. So, there was a lively debate at the Thirtieth Congress over a number of questions. However, it is notable that every member of the organization voted for the proposal to join the Fourth International.

The Fylking began as the youth group of the Sameiningarflokkur althyduSósíalista Flokkurinn,* an article in *Neisti* explained. While the group was affiliated to the Communist party, it was called the Aeskulydhfylking (AeF—Youth League).

At that time, political training consisted mostly of woodland outings and trips to lavish youth conferences in Eastern Europe, where the delegates from all countries gathered in groups, shouting, "Stalin! Stalin!" and the names of other well-known Stalinists. Nonetheless, there was always some kind of "Marxist" education in the AeF, and around 1960, political discussion began to develop.

*SA-SF (United Socialist People), the Icelandic Communist party. This was originally the name of a left-wing split-off from the Social Democratic party that was absorbed by the Stalinists. The united party kept the designation.



Los Angeles Times

With the decline of the SF, discontent began to develop with its practices, as well as those of the Althyhubandalag (People's Alliance, the CP's electoral formation). At the 1966 congress of the AeF, the left wing won a majority, and the group began to function as an independent formation.

However, its independence was only formal. It was some time before the AeF and later the FBS broke with the ideology of the SF and the Althyhubandalag; in fact, it served as their left arm. The organization had been hardened in Stalinism.

Since the organization had no formal ties to any traditional party, it became a battleground for all sorts of currents, from anarchism to Maoism. At the same time, it was buoyed up by the broad youth radicalization.

What breathed life into the FBS in those years was the rise of struggles throughout the world, and especially the radicalization among the youth, and the development of all sorts of currents to the left of the traditional parties of the working class. This movement developed in particular around support for the revolution in Cuba, the struggle in Vietnam, struggles around freedom of thought. This sort of struggle was the specialty of the FBS at the time. You have only to think of the December 23, 1968, action and the Reykjavik march at the end of that year. These were good actions in themselves, representing a struggle for the freedom to protest.

Despite the influence of all sorts of currents, especially Maoism from 1972-73, centrism was always the dominant force in the organization. It left its mark on the group's other activities. It

could be seen in the vague positions the organization took on some very important questions, such as those of the international workers movement. It was also shown in a pragmatic style of work, that is, chasing around in whatever direction the wind seemed to be blowing.

Typical of the meanderings of the FBS was the position it took in the municipal and county elections in 1974, and the Althing [parliament] elections. In the local elections, the FBS called for a boycott. This was a clear ultraleft deviation, especially since it went hand in hand with denying that the Althyhubandalag was a workers party. . . . In the Althing elections, the FBS ran its own slate, which in itself was not wrong.

However, in the campaign it came to light that the FBS had nothing to offer, no platform to present to the class. Finally, strange as it may seem, the organization degenerated into parliamentarism and right opportunism! At the same time, there were many illusions about the extent of the FBS's potential support. Everyone knows now how small it was.

What happened after that should be familiar to all. Trotskyist tendencies developed in the Fylking and gradually won the majority. At the 1974 summer conference, the Maoists left the organization, where their ideas seemed to be winning no support. Once the Trotskyists won the majority, this greatly influenced the work of the organization. Its activity became more purposeful. At the same time, an attempt was always made to draw the lessons of experience.

In the April 2 issue of the Swedish Trotskyist weekly *Internationalen*, a member of the Fylking, Björn Arnorsson, described the debate with the Maoists as follows:

In 1974, two documents were published representing, respectively, both tendencies. The bulk of comrades avoided taking a position on both documents in their entirety. However, it soon became clear that a majority were against the Maoists' document, without being for the Trotskyists'. They cast around frantically for some common political designation that could hold the organization together. The Central Committee proposed a very limited minimum program and freedom for tendencies, to be reflected in *Neisti* as well.

But the Maoists posed an ultimatum. Either the Fylking accepted their document, or they would leave the organization. When the congress rejected this, they walked out, all six of them.

Debate continued for some time over the question of joining the Fourth International, since a minority wanted to investigate some other organizations. But the question was resolved by the time of the thirtieth congress.

The Fylking is the best known and largest young left organization in Iceland. Its monthly paper *Neisti* has a circulation of 2,000, which amounts to approximately 1 percent of the population of the country.

Appeal for Dr. Miguel Antonio Bernal

[The following statement was issued April 19 by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).]

A prominent Panamanian opponent of United States control of the Panama Canal and the presence of U.S. military bases in his country has been sent into exile by the dictatorship of General Omar Torrijos.

Dr. Miguel Antonio Bernal was arrested by the State Security Police (G-2) at 6:00 a.m. on February 18 when he arrived at the Panama airport, returning from a trip to Europe. He was exiled to Guayaquil, Ecuador, the next day.

No charges were placed against Dr. Bernal by the Panamanian authorities, nor was he convicted of any crime. No explanation of any kind was made by the authorities for the exiling of the lawyer. No explanation appeared in the Panamanian dailies.

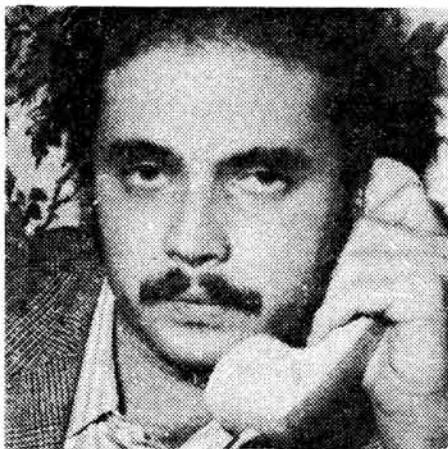
Dr. Bernal studied law in Bordeaux, France, and was a professor in the Law Department at the University of Panama. He taught courses in international law, including international treaties, as well as in political science. He also worked as an editor for the only magazine published in Panama, the monthly *Diálogo Social*.

The exiled lawyer is well known in Panama for his outspoken criticism of the government and especially of Torrijos's proposal to renegotiate with Washington the treaty concerning the Panama Canal. Torrijos wants to leave the United States in control of the canal until the year 2000.

Dr. Bernal, who describes himself as a revolutionary socialist, has called for the return of the canal to Panama and for the removal of the extensive network of military bases the U.S. government maintains in his country. He considers these bases not only aimed against his own country's sovereignty, but against the rest of Latin America and the Caribbean as well. He expressed these views on a weekly program over a radio station named Radio Iniciativa, as well as in *Diálogo Social*.

Recently a representative of USLA was able to talk to Dr. Bernal. He said that "it is clear that I have been sent into exile from my own country because I defended publicly the rights of the Panamanian people against U.S. imperialism, especially in relation to the canal."

The February 20 issue of the Guayaquil daily *Telégrafo* quoted Dr. Bernal, who denounced his exile as an attempt by the Torrijos regime to "suppress criticism from the left that rejects compromise over the canal question."



MIGUEL ANTONIO BERNAL

The government threats against him, Dr. Bernal told USLA, began after a 5,000-strong demonstration in front of the American embassy in Panama held September 23 of last year. At this demonstration, in which Dr. Bernal participated, a Lieutenant Cleto Hernández of G-2 threatened his life.

Dr. Bernal denounced this threat publicly on Radio Iniciativa, and was publicly answered by Foreign Relations Minister Juan Antonio Tack. On Channel 4 TV in Panama, Tack said that Dr. Bernal had nothing to fear from "a regime that totally respects his freedom of action, insofar as he does not exceed the limits and fail to respect other persons who, much more than he, are struggling in a real and true way to plant the Panamanian flag and sovereignty over the Canal Zone."

In the pages of *Diálogo Social*, Dr. Bernal replied that it was his right to protest against injustices, slanders, and lies: "We have done it and will continue to do it. For this we do not have to ask somebody's permission. . . ." (Emphasis in original.)

In January of this year, while Dr. Bernal was out of the country, the Torrijos regime moved against those who oppose its proposed new treaty with Washington, whether from the left or right. Making an amalgam, the regime charged that there was a conspiracy between the "revolutionary Marxists" and the extreme right.

A lengthy article on the deportation in the Ecuadorian daily *Expreso* of February 20 said that "the same [government source] stated that, in fact, Professor Bernal was a member of the extreme left . . . although as we have already noted, when we proceeded with the deportation of the businessmen, he was in contact with members of the extreme right."

A dozen people were sent into exile. Included among those exiled were two Social Democratic lawyers, one of whom, Quiroz Guardia, owned Radio Iniciativa. The others included several merchants; four ranchers; and even a senior executive of the Chase Manhattan Bank, General Ruben Dario Carles, a former Panamanian minister of finance. Radio Iniciativa was closed down and dismantled.

According to the February 20 issue of *Expreso*, a high-ranking spokesperson for the Torrijos regime said that Dr. Bernal was on the list of persons to have been exiled in January. Presumably he would have been exiled then except he was out of the country.

Dr. Bernal said his life had been threatened again at the time of his arrest. As he was being escorted by the G-2 to their offices at the airport, he saw his sister, who had come to meet him, on the other side of a door. He wrote a note to her, explaining that he had been arrested, and threw it over the door transom. At this point, a G-2 agent took out his pistol and placed it between Dr. Bernal's eyes and told him he was going to be killed. "I'm more revolutionary than you are," the agent said, "you are just an *intelectualito* [petty intellectual] and I'm a policeman!"

The "revolutionary" police then took Dr. Bernal to the Tocumen Barracks near the airport, where he was held for twenty-five hours in a small cell. He was guarded by two policemen. He was not even allowed to go to the toilet. When necessary, his captors would give him an empty coke bottle.

At the end of this period, he was taken back to the airport. Sergeant Sánchez Gálan of the G-2 accompanied him on a flight to Guayaquil. Before turning him over to the Ecuadorian authorities, Gálan took his passport, money, and all his documents. Thus he has been left stranded, without funds and with difficult prospects. His wife, Myrna Castelleros, cannot join him, but has remained in Panama to work to support their two children, aged four and six.

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) urges all supporters of democracy and elementary human decency to protest this open and blatant case of political persecution. Demands that Dr. Bernal be allowed to return to his own country should be addressed to the Panamanian Embassy, 2862 McGill Terrace NW, Washington, D.C. 20008.

Funds are also urgently needed to help Dr. Bernal survive while he tries to find work in exile and to help him be reunited with his family. USLA has begun a fund for this purpose. Make checks payable to USLA, and indicate that they are earmarked for the Dr. Bernal Defense Fund. Checks and copies of messages should be sent to USLA, 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, New York 10003. □

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



Scientists Advise Rats to Avoid Subway Rides

"Rats with high blood pressure should not ride the subways too often or too long. The stress of noise, vibration and crowding may kill some of them before their time."

This is the conclusion, as summarized in the April 15 *New York Times*, drawn from a sixteen-week experiment conducted by two scientists at Long Island University.

The rats used in the research had been specially bred to develop high blood pressure, thus serving as sensitive indicators of stress. The experiment simulated rush-hour conditions on New York subways.

"Once every morning and once every afternoon," according to the *Times* report, "about a dozen rats were put into plastic cages about the size of a breadbox. The cages were mounted on a mechanical shaker, which jerked them 150 times a minute from side to side. Each jerk moved the cage two and a quarter inches. At the same time the rats heard tape recorded subway noises blaring away at intensities ranging from 68 to 112 decibels."

Control groups of the same breed of rats were placed in similar containers for the same lengths of time, but were not subject-

ed to the noise, jostling, or crowding.

The result? "After 16 weeks, four of the 25 rats subjected to the subway environment had died while none of the 24 control rats died."

Concorde Faces Profit Turbulence

The manufacturers of the supersonic Concorde jet are having second thoughts about continuing production. However, the environmental menace posed by the Concorde was not the main consideration in the talks between British Minister of State for Industry Gerald Kaufman and French Secretary of State for Transport Marcel Cavaille held in Paris in late March. The major factor was profitability.

According to a report in the March 30 *Washington Post*, the tone of the talks suggested that both Paris and London concluded that they could not continue producing the jet unless there is a breakthrough in sales in the next few months.

Of the sixteen Concorde scheduled for production so far, only nine have been sold and one leased—all in Britain and France. It is estimated that fifty need to be sold for the two governments to recover the \$3 billion they put into research and development.

Yavapai Indians Fight to Save Land

The Yavapai Indians of western Arizona are fighting both the federal government and business interests to save their last remaining land from being inundated by a giant dam project.

A century ago, the nomadic Yavapai numbered about 6,000 and claimed nearly 10 million acres. But after the Civil War they were defeated by the U.S. cavalry, robbed of their lands, and forced onto a 24,000-acre reservation. Ownership of the reservation was granted to them by an executive order from President Theodore Roosevelt in 1903. The Yavapai living on the reservation today number only 345.

The Orme Dam is scheduled to be part of the \$1.5 billion Central Arizona Project, which is designed to channel water from the Colorado River to areas around Tucson and Phoenix. If completed, the dam would

flood nearly two-thirds of the Yavapai's land.

Although Washington has urged the Indians to give up their land in return for cash payment, the Yavapai are overwhelmingly opposed to resettlement. They say that the abandonment of their traditional lands would destroy what is left of their social customs. A survey of the tribe taken in October 1975 found that of those asked 140 were against the dam and only one person was in favor of it.

The Yavapai have been joined by environmentalists in their struggle against the dam. The flood waters from the dam would cover the nesting places for several endangered bird species. They would also cover 178 archeological sites dating back about 2,000 years.

Despite this opposition, the government appears determined to press forward with the dam. Federal officials have raised the threat of eviction if the Yavapai refuse to move voluntarily.

A report by Bill Richards in the April 11 *Washington Post* indicated that powerful business interests are also eager to see the Yavapai driven off their land.

"Opponents of the project and the dam," Richards reported, "claim much of the water from the project will be used almost entirely to irrigate large desert farms owned by politically powerful out-of-state agribusinesses."

Mountainsides in Papua New Guinea Stripped by Japanese Paper Company

The hillsides of Papua New Guinea are being denuded by the Japanese Honshu Paper Manufacturing Company, according to an April 9 *New Asia News* dispatch.

Honshu set up a subsidiary, Jant Pty., in 1974 to fell trees in Papua New Guinea and turn them into chips for the parent company's use. According to the contract with Papuan head of state Michael Somare, Jant is not required to plant new trees unless it shows a profit. Since Jant's function is to supply Honshu, and not necessarily to operate on a profitable basis, it has been in the red since its inception.

Meanwhile, the Papua hills are becoming bare. The tropical soil is particularly susceptible to erosion.



New York Times

"Abandon all hope ye who enter here."—Dante's *Inferno*.

López Michelsen Steps Up Drive Against 'Subversives'

By J. Mario and A. Otto

BOGOTA—On the eve of the mitaca elections¹ the government is clamping down on freedom of speech. The workers and students have engaged in a series of strikes and demonstrations. Their growing radicalization is one of the consequences of the ruling class's inability to provide any solution to the most basic needs of the working class as a whole.

While prices have risen 28 percent so far this year, the government has refused to raise wages more than a miserable 7 percent. It has stubbornly refused to grant the most minimal economic demands while big business is skimming off dividends on a scale not seen for a long time.

Unemployment is widespread with 1.8 million jobless in an active work force of 7 million. There is scandalous corruption among government officials, including Lockheed bribes to some military figures. The country is plagued by urban decay, uncontrolled traffic in drugs and contraband, and the surrender of natural resources (gas, oil, coal) to the imperialists.

The resulting economic and political struggles have brought the workers and students into a growing confrontation with the regime.

Numerous strikes and clashes have taken place in recent years. In 1974, 82,820 workers participated in strikes. In 1975 the number of strikers rose to 197,550, among them teachers and workers in the construction, cement, banking, and manufacturing industries. So far in 1976 more than 158,000 workers have gone out on strike, the most notable job actions being the ones at Riopaila (a very big sugar mill), Vanytex, the Ministry of Housing, Banco Popular, and those by teachers, coffee workers, and employees in the mortgage companies.

The radicalized youth have supported these struggles and raised their own demands. Among other things, they have called for improved academic standards, more classrooms, and a bigger budget for education. At present almost all the universities are taking action in solidarity with the Universidad Nacional, where there is a struggle to reopen the university, put a stop to the military tribunals, the killing of students, and the dismissal of students and professors.

The urban population has begun engaging in a new form of struggle—citizens

Withdrawal of Troops From Campuses Demanded by Colombian Professors

Professors at the engineering school of the Universidad Nacional in Bogotá are circulating an open letter protesting the military occupation of the university, the firing of faculty members, and a reorganization plan designed to restrict the university's autonomy.

The professors demand that no changes be made in the university

without first assuring the "free and democratic consultation and participation . . . of all university institutions—professors, students, and workers."

A prerequisite for such democratic decision-making, they point out, is the complete withdrawal of all troops from university premises.

stoppages in which all activity is halted to press demands for better services, more schools, highways, and water supplies.

In face of the precipitous rise in workers struggles, the López Michelsen government has escalated the repression, decreeing a state of siege throughout the country. All strikes are illegal, and strike leaders are fired, persecuted, jailed, and often tortured and killed.

The armed forces exercise control in all areas of society, declaring peasant areas to be "war zones." They have tortured the farmers and killed their leaders (Javier Baquero, Nicolás Mahecha, Antonio Jiménez), placing villages under military control on the slightest pretext. They carry out searches house by house, arresting persons in those where they find literature critical of the regime. They interrogate them for information on the "guerrillas," threatening to kill their children and wives if they do not cooperate.

In short, a reign of terror has been imposed.

The army has tried to starve out the 3,000 striking workers at Riopaila. They prevent anyone from entering the mill and surround the families of the strikers, who, encouraged by the solidarity being offered by other workers in conflict, are heroically standing firm despite all the hardships.

They have instituted military tribunals—collective trials in which student and worker leaders are tried for acts they did not commit and in which they are sentenced on the basis of fake proofs, without the right to a defense attorney.

The most extreme example of this was the trial of the alleged perpetrators of the murder of General Rincón Quiñonez. Four innocent persons were sentenced, although the district attorney did not prove a single one of the charges.

Military tribunals have continued against student activists in the cities of Bogotá, Medellín, Cali, and Barranquilla.

The Liberal government "of the left center" has issued increasingly repressive decrees (Decree No. 1533, 528, 541) eliminating all legal safeguards. The degree of protection government workers had against unjustified firings was taken away, and they were forbidden to hold any demonstrations, meetings, or rallies.

The universities have been raided and shut. Students have been savagely beaten and killed. There is, for example, the case of Alexis Omaña García, who was shot in the back by a soldier at the Universidad Nacional in Bogotá and then stomped by the rest of the patrol. And there is the Montería case, in which Jairo Burgos and Jorge Morelos were captured alive, then beaten with gun butts and clubs before they were thrown into the Sinú River.

Hundreds of teachers have been fired for going on strike. The rules for teachers are being modified, eliminating their right to hold opinions different from those of the authorities.

To prevent the forces on the left from giving a focus to the general discontent and reaching the broad masses during the election campaign, López Michelsen issued a series of decrees barring any hint of criticism of the government. He banned demonstrations and public meetings by the opposition; arrested opposition candidates and confiscated propaganda, pamphlets, and newspapers; restricted freedom of the press; and raided some headquarters of the Unión Nacional de Oposición.²

The bourgeois press has launched a

1. The mitaca elections are scheduled for April 18. To be elected are members of city councils and departmental assemblies.—IP

2. National Opposition Union, an electoral front composed of several bourgeois forces and the Communist party.—IP

frenzied campaign "against subversion," "Communists," and everyone who dis-sents, while hailing every repressive action by the government. The top hierarchy of the Catholic church has chimed in, calling for a vote for the bourgeois candidates, saying—among other things—that "Christians should not vote for the extremists."

Despite these repressive measures, the workers movement continues to grow. These gains will be reflected in the

elections at the expense of the bourgeois candidates, although the latter will undoubtedly win a majority of the votes. The workers are no longer fighting solely for their own demands. In many areas they are also fighting in support of their compañeros, and they seek unity in action to confront the regime.

We call on all organizations of the workers and the left, and democratic organizations of the world, and on all

those concerned about civil liberties and genuine democracy to make clear their opposition to the steps taken by the López Michelsen regime. We call for messages demanding an end to the repressive measures, to the crimes and frame-up trials.

Messages of protest can be sent to Dr. Alfonso López Michelsen, Presidente de la República de Colombia, Palacio de San Carlos, Bogotá, Colombia. □

Calls for Class Struggle Program in Colombian Elections

GMI Offers Critical Support to Bloque Socialista

[The following appeal to the workers of Colombia appeared in the April issue of *Gaceta Socialista*, the newspaper of the Grupo Marxista Internacionalista (GMI—Internationalist Marxist Group), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.]

[The appeal deals with the "Elections of Mitaca," in which members of city councils and departmental assemblies are chosen. The "Elections of Mitaca" occur midway between national elections.]

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

* * *

Dear Reader:

It is quite possible that you still have not decided which slate of candidates to vote for April 18. Without grasping the meaning of their campaign propaganda, you watch as Lleras, Pastrana, Ospina, Consuelo de Montejo, and company¹ come and go everywhere unimpeded, asking for votes. At the same time, the government supported by these gentlemen murders students in the streets of Medellín and Montería or brings them to military "trials," raids the universities, jails the striking workers of Riopaila and the banks, maintains a state of siege, represses demonstrations, lets the cocaine gang escape, raises the cost of living, and so forth.²

That is why, like us, you have a premonition that to vote for the Ospinas or the Llerases is the same as voting again for [President Alfonso] López and his mandate of poverty and repression. It means nothing more nor less than supporting the continuation of repression, the state of siege, raids, notorious trials—like



Alternativa

LOPEZ MICHELSEN

Villamil's³—the high cost of living, and murders of students, workers, and peasants.

Your doubts are well taken. While López and his team in government do not hesitate to repress with blood and bullets and to block the groups on the left from carrying out election campaigns, they do it in the name of the bourgeois parties they depend on, which gain from López's mandate. Thus, the bourgeois parties, which can function totally legally, ask the workers—the people who get it in the neck from Cornelio, Varón Valencia,⁴ and company—to forget all that nonsense for the moment and to bless the sword that hangs over them every day. They ask the workers to vote for the slates of the groups

and parties that unconditionally support the repression, poverty, assassinations, and corrupt administration.

Lleras, Turbay,⁵ Montejo, Ospina, and Pastrana are all alike, no matter how they may differ in their promises. They all represent the same interests—the preservation and growth of profits of the domestic and foreign bosses. They all have the same goals—to keep the workers trapped not only by the bourgeois state and starvation wages, but also by the Liberal and Conservative parties. They use the same methods of widespread violence when the masses do not respect the siren songs of the capitalist demagogues.

It is simply that there is a division of labor among them. López represses the just struggles of the workers and makes an effort to foment divisions among the workers and liquidate their leaders. Lleras and Ospina devote themselves to disorienting the workers even more, seeking to channel their discontent by portraying themselves as "opponents" of López and promising that better times will come if only capitalist institutions are maintained and if votes are cast for them and what they stand for; that is, for military repression, maintaining the bourgeois order, and so on.

But what they all agree on is attacking and blaming all the ills of the country on the left.

That is how you see them—scrambling for votes, asking for more time to campaign and more of a clampdown on the left. They realize that the workers are no longer showing much enthusiasm at seeing and hearing them.

But there is more than apathy toward these big shots. There is the growing strike wave and the far-reaching struggles of the student bodies in Medellín, Bogotá, Cali, Barranquilla, and elsewhere. There are the

1. Leading figures of the bourgeois Liberal and Conservative parties.

2. For details on these and other recent events, see *Intercontinental Press*, March 29, p. 490.

3. Germán Villamil was convicted for the 1975 assassination of Gen. Ramón Rincón Quiñones.

4. Minister of the Interior Cornelio Reyes, Defense Minister Abraham Varón Valencia.

5. Julio César Turbay Ayala, currently Colombian ambassador to the United States and prominent member of the Liberal party.

days of protest that sectors of the broad vanguard of the proletariat and youth are committed to—protests against the tribunals of compulsory arbitration, the arrests under the aberrant Decree 1533,⁶ the murders in Medellín and Montería, the war councils, and the provocations and occupation of the universities by the military.

At All Levels, a Struggle of Class Against Class!

The workers and the youth are beginning to see the trap of capitalist parties clearly. And, on the economic level, they are beginning to break from the regime by mobilizing for wages against its bloody authoritarianism and by confronting it in the streets.

But, does this mean that they should abstain in the elections, turning their backs on the campaigning? No. We sincerely believe that these elections can and must be used to deepen these struggles. Faced with the elections, the workers should pose a class alternative, as they should at all levels in the politics of the capitalist system.

The struggle of class against class occurs not only over grievances at the negotiating table, not only in confrontations with the regime's professional military. It also takes place with the class political alternatives that the capitalists offer here and now. These are steps leading to something that is very important—the winning of *political independence by the workers*, the break with the parties and groupings of the capitalists.

We know that we are not going to make a fundamental change in the situation through the ballot box. But at the same time we think a class vote is a meaningful *political act* in the evolution of the working class's political consciousness, although it is not the only or the most important one. Thus, the simple fact that the workers refuse to vote for the bosses, that they vote for the candidates of their own class, means a lot. It means that the workers are sure that neither the Lópezes nor the Llerases deserve their political confidence.

This is the importance of running workers candidates, of *presenting a class program* that proposes a government of the workers without a single bourgeois minister, a program that is independent of the one presented by the capitalists. This is the importance of candidates who speak about the class struggle, who point out a *solution* to them, and—what is most important—who explain and formulate the methods the workers must have confidence in.

In opposition to the pacifist, electoralist

6. A repressive decree that makes it possible, for example, to sentence persons to up to one year in prison for political activities without the accused being permitted to testify in their own behalf or give a final appeal before judgment is reached.

road typical of the reformists and the bourgeoisie, the workers candidates put forward *the proletarian method of direct action*—strikes, demonstrations, rallies, factory occupations, land take-overs.

Who to Vote For

You will be asking yourself what candidates to support. You know there are various alternatives. We believe that not all the alternatives found "on the left" are acceptable. This is our opinion:

1. The UNO.⁷ It must be rejected since it does not call for having confidence in the forces, mobilizations, and methods of the proletariat, but instead, in some "progressive" sectors of the Liberal party. Thus, included in its front are politicians from such sectors of the capitalist class, and the UNO calls for trusting them and their program. Their program is not independent of the bourgeoisie. It is adjusted to the demands of the bourgeois politicians. It leads to moderating the struggles of the workers and masses so as to avoid frightening the bourgeois electorate. It advocates the electoral road and pacifism to win everything from minimal demands to the seizure of power by the workers.

Echeverry Mejía⁸ already showed us how little we could trust the "progressive" liberals when he ended up turning his back on the workers and going over to Lleras's side.

2. The electoral fronts of the MOIR and the URS.⁹ They both have similar drawbacks, but the MOIR's are worse. The MOIR front has the same program as the UNO in general terms, although it is more radical in its speeches. Its platform is based on a class-collaborationist plan, committed to respecting the bourgeois order. That is why some sectors of Anapo¹⁰ agreed to join them.

The URS says that it will make a bloc with parties "of the center"; that is, with people of the Anapo (which is incorrect in our judgment), with the Communist party (which in and of itself is not completely incorrect), and with the MOIR if possible. The URS front opposes workers candidates and its program is ambiguous, precisely because of the concessions it is willing to make to such sectors.

3. The revolutionary socialist front pro-

7. Unión Nacional de Oposición (National Opposition Union).

8. Hernán Echeverry Mejía, candidate in the 1974 presidential elections.

9. Movimiento Obrero Independiente y Revolucionario (Independent Revolutionary Workers Movement). Unión Revolucionaria Socialista (Revolutionary Socialist Union).

10. Alianza Nacional Popular (People's National Alliance).

posed by the *Bloque Socialista*¹¹ We have a greater area of agreement with them than with the others. We agree that it is necessary to pose a revolutionary program to resolve the problems of the country's exploited and oppressed. We agree on the necessity to have as candidates fighters among the workers and masses and a campaign that must serve the current struggles and explain the revolutionary program. We agree that it is essential to reject both the bourgeoisie's alternatives and the reformist plan of UNO, MOIR, and company.

This is the alternative we call on you to vote for. Insofar as the size of our forces permits it, we back this front and its struggles. We give critical support to its candidates despite the fact that there are political differences between the two organizations. □

11. Socialist Bloc.

Dock Workers Strike in Finland

Finnish dock workers went on strike April 3, stopping almost all harbor traffic. "The conflict may be serious enough to force the government to intervene," Bo A. Ericsson said in the April 4 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*.

If the government steps in, Ericsson suggested, its argument will be the need to prevent growing unemployment:

"Earlier strikes in Finland this winter—and there have been a lot of them—have not had a notable effect on the level of employment, but an extended dock strike shutting down all the harbors is another matter. Serious effects can be expected in two areas—layoffs and a setback in exports, when Finland needs every marka it can get."

More than 100,000 workers are without jobs or on short hours in a country with a total population of about five million, Ericsson reported. The number has doubled since last fall. "The rest of 1976 does not look too bright either. The Ministry of Finance in Helsinki expects continued high unemployment, stagnating production, low domestic demand, and inflation at a rate of at least 12%."

A test of strength between the government and the unions seemed to be shaping up. The Suomen Ammattiyhdistysten Keskusliitto (SAK—Confederation of Finnish Trade Unions), which bargains directly for the bulk of Finnish workers, accepted a one-year contract in February providing for raises of only 5% to meet the rising cost of living. Since the contract was signed, consumer prices have already risen by 3%, and the government has just proposed a 2% increase in the sales tax.

In the week before the outbreak of the dock workers' strike, SAK publicly warned the government that it could not accept a tax increase that would wipe out its cost-of-living increase after only two months of the contract.

AROUND THE WORLD



UGT Holds Congress in Spain

Spain's Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT—General Union of Workers) opened its first congress on Spanish soil since 1932 in Madrid April 15.

Several hundred delegates of the Social Democratic federation attended the opening session. Included among them were representatives from major non-Communist unions in Western Europe.

The Juan Carlos regime was formally notified of the UGT congress but did nothing to stop it from taking place. Under Francoist legislation the UGT is an illegal organization.

Morocco and Mauritania Complete Carve-up of Sahara

Morocco and Mauritania made final arrangements April 14 to divide the former Spanish colony of Sahara. The agreement completely ignored the wishes of the majority of Sahara's population, which has made it clear it favors becoming an independent nation.

A joint communiqué issued by the governments of Morocco and Mauritania said Morocco would take over two-thirds of the 103,000-square mile area. It said Mauritania would take over about one-third of the area, along with a stake in the large phosphate deposits at Bu Craa.

Five South Korean Students Jailed

Five students in South Korea were sentenced to prison terms for circulating copies of the "Declaration of Conscience," written by imprisoned dissident Kim Chi Ha, according to the April 10 *Washington Post*.

Kim Chi Ha is being held in solitary confinement on charges of being part of a so-called Communist conspiracy. The declaration details his brutal treatment in prison and refutes the government's charges against him.

Black States in Southern Africa to Receive Common Market Funds

The European Common Market agreed April 6 to provide about \$24 million in emergency economic aid to those countries in southern Africa directly affected by the recent Angolan civil war and by the border closings against the white supremacist regime now ruling Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Most of the money is expected to go to the regimes in Zaïre and Zambia, and possibly in Malawi.

This amount is in addition to the more than \$90 million being provided on a bilateral basis by such Common Market members as West Germany, Britain, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Belgium. Some of the bilateral aid will also go to Mozambique and Angola.

Economic Slump in Nigeria

Nigeria, which has the largest population of any country in Africa, is facing severe economic difficulties. The extent of the regime's economic problems was outlined by Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, the head of state, in a speech on the budget in early April.

The drop in Nigeria's economic growth rate was the result of a decline in crude-oil production, which in turn was caused by a slackened world demand. In addition, the production of such major export crops as cocoa, palm produce, cotton, and peanuts also fell. Total exports declined by 15 percent from the previous year.

Coupled with a sharp rise in imports, the drop in export products resulted in a \$1.6 billion balance-of-payments deficit.

Despite this economic slowdown, prices have continued to skyrocket. According to most estimates, the current inflation rate is about 40 percent.

Stock Market Soars in Argentina

Stock prices in Argentina rose 88 percent April 5, the first day the exchanges were open following the March 24 military coup.

Shares in Acindar, one of the main steel factories, more than doubled. Acindar workers had been in the forefront of strikes and work stoppages that swept Argentina in the months preceding the military takeover.

Also recorded April 5 was the strengthening of the Argentine peso. At the close of the day it was selling at 270 to the U.S. dollar, as compared with 293 to the dollar March 23.

Cameroon Workers Win Pay Hike

Following a series of strikes in the Bassa industrial zone of Douala, Cameroon, the government agreed to grant wage in-

creases of between 5 percent and 18 percent, according to the March-April issue of *Africa Report*. The raises, which were backdated to January 1, affect workers in both state-controlled industries and the private sector.

The strikes in the central African country were triggered by the rising cost of living. The government attempted to prevent the strikes, which broke out at four companies, from spreading to the rest of the industrial area of Douala. It prohibited any publicity about them on the national radio or in the government-controlled *Cameroon Tribune*.

Nine Activists Arrested in Thailand

Four advisers of the Union of Textile Industries of Samut Sakhon and five other workers were arrested in Thailand March 30, on the eve of the country's general elections. The nine were charged with Communist activities, endangering the national security, and possessing arms and ammunition without permission.

The "evidence" seized by the police included a typewriter, a mimeograph machine, a rifle, a gas gun, a radio, and three boxes of books, magazines, and correspondence. The defendants denied any knowledge of the rifle and denied any participation in a so-called Communist conspiracy.

A high-level investigation team was appointed to handle the case, and the prime minister himself was given a two-hour briefing on it.

The nine, ranging in age from sixteen to twenty-six years old, are being held incommunicado.

Lira Falls to Record Low

The lira fell to a record low April 12, closing at 900 to the U.S. dollar. Relative to the dollar, the lira has declined 30 percent in the last two and a half months.

At the same time, the stock exchange index fell to the lowest point in more than twenty years.

Monetary experts said that even the most severe economic remedies would do little to ease the pressure on the lira because of uncertainty over the fate of the government.

The First Congress of the Cuban Communist Party

By Livio Maitan

[The following article appeared in the March 18 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

A party congress can be an occasion for making a turn or for launching a political initiative. On the other hand, it can also be an occasion for drawing up a balance sheet and for systematization. The first congress of the Cuban Communist party was clearly of the second variety. Fidel Castro himself stressed this when he hailed the fortunate timing of the congress.¹ Hence, neither the documents nor the discussions at the congress brought forth any new elements to suggest any revisions in the views expressed previously.² Nevertheless, the general outlook of the Cuban Communist party now appears in a more organic form, with all its features better defined. It is thus worthwhile to examine some points in a synthetic manner.

Historical Context and the Nature of the Revolution

Fidel began his long report with a historical excursion during which he established the links between the revolution of 1959 and the struggle for independence during the past century and the correspondence between the thought of Lenin and that of José Martí. In drawing these parallels, he did not introduce any ambiguity about the character of the revolution. He said:

"Our struggle necessarily had to go beyond a purely national character and potential and had to link its fate to the world revolutionary movement. The domi-

nation of the richest and most powerful imperialist power could not be resisted solely with the strength of a small and isolated country. At the same time, with the development of capitalism in our country and the emergence of the working class, the content of our revolution, which under colonialism could not go beyond the limits of a national liberation movement inspired by the liberal principles of the past century, necessarily had to move toward a social revolution as well. The task of liberating the nation from imperialist domination was now indissolubly united with the task of liquidating the exploitation of man by man within our society. Both objectives were inseparable parts of our historical process, since the capitalist system, which oppressed us as a nation from outside, also oppressed and exploited us as workers inside the country, and the social force that was able to liberate the country from oppression internally, that is, the workers themselves, was the only force that could sustain us on the external plane against the imperialist power oppressing the nation."

In other words, Castro highlighted the *permanent* character of the revolution, with no concessions to the theory of the revolution by stages in either of its two forms.

At the same time, Castro placed the Cuban revolutionary process in its real sociopolitical context, delivering a *coup de grâce* to the false or one-sided interpretations symbolized by the 1967 essay by Régis Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution*. Castro recalled some precedents that were later to operate in depth, such as how the insurrectional general strike of August 1933 brought down the Machado dictatorship and led to the formation of "revolutionary soviets" in some of the centers of sugar production, and he recalled Cuba's internationalist traditions, again from the 1930s, evidenced by the approximately 1,000 Cubans who went to fight in Republican Spain. He returned to the origins and formation of the leading group of the July 26 Movement, some of the components of which were broadly influenced by Marxism-Leninism because of the continuity assured at the time by the youth and student cells organized in the Partido Socialista Popular (PSP—Popular Socialist party, the name of the old, Stalinist Cuban Communist party).³ He forcefully con-

firmed the role of the working class in the final phase of the revolution. ("Our workers and peasants, integrated into the Rebel Army, with the support of the middle layers, pulverized the tyranny, destroyed the armed apparatus of oppression, and won the full independence of the fatherland. With its revolutionary general strike during the final battle, the working class made a decisive contribution to the victory.") He indicated that the relatively favorable international context was a precondition for the victory, on the one hand because of imperialism's failure to understand the potential of the struggle under way in Cuba, and on the other hand because of the ability the USSR had acquired to act as a counterweight to North American imperialism.

Castro's historical excursion certainly corresponded to his aim, which was to synthesize all the factors and their interconnections that had prepared the revolution and made its victory possible. But in at least one basic respect history was altered through a series of significant omissions.

First, after correctly noting that Balaño and Mella had an adequate understanding of the character of the revolution at the time of the founding of the Communist party (1925), Castro remained completely silent about the subsequent deviations of the CP, including the sectarian and adventurist ones typical of the third period, which weighed heavily in the events of 1933. Nor did he say a word about the subsequent right turns that were to make the Cuban Communist party one of the forerunners of Browderite revisionism, organize a bloc with Batista in 1939, and later participate in the Batista government during the 1940s. (He limited himself to a fleeting allusion to the "tactical alliances with the left" promised by the dictator.) Consequently, in a completely one-sided manner he attributed the isolation of the PSP solely to the fact that for a long period, especially during the cold war, it was the main target of the bourgeoisie and imperialism and paid the price for the anticommunist mystification to which broad sectors of the masses were subject. In other words, Castro forgot the fundamental point: The Cuban Communists (who were applying the Stalinist themes of

presented a piece of autobiographical information, recalling that he had bought his first Marxist-Leninist books in the CP bookstore on Calle Carlos III.

1. Fortunate because the seventeen years that have elapsed since the seizure of power have permitted errors to be overcome and maturity to be acquired. It should be obvious that this argument cannot justify such a long delay in holding a congress; the practical consequence of the delay has been that during this long period fundamental decisions have been made by a rather small number of people.

2. For our evaluation, see the article that appeared in *Quatrième Internationale*, No. 22. [See also *Intercontinental Press*, March 15, p. 408.]

3. In an August 22, 1975, speech Castro had

popular and antifascist fronts) were in large measure thrust to the sidelines because of their collaboration with sectors of the ruling class and, in the final analysis, with Yankee imperialism itself. It was precisely this policy of the Latin American Communist parties that left big openings for a series of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois national revolutionary movements that were to have a very broad mass influence for a rather long period. In Cuba, this policy left an opening for the July 26 Movement, whose original character was not different, and for its victorious struggle.

The absence of this element in Castro's historical synthesis thus constitutes a serious deformation from the standpoint of analysis; from the political standpoint it is a concession to the old leading group of the PSP and even more so to the bureaucracy of the USSR, which was principally responsible, through the Stalinized Comintern, for the decline and sterilization of the indigenous Latin American Communist movement. Castro's silence about the events around the Anibal Escalante affair and his negative presentation of the trade-union congress of 1966, which in fact marked an important stage in the battle against the old, bureaucratized leading group, have a similar significance.

In truth, this tendentious rewriting of history is intermeshed with a self-critical rewriting of a whole series of positions that had been taken during the early years of the revolution for which the leadership is now attempting to find a common denominator. (We would suppose that this is pleasing to the talmudists of various bureaucracies, who had put forward similar arguments at the height of some of the antibureaucratic battles of the Fidelista group, not without provoking, as Castro himself indicated in his replies, more than a few negative reactions from the Cubans.) According to Castro, both during the phase of the struggle against Batista and during the period following the victory of the revolution, there were a series of deviations that may be characterized as "self-sufficiency" and "overestimation," caused by "the germ of chauvinism and the petty-bourgeois spirit" typical of those who took to "the road of revolution through purely intellectual paths." The most serious consequence of these positions, according to the report, was that "from the very beginning the Cuban revolution was unable to take advantage of the rich experience of other peoples in the realm of the building of socialism, peoples who had taken this road well before we did."

That the Castroist group was of petty-bourgeois origin and therefore corresponded to other similar Latin American movements is a fundamental fact that is difficult to dispute. We may say in passing that this origin explains both some of the ideological motivations and political posi-

tions of the first phase of the revolution and the lack of reference to Marxism-Leninism, whereas the explanation advanced by Castro at the congress, which was that this was a deliberate tactical ruse, is rather less compelling. It is also incontestable that those who come to the revolution solely through intellectual development are particularly exposed to the danger of deformation, and not only in a country like Cuba. And it is true that right from the beginning the Cuban leaders did not try sufficiently to assimilate the experiences of other countries, making the necessary distinction between basic historical tendencies and the effects of specific factors.

On the other hand, it is not correct to adhere to or encourage interpretations that consider the various battles fought by the Cuban leadership against bureaucratic criteria and methods in the building of the transitional society and against the opportunist degeneration of the Communist parties to be petty-bourgeois deformations. When Castro launched his indictment against Stalinist-style historical falsification; when, in denouncing Escalante, he hit upon the concrete mechanisms of a tendency toward bureaucratization, even if only empirically; when, even while justifying the invasion of Czechoslovakia, he exposed the responsibility of a bureaucratic leadership; when the Cuban CP rejected the method of the democratic road to socialism and the perspective of compromise with the bourgeoisie on the basis of the strategy of the Latin American CPs; when Che Guevara affirmed that the real choice was socialist revolution or caricature of revolution, the Cuban leaders were not succumbing to petty-bourgeois influences, but were instead acting on the basis of an analysis of real phenomena and were posing a perspective of revolutionary struggle for socialism from the standpoint of intransigent defense of the interests of the working class.

Economic Rectification and 'Poder Popular'

The economic self-criticism, dramatically initiated at the time of the failure of the ten-million-ton sugar harvest in 1970, reached a plateau with the reports and resolutions on the system of management and planning.

It is hardly necessary to recall that such self-criticism has an objective basis. Incontestably, during the early years of the revolution there was a definite flourishing of tendencies and orientations of a utopian character, at the root of which was the conviction that stages could be skipped and that elements of communism could begin to be introduced. (*Mutatis mutandis*, this error was analogous to that made by the Bolshevik leaders in their initial interpretation of war communism.) The present positions, however, are broadly influenced by the "models" of the USSR and the bureaucratized workers states

SOME FACTS ABOUT CUBA (according to congress documents)

Population: 6,763,061 according to 1958 census;
9,296,068 according to 1975 census.

Work force: Increased by 1 million (58.5%) between 1959 and 1969.

Composition of work force:

Cane-cutters: 1975: 180,000 (half of the prerevolutionary period)

Sugar refining and processing: 1970: 120,000
1975: 89,000

Machine industry: 1959: 4,000
1975: 29,000

Textile and shoe industry: 1959: 14,000
1975: 15,395

Tobacco industry: 1975: 49,672

Construction workers: 1958: 83,000
1975: 275,000

Teaching and health: 1975: 400,000

Administrative officials: 1975: 200,000

Countryside: State sector: 70%

Private sector: 30%

Members of ANAP (the association of small peasants): 232,358, of whom 162,126 are owners of family farms.

Tractors: 1958: 9,000
1975: 54,000

Education: Overall number of students:

1958: 811,345

1975: 3,051,000

Party membership: 1965: 50,000 (approximate)

1970: 100,000 (approximate)

1974: 186,995

1975: 202,807

Inprecor

closest to the USSR. The very choice of priorities moves in this direction, despite the fact that the formula "greater attention to agriculture" and "major emphasis on industrialization" (a bit in the Chinese style!) attempts to maintain an overall balance. "During the next five years," Castro said, "the process of industrialization of the country will accelerate considerably."

At the same time, the congress approved the adoption of a new system of management whose features were synthesized as follows:

"The system being proposed takes great account of the economic laws that reign during the period of the construction of socialism and that exist independent of our will and desires. Among these laws is the law of value, the necessity of all the enterprises, including the state enterprises, to maintain relations of income and expenditure and the necessity that in these relations and in general in the various relations that are generated in the economy, taxes, credits, interest, and the other market categories function as indispensable instruments in governing the use to which we put our productive resources and in determining to the last detail, to the last centavo, how much we are spending on everything we produce, in order to be able to decide which investments are most beneficial, to be able to judge which enterprises, which units, and which collec-

tives are working best and which are working worst and to be able to take the appropriate measures."

The resolution also seeks to offer a response to the greatest problems posed for a planned economy, from the problem of determining prices to problems of management of the enterprises and incentives.

It is sufficient to note that in their concern to rehabilitate "objective economic laws" and to avoid falling into the previously proclaimed utopian idea of eliminating the law of value, the Cubans seem to err in the opposite direction, making an overly sweeping use of the category "monetary-market relations."⁴ As far as incentives are concerned, an effort was made to combine moral and material incentives, while on the other hand the system of production norms was reaffirmed. The adoption of such norms was not new, but their application has been slowed down by various obstacles. (At present, 48 percent of the work force work under production norms; 20 percent are paid according to piece work; significant productivity increases have been registered in a series of sectors.)⁵

Finally, in the administration of the enterprises, "single responsibility linked to a collective leadership" was affirmed as the basic principle. The director, who is the supreme authority, will be designated by higher bodies and "advised" by a leadership council in which the trade-union organizations will be represented. The participation of the workers in the leadership on questions such as discussion of the economic plan, the analysis of the results achieved, the utilization of the incentive funds, the tasks of socialist emulation, and so on, will be assured "by various methods and in various forms." In this area as well, then, the choice of the Cuban leadership is rather close to the Soviet "model" and quite different from the Yugoslav "model," for example.

The idea that the revolution has entered the phase of institutionalization was the central theme of an entire section of Castro's report and of the resolution on the organs of popular power. Many of the themes that have been broached during

recent years were taken up again and certain central concepts were reaffirmed. At the same time, the stages of the application of the decisions that have been made were fixed. One important stipulation was that at least two candidates must be presented in each district during elections, with a second-round vote in the event that no candidate wins a majority in the first round.

There will be some transference of functions as the process of institutionalization takes effect. In particular, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution will no longer have to fulfill "tasks that are by nature partially of a state character."

Problems of the Party

On the question of the function of the party in transitional society, the congress more or less repeated formulas that have already been used in various documents during past years. For example, the resolution on popular power affirms that "the organs of popular power are the highest state authority in the areas in which they exercise jurisdiction and carry out the tasks of public administration. The party will orient, impulse, and control the tasks of the state organs, will control the policy of promotion and training of cadres and will work to perfect the mechanisms of the state, but must never supplant the powers and functions of these mechanisms." For his part, Castro, referring to the mass organizations, declared: "They are the link that assures the closest ties of the party to the broad masses."

Beyond the details of this or that formulation, the basic concept is that of the primacy of the party in the transitional society; in practice, this is guaranteed by the very mechanisms of institutionalization, by the composition of the apparatus, and by the clear predominance of party members in the leadership of society, a predominance that becomes virtually exclusive as one moves up in the hierarchy.⁶

The congress confirmed the concept of the party as the vanguard and sanctioned the peculiar method of recruitment whereby all candidates for party membership are subject to the evaluation of their work mates. Nonetheless, masses of members have been taken into the party rapidly, the total membership rising from 50,000 in 1965 to about 100,000 in 1970 to 186,000 in 1974 and 202,807 at the end of September of last year. Castro himself exhibited some concern over the social composition of the party, which, according to the statistics presented at the congress, is as follows: 52% of party members belong to cells "in the work centers of agriculture

and livestock, industry, and construction," 7.5% to cells in education, and 3% to cells in the health system, while nearly 40% fulfill "functions of political or administrative leadership." This last factor is significant, and its importance is not diminished by Castro's observation that "the great majority of comrades working on tasks of political leadership or in administrative activities are of working-class origin." Experience has demonstrated only too often that working-class origin in itself is not at all sufficient to prevent bureaucratic degeneration: The conditioning determined by the new position is far more decisive than the conditioning determined by the original position.⁷

We do not possess all the elements needed for an overall evaluation of the conduct of the pre-congress discussion and of the work of the congress itself. The leadership emphasized the very large number of people—both inside and outside the party—who had participated in the discussion of the draft resolutions and the text of the new constitution. There were criticisms and dissent, but we do not know to what extent. For example, 6,200,000 people were said to have participated in the discussion on the constitution, of whom 5,500,000 were said to have voted in favor of the text unconditionally, while 16,000, supported by a total of 600,000, are said to have proposed modifications or amendments. In the discussion of the document on the agrarian question, 212,000 peasants voted in favor, 901 against, and 228 abstained. In the big popular assembly at the end of the congress, which was described as the largest ever held, Castro once again resorted to his outright plebiscitary method, with the predictable result that everyone voted for the decisions of the congress; nobody voted against and there were no abstentions.

The congresses of the various party bodies seem to have been pretty much occasions for rubber-stamping decisions and for asserting confidence in the major leaders.

As for the national congress, in itself it was an eloquent indication of the degree to which workers are involved. Castro's report took up the entire first day and half of the second, while the remainder of the second day was largely reserved for greetings to the congress and various ceremonies. There were only four interven-

7. The percentages among the congress delegates indicate the danger even more clearly, in spite of Castro's claim that there was no attempt to organize a "meeting of leaders." Thirty percent of the delegates were political leaders; 19% were administrative cadres; 19% were officials in the defense and security forces; 35% were militants working in production, education, and services. Participation by women was limited: About 15% of the delegates (and of party members) were women.

4. The resolution speaks of "market relations among enterprises." It seems to forget that in a planned economy with nationalized industry the means of production are no longer commodities and thus the exchange relationships between the enterprises that produce them and those that acquire them are no longer determined by the law of value (which law does not disappear during the phase of transition, but whose field of action steadily narrows).

5. The following statistics on wages were presented at the congress: The average monthly wage is 136 pesos, an increase of 21% compared with the 1970 average. The mean income per family is 203 pesos. Fifty percent of families have only one wage earner; 30% have two; 12% have three; and 1.8% have more than three.

6. An interesting fact: 85 percent of the officers in the army are members of the party or of the Communist youth organization.

tions: from a hero of labor in the cane fields, a member of the leadership of Pinar del Río, an administrator of a nickel factory, and the poet Nicolás Guillén. The third day was taken up by the work of the commissions. During the first part of the fourth day, apart from additional greetings, there were five interventions, the speakers being chosen on the basis of the same criteria as were applied on the second day. The voting on various resolutions began on the afternoon of the fourth day and continued on the fifth day. Then the congress concluded with a summary by Castro. It is only too clear that the sole purpose of the congress was to officially ratify what had already been decided and worked out in all details.

The decisive ideological influence of the Soviet bureaucracy comes through in various documents. In addition, Castro explained that "many cadres and functionaries of the party" in charge of the cadre schools had been trained in the USSR, others in East Germany or Bulgaria. We will not return to what we have already said elsewhere: Point by point, the report on ideological struggle took up the themes and style that have now become customary, with a virtually Zhdanov-like flavor, with stereotypic polemics against "rightist and leftist revisionists," the alleged identity of whom is regularly denounced.

In his conclusions and in his speech to the mass rally, Castro used some arguments and tones in which a sense of unease could perhaps be detected, as though he feared he would be accused of nepotism. He was concerned with justifying the elevation of his brother Raúl to the second position in the hierarchy, claiming that the promotion was a consequence of Raúl's genuine merits. At the same time, he prepared to defend himself against possible criticism of a "personality cult," on the one hand by proclaiming that with the process of institutionalization individual men would have a less important function and that the danger of an excessive concentration of power would thus be countered more effectively, on the other hand by denying the very concept of individual genius. ("Among humanity, properly speaking, geniuses do not exist. There are brilliant men. But genius does not exist in these individuals; genius exists in the masses.") Thus, he insisted on explaining that the existing unanimity was not the result of "mechanical discipline," but was instead due to the fact that the documents had been widely discussed and altered in some cases. Finally, he exclaimed significantly: "This revolution has not devoured, and will never devour, its own sons."

It can be assumed that this outburst was not pleasing to the bureaucratic delegations present. The Soviet bureaucrats in particular must at least have been moved to think that it would have been better not

to have spoken of the rope in the house of the hanged.

International Policy and Angola

The congress ratified the international policy based on adherence to the theses of the Soviet bureaucrats; this was also extended to more specific positions (on India, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh, for example). A series of self-criticisms were made (on the attitude Cuba adopted during the October crisis of 1962, and more generally, its attitude during an entire phase of the revolution). The desire to collaborate with the so-called nonaligned countries was confirmed, regardless of the social structures and political regimes of these countries. For Latin America, the analytical underpinnings of the orientation of the past several years were confirmed, that is, that "in Latin America today there are no immediate prospects for overall changes that would lead, as in Cuba, to sudden social transformations." This orientation has been recently concretized in initiatives directed toward Mexico and Panama, whose top leaders were triumphally received in Cuba. Such initiatives have not been limited to the diplomatic realm or to equally legitimate support to specific positions taken by the regimes in question; instead they have taken on a more general scope, entering into contradiction with the interests of the workers movements in the countries concerned. To give just two examples: The Cuban press has presented López Portillo, the ruling party's candidate for president in Mexico, in a favorable light, without bothering about the different position that has been taken by the Mexican Communists, who are presenting their own candidate; the Cuban leadership has also associated itself with the campaign the Panamanian government is waging to denigrate the revolutionary students and organizations like the Fracción Socialista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Socialist Faction), which are not inclined to overlook the bourgeois character of the Torrijos regime.⁸

But during the time of the congress itself, Cuban policy was subjected to important tests. For some time there had been much talk of Cuba's desire to reach a compromise with the United States, and some people, falling into hasty impression-

8. See, for example, the October 5, 1975, issue of *Granma*, the official organ of the Cuban Communist party. The Cuban congress also ratified the document of the conference of Latin American Communist parties held in June 1975. In various respects, this document represented a compromise between the Cuban conceptions and the traditional conceptions of the leading groups of the Communist parties. Let us take this opportunity to indicate our disagreement with the interpretation of the June 1975 conference advanced in the article by Pablo Rojas published in the November 20, 1975, issue of *Inprecor* (No. 38).

ism, had drawn the conclusion that the Cuban leaders were prepared to pay a very high price for such a compromise. It is now clear, however, that they were not prepared to pay the price of renouncing their courageous attitude of internationalist solidarity. This had already been indicated by their position in support of independence for Puerto Rico. The intervention in Angola confirmed it brilliantly. Cuba's decisive commitment to a crucial anti-imperialist battle has few precedents in the history of past decades, and whatever the particular tactical reasons for the intervention may have been, it remains exemplary testimony to revolutionary internationalism.⁹

Problems in Perspective

If all the elements are considered, if account is taken of the economic advances registered during past years and of the political expectations created by the process of institutionalization, and if it is noted that the leading group has succeeded in preserving its own prestige among the broad masses, it is legitimate to predict relative stability for a certain period. But this does not mean that a series of tensions and contradictions do not exist, tensions and contradictions that in the long run could rise to the surface or could even explode if certain problems remain unsolved or are solved inadequately.

Limiting ourselves to a few brief points, we may say that economic development continues to face serious problems. As we have pointed out elsewhere, the 6 percent growth rate called for in the five-year plan is insufficient for a country that is still in large measure underdeveloped. Castro has explicitly said that more modest rates will have to be set than those of previous years. The spectacular oscillation of the price of sugar on the world market will continue to represent a serious unbalancing factor. (After rising to a peak of US\$.60 a pound at the end of 1974, the price of sugar fell to US\$.14 a pound in the course of several months.)

Politically, the major problem is that of the real content of institutionalization. The previously existing vacuum had been one of the major factors fostering the emergence and crystallization of a layer of functionaries and administrators appropriating the main tasks of management and leadership. Will institutionalization introduce a radical change, with direct participation of the masses, or, on the contrary, will it be limited to providing a new formal framework for the already existing middle and higher layers of administrators? The answer to this question in practice will in

9. The congress did not speak of China (or Albania), except to make fleeting reference to China's differences with Cuba. On the other hand, a rather vigorous polemic was waged in the press against the shameful Maoist position on Angola.

large measure determine the future development of the revolution, will determine whether or not Cuba will suffer a bureaucratic degeneration.

Similarly, only practice will be able to determine the precise content of certain formulas on the relation between the party and the institutions of popular power and between the party and the mass organizations. A Soviet- or Chinese-style application of the primacy of the party would make regression inevitable in the long run.

In particular, tensions may arise in the management and leadership of the economic enterprises. The formulas that have been adopted have hierarchical tendencies, and their application in practice will probably entail conflicts between the leadership personnel and the worker rank and file over which side will exert the greatest weight.

As has happened in China, problems may also arise from what has been one of the major conquests of the revolution, the enormous increase in the level of education. Bottlenecks and dangerous imbalances may arise over the role to be played by graduates. And above all, the increases in cultural needs and the ever more massive advent of new generations for whom the importance of comparisons with prerevolutionary conditions is gradually declining will wind up introducing contradictory elements in the ideological monolithism and practices of unanimity that have been prevalent up to now.

Finally, in the realm of international policy, differentiations may arise in face of concrete choices that sharply pose the implications of certain theories and orientations. In particular, the policy of unconditional support to the so-called revolutionary nationalist regimes of Latin America, with the abandoning of the revolutionaries of these countries, will sooner or later stimulate critical reflection that could explode to the surface when important events take place.

For all these reasons, the overall historic balance sheet of the first congress of the Cuban Communist party, despite its genuine importance, is far from definitive.

February 22, 1976

158 Black Activists Arrested in Zimbabwe

Rhodesian police arrested 158 Zimbabweans for taking part in an illegal meeting held April 4 at the farming town of Sinoia, about sixty miles northwest of Salisbury. Among those arrested were Moton Malianga and E.F. Chitamate, national chairman and national deputy secretary for youth affairs of the wing of the African National Council led by Abel Muzorewa and Ndabaningi Sithole.

Rhodesian authorities also announced April 5 that they had killed eight Black guerrillas during the previous four days.

An Eyewitness Account

The Conditions in Gandhi's Prisons



GANDHI

[The following account was written by Mary Tyler, a British woman married to an Indian, who was arrested in India in May 1970 on charges of "sedition" and "waging war against the government." She was imprisoned for more than five years and was freed on July 6, 1975, after the charges against her were dropped. Her account appeared in the March 1976 issue of the Paris monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Following the declaration of a state of emergency on June 26, 1975, Indira Gandhi arrested a large number of her political opponents. However, the problem of the conditions facing political prisoners in India is a very old one. In fact, the country has lived under emergency laws almost without interruption since 1962. Even before last June, it was estimated that there were 30,000 to 40,000 political prisoners in Indian jails, a number of whom had been detained without trial for five to seven years.

Many of these people have been charged under specific clauses of the Indian penal code, which is almost unchanged since the

era of the British Raj. But, since 1972, massive arrests have been carried out in the name of the Maintenance of Internal Security Act and the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act, as well as under the Defence of India Rules, which had been drawn up by the British colonialists to suppress the independence movement.

The political prisoners are placed into two main categories: those who are released after a relatively short time, and the "hard core," who have already spent several years in prison without trial. The majority in the first category are strikers, satyagrahis,* and demonstrators, as well as people who publicly denounced the government or participated in "illegal" meetings. The government makes generous use of Section 144 of the Indian penal code to ban meetings of more than five persons in order to carry out mass arrests of the participants, who then are kept in jail until the agitation has died down.

In 1974, during the protest campaign led by Jaya Prakash Narayan against corruption, unemployment, and high prices, and which was also aimed at winning reforms in the educational system, thousands of workers, peasants, students, lawyers, and other members of the liberal professions were arrested under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA). In all of Bihar state, only two persons' detentions were upheld after appeal to the High Court. Many persons were also arrested several times (since then, the right to appeal arbitrary detention has been abolished). For several months in 1974, the three prisons at Hazaribagh alone held more than 6,000 political prisoners. Since 1972, it has become necessary to reopen the old prison camps, which were used by the British, following the waves of arrests that have hit striking teachers, railway employees, non-civil-service government employees, miners, antigovernment demonstrators, and others.

The majority of those who remain imprisoned without trial for long periods are alleged to be Naxalites, members or sympathizers of the Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The party was eventually banned by Gandhi after the state of emergency proclamation in June, but in reality its activists and supporters, in order to escape arrest, have never been able to function other than clandestinely since its formation in 1969. At the time of the big anti-Naxalite campaign in 1970-71, many students were arrested for having in

* Satyagrahis are demonstrators who practice nonviolent civil disobedience in the tradition of Mahatma Gandhi.

their possession literature published in Peking. Such literature had not been officially banned. Others were arrested because they pasted up posters or wore "Mao" buttons.

In Bihar, where I was myself detained without trial for more than five years, the present number of "Naxalite" prisoners is estimated at 2,000, although exact figures are not available. No trials have yet been held. The case in which I was involved—until the charges against me were withdrawn—is not yet over, seven months later. The slowness of this process suits perfectly the government's objective of eliminating potential opposition while sparing the police from worrying about investigations to support the charges. On the other hand, the accused cannot afford the high costs needed for their defense in prolonged cases, which, by the way, enables the government attorneys and their aides to assure themselves of a substantial income.

The law stipulating that all persons accused of a criminal offense be brought before a court every two weeks is openly violated. Arrested in May 1970, I did not come before a court for the first time until April 1973, still without being informed of the charges lodged against me. During the longest part of my detention, I was in a prison located 250 kilometers [about 155 miles] from the court where my case was to be heard. My demand for legal aid had been ignored. I was not able to get my first real consultation with a lawyer—away from the presence of all police—until October 1974. For three years they prevented me from communicating with my codefendants. And when a petition concerning me was at the point of being presented to the High Court in Patna, 250 kilometers from Hazaribagh, I was not notified until 5:00 p.m. the day before, making it impossible for me to contact a lawyer to represent me.

Prisoners' mail is arbitrarily withheld. Their visitors are confronted with all sorts of obstacles, often traveling long distances (in my case 450 kilometers from Calcutta to Hazaribagh) in order to have the privilege of waiting, sometimes for nine hours, before being able to talk to the prisoner for five to ten minutes. It is often impossible to find the papers relating to one's own case. Under such conditions, it is extremely difficult for relatives or friends of the prisoners to do anything to help them. The petitions that the prisoners address to the courts, prison authorities, or government agencies are ignored.

The physical conditions of detention vary from one area to another, but there probably is not one Indian prison that can conform to international standards. The waves of arrests are so massive, the judgments so slow, that the prison population is growing at an alarming rate. At Jamshedpur (in Bihar), where I spent several months, there were, at the time I

left in July 1975, 1,100 prisoners detained in a prison built to hold 137.

Ill and in good health, mad and sane, old and young, tried and untried: All are crowded together, in temperatures that surpass 40 degrees Centigrade [104 degrees Fahrenheit] in the summer and in a climate where the humidity often reaches 90 percent. Rats, bedbugs, mosquitoes, and flies abound. Scabies, smallpox, malaria, tuberculosis, typhoid, and dysentery are constant illnesses. With a nearly total absence of medical care, prisoners die every day. There is no arrangement to ensure the isolation of prisoners suffering from an infectious or contagious disease. The diet is extremely deficient in protein and vitamins, water is scarce, and hygienic facilities are primitive. Clothes are rarely provided. There are no educational or recreational services.

In the same prison, fifty "Naxalite" prisoners were confined in a row of cells, two by three meters, each holding five prisoners. They were young people for the most part, sixteen or seventeen years old when they were arrested. The cells are in darkness even during the day. And one can read only by crouching in front of the grated door, the only source of light and air.

The "Naxalites" were in irons day and night. The use of irons is supposed to be a punishment for those prisoners who tried to escape or a means to control dangerous madmen. In the prisons I passed through, it was in reality a constant practice to place those detainees held as "Naxalites" in irons from the moment of their arrival. These shackles impede walking, sitting, sleeping, washing, or going to the toilet in a normal manner.

By the time my trial began, my codefendants had worn their irons night and

day for four years, almost without interruption. Their shackles were removed to allow them to appear in court: It was obvious that they could not walk normally; their limbs had atrophied.

Since 1971, about 150 "Naxalite" prisoners have been shot to death and many others wounded during "incidents" in the prisons of Bengal and Bihar. At the central prison in Hazaribagh, on July 25, 1971, sixteen prisoners were killed and thirty wounded following minor disturbances in which some "Naxalite" prisoners took part. On June 19, 1973, six of my codefendants, already in irons, were placed in handcuffs and beaten by the prison guards and by trustees for having made tea over their gas lamp (tea is not given out in Bihar prisons).

Those considered potential leaders are isolated, sometimes in cells with condemned criminals. Some prisons prohibit writing materials. For more than two years, I could have neither pencil nor paper. Newspapers and books are heavily censored by the employees of the special police, who are permanently posted to those prisons where "Naxalites" are detained. Bail is never granted, even in the case of serious illness, and limited liberty on parole was refused to one of my codefendants when his father died of cancer of the liver.

In recent years, many of the old prison camps previously used by the British have been reopened, while new prisons, like Bhagalpur in Bihar, which are entirely devoted to the solitary confinement of "Naxalites," have been built at various places. Everything was done as if the Indian government were seeking to acquire the means to continue throwing a large number of political dissidents into prison for a long time to come. □

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Chapter 17

The Pentagon March

By Fred Halstead

[Last of three parts]

The National Mobilization Committee as such played no role in the NCNP convention except to publicize the coming march on Washington among the delegates. The staff had rushed out a new issue of the *Mobilizer*, containing the news of the Pentagon demonstration, so the first thousand copies could be distributed to the delegates at the NCNP gathering. The response was less than reassuring.

The issue had been edited by Rubin's buddies, Karen Wald and Stew Albert, and emphasized the confrontation or civil disobedience aspects of the Washington action to the virtual exclusion of anything else. It contained no mention of immediate withdrawal—or negotiations either for that matter—no appeal to the GIs and no political demands at all beyond a brief mention of a committee resolution that called "For the transfer of the billions now being wasted in Vietnam, to a massive decentralized program of aid to America's poor and disinherited."³⁸ The issue as a whole was an example of the tendency to subordinate the program of the movement to a tactic.

The *Mobilizer* contained an article by Keith Lampe, who had been the Parade Committee's volunteer press agent. Professional-

With this chapter we continue the serialization of **Out Now!—A Participant's Account of the American Antiwar Movement** by Fred Halstead. Copyright © 1976 by the Anchor Foundation, Inc. All rights reserved. Printed by permission. To be published by Monad Press.

ly he worked in advertising and public relations and had recently moved into the countercultural scene with a gusto only a Madison Avenue executive type, kicking over the traces, could muster. Lampe's article, entitled "On Making a Perfect Mess," was not without humor, but in the context not everyone in the Mobilization Committee thought it was funny. It said:

"A good feeling in the streets of America. Feels like there's going to be a white rebellion too. The work of the black men of Newark and Detroit has freed us honkies (beep! beep!) of a few more scholarly hang-ups and we're getting down into it now.

"Now, at last, we're getting past the talk and the analysis and the petitions and the protests—past the cunning white logic of the universities—and we're heading back down into ourselves. . . . In any case, we emancipated primitives of the coming culture are free to do what we *feel* now because we understand that logic and proportion and consistency and often even perspective are part of the old control system and we're done with the old control systems."

There followed a list of things that might happen in Washington in October, including:

"A thousand children will stage Loot-Ins at department stores to strike at the property fetish that underlies genocidal wars. . . .

38. *Mobilizer*, vol. 2, no. 1, September 1, 1967. (Copy in author's files.)

"Hey, who defoliated the White House lawn? . . .

"Hey, who kidnapped the guard at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier?"

"During a block party in front of the White House a lad of nine will climb the fence and piss, piss, piss. . . ."

Lampe's article ended with the following note, disturbing even to some of the civil-disobedience-oriented pacifists:

"Because as a honkie I have a bully heritage, I dig nonviolence as my best expression. But I know nonviolence is a faith—not a demonstrable truth—and, being ecumenically inclined, I have no desire to impose it on anybody else."³⁹

Shortly after the issue came out an emergency meeting was initiated by some of the people in Women Strike for Peace, New York SANE, and the trade unions. Key roles were played in this meeting by Al Evanoff and Bella Abzug, who could be tough as nails. They took on Rubin in no uncertain terms. Evanoff pointed to the place in the issue where his name was listed as one of the several cochairpersons of the National Mobilization Committee, and then to the part about the loot-ins in department stores.

"Do you know what union I am an official of?" he said to Rubin through clenched teeth. "The Retail, Wholesale and *Department Store Workers*. What am I supposed to say when the management of a department store uses this against our union in an organizing drive, or negotiations, or a strike?"

The committee voted to scrap the issue, over Rubin's objection. Sid Peck took charge of putting out the next one, which contained a more balanced projection of the Washington action.

Within the staff there was constant tension—though never personal—between Rubin and me on how the action should be publicized and built. Once he came in with a mock-up for a poster that consisted entirely of a psychedelic design, like something on a piece of paisley cloth. That's all there was to it. No slogan, no indication of what the demonstration was about, no instructions on how to get transportation, not even the date, time, and place of the event. When I objected he said: "Words are bullshit. We don't need words, we need action."

Just to get under *his* skin I blocked out a poster that consisted of nothing *but* words, big block letters on white, with a slogan, the date, time, and place in big type, and a space for local groups to put instructions on how to get bus or train tickets.

Rubin hit the roof and we had a shouting match. He finally agreed to put the date and place on his poster, but he had it done in type so small you couldn't read it from more than a yard away. It was necessary to simply go around him to get out some posters with the necessary information on them in type large enough to be effective. In the end it was the SMC that put out most of the posters anyway, and they were quite clear.

During preparations for the action I worked in the New York office where the Parade Committee was organizing the transportation from New York to Washington. This involved chartering some 500 buses, a number of railroad cars, and organizing car pools. We had to pay in advance for buses and railroad cars and so had to sell tickets ahead of time. There were times when the line into the office stretched around the block.

39. *Ibid.*



Part of crowd at October 21, 1967, march to Pentagon.

Flax Hermes/Militant

We were plagued by a rash of cancellations of chartered buses. Some of the companies bluntly told us this was because of pressure from the administration. The worst single problem was the cancellation of a 1,400-passenger train we had chartered from the Pennsylvania Railroad. After that we told the railroad and the New York City authorities that we'd have our demonstration at the Port Authority Bus Terminal and Pennsylvania Station if we couldn't get transportation to Washington. We got the train back, as well as most of the buses, though some people were stranded and never did make it to Washington.

Meanwhile the committee set up an office in the capital, to work on preparations. The staff there included Maris Cakers, who was in charge of the Target City project and civil disobedience on October 21, and Brad Lyttle, who worked on "logistics" for the major demonstration. This meant all the technical preparations, such as sound equipment, bus parking, monitoring assignments, etc. These two were radical pacifists with a practical bent, long experience in civil disobedience actions, and a sense of responsibility about what they were doing.

* * *

Lyttle's attitude had been impressed on me early in our association. Back in October 1965, just before the first Parade Committee march in New York, he had called me into the CNVA office and said he was worried that the demonstration would be violent. He was concerned because it was going to be large, a lot of people would be there who had no nonviolent training, or no such philosophical commitment. He said he was thinking of writing a statement warning of possible violence and even dissociating himself from the event, or asking other pacifists to consider such a stand. He wanted to talk it over with me first. Lyttle was a veteran of many confrontations and arrests and it was clear that personal fears had nothing to do with this conversation. It was concern for principle.

Lyttle had already had a lot of experience organizing nonviolent direct action projects, including demonstrations against atomic missile installations in Nebraska in 1959, the Polaris action projects against atomic submarines, the 1961 San Francisco-to-Moscow Walk for Peace, and the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk in 1963. But all of these had

involved relatively small numbers of committed nonviolent activists. In October 1965 he still had no experience with really large crowds.

I told him I couldn't make any promises about the police and ultra-right-wing groups who might attack the march, but that I and everyone else organizing the October 1965 event agreed on a nonviolent tactic for the occasion and we were doing everything we could to make it go that way. I emphasized that his fears of a large crowd getting out of hand were not well founded. Other things being equal, the larger the crowd, the higher the average level of common sense. He wasn't entirely convinced, but agreed to hold off on the statement so as not to hurt the action. The demonstration went well, and after that Lyttle had no fear of large crowds and made it a point to develop techniques of working with them.

* * *

Cakers and Lyttle were anxious to combine the mass action with civil disobedience. But they had a healthy respect for the practicalities and were not inclined to set something in motion and then leave it to chance. They paid attention to setting a nonviolent tone, and to the details—in themselves often tedious—without which the boldest conception will come to naught, or worse. As long as they and others like them were on top of the preparations in Washington, there was reasonable assurance that the civil disobedience would be organized on a nonviolent basis and would not invite confrontation in such a way as to involve people who did not want to be involved.

This assurance was absolutely crucial to the viability of the whole plan as it had developed. Without it, a number of the major groups could not be kept in the coalition and the mass character of the action would be dissipated.

Dellinger was still out of the country and not present at the meeting that scrapped the issue of the *Mobilizer* and called Rubin to order, or tried to. In his book *More Power Than We Know* he telescopes some of the developments prior to the march in the following comments:

"Two weeks before the Pentagon action it had looked as if Women Strike for Peace, Dr. Spock, and the Socialist Workers

Party on the 'Right' and SDS on the 'Left' would all withdraw. Dr. Spock and WSP—at this stage of their involvement—had reservations about the practicality of civil disobedience and understandably became apprehensive at the disjointed rhetoric of some of the Left. They needed reassurance that the civil disobedience would be sufficiently separated in time and space from the march and rally to safeguard the 'women and children' from police attack."⁴⁰

The SWP never threatened to withdraw from the action. We fought to prevent the legal, peaceful part of the demonstration from being eliminated. Whether the WSP actually threatened to withdraw in the face of the Rubinesque rhetoric I don't know. They did insist on Dr. Spock's endorsement for the action, and I answered a phone call to the New York office from Dr. Spock regarding this. He said he could endorse only if there were a clear separation regarding the civil disobedience because some mothers with children might come on the strength of his endorsement. I assured him there would be such a separation. He seemed satisfied and did endorse.

Dellinger continues with this rather bitter comment:

"The SWP, believing as it does that when the revolution comes it will take place through the armed struggle of the working class, led by the SWP, disapproved of the original plans but went along because they didn't want to be isolated and discredited in the movement. Now they saw a chance to play on the fears of Women Strike and other moderate groups in order to preserve the coalition as a risk-free hunting ground for recruits to their 'revolutionary socialist' organization."⁴¹

The SWP's view of a future American revolution—which Dellinger does not state correctly—was not really germane to the plans for the Pentagon march. Apparently he means to point out that the SWP did not share his anarcho-pacifist perspective, or perhaps that we did not think the revolution was upon us. That much is true. More to the point we did not agree that a few hundreds or even a few thousands involved in confrontation and arrests—nonviolent or otherwise—could somehow spark a spontaneous wave of decentralized resistance that would then and there dissolve the power of the warmakers. That was a pipe dream in our view.

To a certain extent such notions had been encouraged by the experience of the Southern civil rights movement of the early 1960s. In that situation sometimes civil disobedience initiated by relative handfuls did precipitate a widespread national reaction against the segregationists. But there was at least one crucial difference in the context at hand. In the Southern civil rights struggle the civil disobedience had been against local law and local authority that was itself in violation of federal law as ruled by the Supreme Court.

In the Southern struggle against de jure segregation, the most successful civil disobedience was specifically designed to precipitate a confrontation between local and federal authorities. In some cases where the local authorities remained adamant—as in Selma, Alabama—the civil rights movement even demanded—and got—federal troops. The antiwar movement had no such leverage. For the antiwar movement it was much more difficult to make the message of civil disobedience by small numbers clear and the embarrassment it might produce for the federal government was not at all automatic.

If others wanted to experiment with such activity, the SWP would not stand in their way. We had agreed to that at the May conference and more specifically regarding October 21, even before Rubin came on the staff. But we insisted that the other part of the agreement also be honored, that there be a mass, peaceful, legal demonstration as well. Otherwise there would be no mass turnout. And it was the mass action the SWP was chiefly concerned with. We were convinced that the only way the antiwar movement could contribute materially to ending the war was by

involving immense and enlarging masses. We voted with others to this end.

As for preserving the coalition as a recruiting ground, we could have set up coffee and doughnuts and irritated nobody if that's all we were interested in. We fought hard to preserve the coalition so the mass character of the action would not be lost.

Dellinger continues: "The reasons for SDS's aloofness were more complex, but they included growing contempt for all politically deviant and 'bourgeois liberal' groups. This contempt, which eventually led to the isolation of SDS from all Americans, including most radical students, was intensified in the weeks just prior to the Pentagon action by the natural timidity and vacillations of middle-class groups that were preparing to make a historic move forward either into resistance or into close association with it, and by the hypocritical maneuvers of the SWP, as they tried to prevent these groups from taking the plunge."⁴²

(The term "middle class" is inaccurate here. Some of the groups referred to were trade unions and none could possibly have been more middle class in leadership, membership, or political syndrome than SDS itself. What is really meant is "moderate" groups.)

Dellinger's bitterness toward the SWP in these passages was not that obvious at the time of these events, as I recall. We had differences but our relations were still cordial. There may be some reading back into the situation attitudes that developed later when the differences reached the point of split. The differences were present only in embryonic form during preparations for the Pentagon march. To understand them it is necessary to touch on the nature of the political problem Dellinger was wrestling with at the time.

Throughout this period and for some time afterward, Dellinger paid considerable attention to attempts to involve SDS and the countercultural milieu in the antiwar movement. Dellinger placed considerable hope in SDS because its emphasis on "community organizing," decentralized "resistance," spontaneism, and, at first, "participatory democracy," were close to Dellinger's own anarchist approach. Similar trends were present in much of the countercultural milieu.

A complicating factor was that SDS and the so-called street people were not necessarily committed to nonviolence. SDS was beginning to toy with other approaches to direct action, rhetorically for the most part. This was a source of concern to Dellinger. There is little doubt he pondered the experience of Martin Luther King, Jr., who had lost influence over the most radical youth in his own movement and saw them renounce pacifism. All the more reason for Dellinger to bend every effort to show SDS in life that nonviolent resistance could be an effective revolutionary force, and to keep open the lines of approach. The Pentagon march was the best chance yet to do this.

The SWPers with whom Dellinger had worked closely and to good effect in the left wing of the coalition were now in a bloc with the moderate groups and appeared to stand in the way of the rapprochement with SDS. We supported increasing the influence of the moderates in the general publicity and tone of the event because we agreed with them that this was the best approach to turn out the largest numbers. But it was precisely this tone that drove Rubin up the wall and increased SDS's "contempt" for the coalition. SDS was simply not concerned about the mass action. It had already opted for the idea of a dedicated vanguard substituting itself for the majority and sparking the masses to "resistance" by dramatic example.

SDS was bent on "doing its own thing," which Rubin kept inviting people to do, in line with his dream of initiating wholesale disruption. Dellinger tended to dismiss the wilder statements of SDSers, Rubin, and others in those milieux as idle rhetoric. There was truth to this, but the rhetoric itself was hurting the mass character of the march. It was also the height of

40. David Dellinger, *More Power Than We Know* (Garden City, New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1975), pp. 112-13.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

folly, in my view, because it gave the police a ready-made excuse to physically attack the demonstration. To counter this the SWP demanded assurances as to the peaceful, legal character of the mass march and rally. We pressed for this to be made publicly clear.

There were also some of the pacifists—like Brad Lyttle and Peter Kiger—who were uneasy about the “do-your-own-thing” rhetoric. They wanted assurances as to the nonviolent discipline. The SWP joined in these demands. But the area of rapprochement with those bent on “doing their own thing” was narrow.

Dellinger in this period was in the unenviable position of negotiating with Rubin and SDS on the one hand and some of the moderate groups on the other. He was, after all, a pacifist committed to nonviolence across the board. The SWPers were not. To him our stand may have seemed like a hypocritical maneuver against Rubin and SDS. But it wasn't. We simply held to the position that the nonviolent tactic was necessary in order to maintain the mass character of the action under the given circumstances. A free-for-all fight—rhetorical or otherwise—was not part of the agreement.

This had nothing to do with “vacillation and timidity.” It had to do with keeping the movement's statement clear and attracting the masses. One thing the new-guard SDSers had difficulty understanding was that ordinary people stay away from physical fights they can't possibly win, not because they lack courage or conviction, but because they think it's crazy or too costly.

* * *

Dellinger placed great emphasis on personal consultations, negotiations, and understandings with certain leading figures. The SWPers did not. We expressed our views in the large committee meetings and pressed for public statements of tone and policy. In his book Dellinger reveals the impression that the SWP packed these meetings during preparations for the Pentagon march. He says:

“Since the SWP regularly packed meetings with delegates from exciting, new ‘grass roots’ Committees to End the War (the East Twenty-third Street Committee, the West Twenty-eighth Street Committee, the South Philadelphia Committee, the Morningside Housewives Committee), none of whom identified themselves as members of the SWP but all of whom were directed by an SWP floor leader, it was not always easy for a coalition of over 150 national and local organizations to make a decision that ran counter to a decision already made in the SWP caucus.”⁴³

There is obvious poetic license in Dellinger's illustration, since the Committees to End the War that he mentions are fictional and nobody ever claimed to represent them. Fortunately an actual record survives as to the attendance at most of the meetings of the National Mobilization administrative committee, which was the policy-making body of the coalition during this period. Those in attendance were listed in the minutes.

Neither Democrats, Republicans, Communists, Socialist Workers, nor what have you made a point of mentioning their party affiliation in their speeches. It would have been redundant anyway because in general the people who attended these meetings, and their political views, were well known to most of the others present.

In looking over the minutes from the time Rubin was voted project director, I find the following: At the August 26 meeting, 5 SWPers or YSAers attended out of a total of 31; September 16, 9 out of 87; September 24, 7 out of 48; September 30, 8 out of 57; October 7, 7 out of 69.⁴⁴ I have been unable to find minutes for two or three of the meetings, but the pattern would have been similar.

Dellinger may have the impression the meetings were filled with SWPers, but they weren't. When it came to maintaining the mass character of the action, the majority usually agreed with us—or us with them—that's all. We stood out more than some of

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14.

44. Copies of these minutes in author's files.

the others because we were very clear on what we wanted and fought hard for it. Not all the others—including moderates—were bashful about it either. “Timidity and vacillation” were not characteristic of such persons as Cora Weiss, Al Evanoff, and Abner Grunauer—not to mention Bella Abzug.

* * *

A good part of this took place in the context of negotiations between the Mobilization Committee and the government over a permit for the legal part of the demonstration. Harry Van Cleve, the top lawyer for the General Services Administration (which maintains federal real estate), was appointed to negotiate for all government agencies involved. These included the city of Washington police, the National Park Police with jurisdiction over such areas as the Lincoln Memorial, and the military itself at the Pentagon. Van Cleve was urbane, businesslike, and after a while polite, but somehow I got the impression he felt he was dealing with people from another planet.

Once, when we told him we were considering a rally at the Lincoln Memorial, he gave us a lecture on how Americans loved to visit that spot, and such a rally would interfere with that. We replied that we intended to increase the visitation on October 21 by some 100,000 Americans who had as much right to be there as anyone.

Dellinger, Rubin, and Greenblatt attended almost all the negotiating sessions, with others including Dagmar Wilson, Brad Lyttle, and Sue Orrin participating from time to time. The original plan presented in the negotiations was for two assembly points in Washington, near the Washington Monument and Lincoln Memorial, marches across two bridges eventually converging in the Pentagon's south parking lot. After a rally there, Rubin wanted to ring the Pentagon with exorcising hippies, pickets, etc. At some point those wanting to commit civil disobedience would approach the building and try to get in.

The very idea of negotiating over a plan like that had an element of the absurd about it, on both sides. But it was important that at least some understanding with the authorities be arrived at for technical reasons if nothing else. For a mass demonstration in the neighborhood of 100,000, arrangements had to be made for bus parking, temporary sanitary facilities, the stopping of traffic on the march routes, etc. Sound and other equipment worth many thousands of dollars had to be rented and put in place, and the contractors were not about to do business if their equipment would be destroyed or impounded. Neither Rubin nor SDS chose to involve themselves in such mundane details, but as in all things the concrete technicalities impose themselves on the abstract plans. The government knew this, of course, and used it for all it was worth.

At a negotiating session October 6 Van Cleve made the following offer: Permits would be granted for an assembly in West Potomac Park (near the Lincoln Memorial), a single march across the Arlington Memorial Bridge, and a rally at the north parking area of the Pentagon. (This was a huge lot across a highway and down an embankment from the grassy mall in front of the Pentagon's administrative entrance, or north face.) But Van Cleve said the government insisted that unless the National Mobilization Committee renounced all illegal activity—meaning civil disobedience—no permits would be granted and no cooperation could be expected for any phase of the demonstration. A confidential memo from the mobilization negotiators to the administrative committee reported the following ominous note: “His [Van Cleve's] warning: Don't put too high a measure on the Government's unwillingness to fight citizens in its capital.”⁴⁵

The administrative committee met October 7 to consider the situation. By unanimous vote it refused to renounce the civil

45. Report by Sue Orrin on October 6, 1967, meeting with Van Cleve. Signed by Dellinger, Greenblatt, Lyttle, Orrin, Rubin, and Dagmar Wilson. It had been agreed by both sides that notes from the negotiating sessions would not be published at the time, so this memo was for the administrative committee only. (Copy in author's files.)

disobedience and decided to proceed with the action. It also launched a civil liberties campaign against the government's refusal to grant permits for the legal part of the demonstration.

The incident had the effect of rallying the movement on both ends of the spectrum. Even the SDS national office finally became enthusiastic about the demonstration.

At the next meeting the government dropped the threat to refuse permits. It added the following to its previous offer: After the rally at the north parking area, demonstrators would be permitted to cross the highway to the mall and climb the steps at that face of the Pentagon. Beyond the top of the steps was a small parking area immediately in front of the entrance. Anyone going further than the top of the steps, or trying to go around the building to other faces, would be subject to arrest. All the elements necessary for the three-pronged action—march, rally, and civil disobedience—were present. From then on the negotiations were over details.

For its own reasons the Mobilization Committee decided on a rally at the Lincoln Memorial combined with the assembly. In part this was due to pressure from Dr. Spock and Women Strike for Peace, who wanted a rally separated from the confrontation by the river. A contingent of Black militants also insisted on this on the grounds that they were "prepared to defend themselves in their own community but not at the Pentagon or the bridges where they might be stranded by the white participants."⁴⁶ This contingent planned to attend the rally and then go to a Black neighborhood of Washington rather than march to the Pentagon. John Wilson of SNCC, who was a mobilization cochairperson, was working with this contingent. Though he said he personally did not agree with its decision, he thought the rally at the Lincoln Memorial was necessary considering the problems of the coalition.

The second rally at the Pentagon end of the march was bound to be a redundant affair. It was left in the plan to encourage more people to march across the river and to provide some sort of device for reassembling the marchers prior to the move on the Pentagon.

The Mobilization Committee repeatedly asked for the mall itself, instead of the north parking area for this rally. Rubin was adamant on this, and he had a point. The mall provided a dramatic view of the Pentagon, while it could hardly be seen from the north parking area. The government wouldn't budge on this, however, and most of the rest of us didn't think it was worth breaking off negotiations. In these later negotiations, over this and other details, Rubin kept balking. The affair had been considerably reduced from his dream of wholesale disruption. One got the distinct impression he wasn't too interested in a permit and would have preferred that the whole thing were declared illegal. In his eyes that would have been far more dramatic.

Meanwhile the Mobilization Committee negotiators did their best to box in the government on the question of violence. Dagmar Wilson, the soft-spoken Washington housewife who was WSP's most prominent spokeswoman, would spend extended time on this, drawing it out to the last detail: Surely the troops will have no loaded rifles. You don't contemplate using bayonets do you? The whole world will be watching. We want your assurances that those arrested will be treated without brutality. And so on. Looking back, there's a certain humor to this colloquy, but it was dead serious then, and Wilson knew what she was doing.

I was present at the last session of negotiations the day before the march. The permit still hadn't been agreed to and Rubin was still balking. Finally the mobilization negotiators decided to caucus. It was all very delicate because time was very short, we were in Van Cleve's office, and it wasn't convenient to leave and find a private room on the spur of the moment. Van Cleve offered to leave with his assistant. In their absence an extended argument among the mobilization negotiators ensued, with Van Cleve knocking on the door every ten minutes or so to see if we were ready. In the end the majority, including Dellinger, voted

Rubin down. Then we let Van Cleve back in his office to sign the permit.

* * *

The demonstration itself had something for everyone in the coalition. Nobody was entirely satisfied and nobody was entirely disappointed, except perhaps for the few mystics who really thought we were going to levitate the Pentagon, or succeed in shutting it down. The terms of the final permit included a rally at the Lincoln Memorial, a march across Arlington Memorial Bridge and along a small side road to the north parking area for another rally. At 4:00 p.m. those who wished would be legally permitted to cross the highway to the mall and could occupy the steps and the first few feet of the area at the top. Anyone going closer to the building would be subject to arrest and anyone trying to move around the building to another face of the Pentagon would also face arrest.

The rally at the Lincoln Memorial drew over 100,000, by far the largest antiwar crowd up to that time in the capital. It went smoothly except for a brief disruption when some American Nazis rushed the podium while British labor leader Clive Jenkins was speaking. Order was quickly restored.

In his speech Dr. Spock declared: "We do not consider the Vietnamese north or south the enemy. . . . They have only defended their country against the unjust onslaught of the United States. . . . The enemy, we believe in all sincerity, is Lyndon Johnson."⁴⁷

During his speech John Wilson called for a minute of silence—and got it—in memory of Che Guevara, who had been killed in Bolivia earlier that month. Just before the march began at 2:30 p.m., Dellinger spoke. It was a good speech, a before-the-battle speech, and he ended by appealing to the demonstrators to face the troops at the Pentagon without hostility and to carry the antiwar message to them.

Beverly Sterner had organized a group of Washington women to take a collection. We had never had any real success doing this in a large crowd but this time it was different. The collectors stood spaced out across the road as the marchers entered the bridge. They announced the collection over bullhorns and collected the money in buckets as the marchers filed past. They took in \$30,000 and for the first time the Mobilization Committee was almost out of debt.

The march had some difficulty getting started and the first part of it moved with painful slowness across the bridge. This heightened the tension because nobody knew exactly what to expect on the other side. The usual press of photographers was compounded by several hundred curiosity seekers and "exorcising" hippies who insisted on getting in front. The line of prominent people, which stretched, arms linked, across the roadway and was the front of the march proper, was actually preceded by this amorphous group of several hundred. In their midst appeared some ultrarightists who attempted to stop the march on at least two occasions as it crossed the bridge. This caused some delay, but no violence as the disrupters were ushered to the side of the road.

At one point a lone man stood in the center of the roadway with a large wooden cross bearing a slogan about killing communists for Christ. He absolutely refused to budge, and, when we started to move him, some spaced-out hippies in front surrounded him shouting, "Don't touch him, let him alone, let him do his thing." The whole march was halted by one lone nut. I talked it over with Eric Weinberger who agreed that this was reducing nonviolence to absurdity. "If you can get him out of there without hurting him. do it," said Weinberger. So I picked him up, cross and all, and carried him to the side while Weinberger, with a bullhorn, got the march going again.

Just behind the front line proper was a huge banner held aloft on ten poles. It said: "Support Our GIs, Bring Them Home Now!"

46. Minutes of National Mobilization Committee administrative committee, October 7, 1967.

47. *Militant*, October 30, 1967.

A picture of the march crossing the bridge with the banner clearly legible was carried on the cover of the October 27 issue of *Time* magazine. It must have been seen by countless GIs, even in Vietnam.

Peter Buch had been in charge of organizing people to carry that banner, which they set up behind the speakers' stand at the rally. Then Buch left to drive some mobilization lawyers to the Pentagon. "After dropping them off," he recalls, "I parked the car near the Pentagon and started walking back to meet the march which had in the meantime started off. I looked for the banner and soon saw it coming steadily toward the Pentagon. But an almost completely different group of ten were carrying it. The banner had literally organized itself, as it were! It made it all the way to the Pentagon walls, where for a time it was still being held by the students who climbed up, until it fell apart. I later encountered one of the young women who had carried the banner on the march. She was lying on the grass, being treated for tear gas which had [temporarily] blinded her. She lived in Washington, she was not in any radical group, and this had been her first demonstration. She was not a student, but a young working woman, supporting her younger sister who was a student. We were reaching the masses and they were finding their way to us. It was a great day."⁴⁸

On the Virginia side the march turned south on a road that wasn't wide enough to hold it. The few police there fell back and the march spilled off the road and became a swarm toward the north parking area. The second rally proved to be a clumsy affair. Many of the demonstrators didn't bother to stop for it, and soon broke down the temporary fence and rope barricades separating the parking area from the highway and moved directly over to the mall before the appointed time. This left the mobilization figures who were supposed to lead the civil disobedience still at the rally, while part of the crowd had already moved across the mall and up the steps.

Among the first to make this run was a loose coalition of SDS and a number of small radical groups dubbed the Revolutionary Contingent. This group had been meeting in New York beforehand but had split on the eve of the march. Nevertheless they found themselves more or less in the same place after bypassing the second rally and made a charge up the embankment toward the mall. They were repulsed once, tried again and made it as the troops were ordered back.

Just behind the first demonstrators up the steps were a number who taunted the troops facing those in front, and even threw things over the heads of the first rows of demonstrators at the troops. This brought the wrath of the soldiers down on those in front. There were some in the crowd, however, who appealed for a different approach and began talking to the troops, face to face, or here and there, over bullhorns. After the steps had been partly filled, a unit of some thirty troops carrying rifles were sent down to block off the steps from below. They quickly found themselves surrounded, perhaps two thousand demonstrators at their backs on the steps and a huge crowd immediately in front of them on the mall. They stood there in a line, their guns pointed at the demonstrators on the mall. Those in the crowd started talking to them while one youth walked along the line putting flowers in the gun barrels. Photos of this became classics. The unit was soon withdrawn.

After the second rally ended at 4:00 p.m. the crowd on the mall and the steps had reached about 35,000. Those who came from the rally and wanted to commit civil disobedience couldn't even get near the "illegal" area at the top of the steps and had to move around the building to find forbidden territory. Lines of troops stood in the way, and behind them federal marshals armed with clubs and pistols. It was the federal marshals who made the arrests.

Actually it wasn't all that easy to get arrested on this demonstration. One had to get through the troops first. They weren't usually standing so close together that people couldn't run

between them, but the marshals on the other side sometimes wouldn't arrest demonstrators and would instead chase them back with clubs. Dellinger, Lyttle, and Dr. Spock were on one such sweep past the troops. Dellinger and Lyttle got arrested, but the marshals wouldn't touch Spock. He finally had to give up the effort, unarrested.

From the viewpoint of the crowd in the mall, to the left of the steps and perpendicular to them was a ramp ordinarily used by cars going to the administrative entrance. This ramp was forbidden territory, blocked at the bottom by a barricade and a line of troops. Between 4:30 and 5:00 p.m. a group of several hundred young men and women rushed this barricade. The troops fell back and the demonstrators made it into the small parking area at the top of the ramp where they sat down in "illegal" territory. They were quickly sealed off from the rest of the demonstrators by troops who reoccupied the bottom of the ramp. The ranks of this salient were reinforced by other demonstrators who scaled the wall from the mall level to the top of the ramp, a distance of about fifteen feet, using ropes from dismantled barricades. A bank of perhaps two dozen from the salient made a rush for a door to the Pentagon and a few of them actually made it inside for a brief moment. The charge was quickly clubbed back by forces inside the building. This was as close as any of the demonstrators ever got to blocking the halls of the Pentagon.

At the height of the action at the Pentagon itself several thousand demonstrators were on the steps or in the parking area immediately above them, and another 30,000 or so in the mall. Additional thousands were still making the march from the Lincoln Memorial. As darkness fell, most of the crowd left, walking back over the bridge to Washington. The few thousand who remained talked to the troops, burned draft cards with impunity, wrote slogans on the Pentagon wall with spray cans, and built campfires on the mall. It did indeed have the look of a siege about it, with government officials lining the roof of the Pentagon observing the scene.

At midnight the troops were ordered to begin taking back territory. Arrests, occasional clubbings, and the use of tear gas or mace continued for the rest of the night. By six in the morning 750 or so were still there. The crowd grew a bit during Sunday but by Sunday night when the permit for use of the mall expired a few hundred were still left. These were arrested or chased away in one sweep.

I spent Sunday night standing on a main highway near the Pentagon passing out bus fare to demonstrators who had missed their chartered buses and were stranded without funds. Terrell Brumback, a D.C. taxi driver and one of thousands of unsung movement activists, helped arrange a shuttle of cabs to get them to the bus station. The volunteer lawyers were busy getting people out of jail. The Pentagon march was over.

* * *

According to the Mobilization Committee count, 675 demonstrators were arrested and booked, another 200 or so were arrested but not booked, some just being hauled to the city of Washington and released on the street.⁴⁹ Though a number of demonstrators were clubbed by federal marshals or hit with the butts of rifles by some of the soldiers, there were few serious injuries and no one was killed.

The army brought in several thousand troops—in addition to federal marshals and police—to defend the Pentagon. Most of the troops were ordinary soldiers acting as military police for the weekend. Of those who confronted the crowd a few were angry, even brutal. But many were visibly embarrassed by the situation, and some became friendly in the course of contact with the demonstration. Word of this spread among the demonstrators,

49. Report on arrests at the Pentagon October 21-22 and status of those arrested as of November 12, 1967. By the Washington office of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. (Copy in author's files.) Most of those arrested were released within hours. As of November 12, six were still in jail serving 30-35 days.

48. Letter to the author from Peter Buch, January 1, 1976.

and afterward throughout the movement as a whole.⁵⁰

Just what direct effect the Pentagon march had on GIs in general is a matter of conjecture. But there is no doubt that the effect on the movement itself in this regard was considerable. Before the Pentagon action, the idea of reaching GIs was pressed by a minority. After October 21, 1967, the movement as a whole began to embrace the idea with some enthusiasm.

50. Stories circulated within the movement that two or three soldiers had joined the demonstrators on the scene. Such a gesture by a soldier would have risked far greater punishment than the civilian demonstrators faced. No names or court cases are known to verify these stories. My own opinion on this is that there was a tendency among some in the movement to underestimate the sense of proportion—not to mention the sense of self-preservation—of ordinary people.

Rubin was right about an action at the Pentagon attracting the media. The demonstration got far more coverage than any up to that time. Many of the stories were unfriendly but the pictures had more impact than the words. And as the news sifted down to legend, the disadvantage was all on the government's side. Norman Mailer, who was one of the notables who managed to get arrested, even produced something of a work of art out of it—*Armies of the Night*—which won the Pulitzer Prize.

In effect the warmakers had suffered an unprecedented indignity at the hands of Americans. And the government had been forced—by the spreading atmosphere of opposition to the war and the tone set by the Mobilization Committee—to meet it with unloaded rifles.

[Next chapter: *Stop the Draft Week—Oakland and New York*]

DOCUMENTS

Crimean Tatar Women Appeal for Their Rights

[The following appeal, issued by Crimean Tatar women to commemorate International Women's Year, is a product of the continuing fight of the Crimean Tatars to return to their homeland in the Crimea.]

[The Crimean Tatars were deported en masse in May 1944 by Stalin, who branded the entire population as traitors. In response to Crimean Tatar protests, a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in September 1967 officially repudiated Stalin's crude slander against this entire people.]

[But the Crimean Tatars are still not allowed to return to their homeland, and remain in the areas of Central Asia to which Stalin deported them—primarily the Uzbek, Tadzhik, and Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republics and Krasnodar Province.]

[The overwhelming desire of the Tatars to return to their homeland is evidenced by the determined and massive struggle they have sustained over the past decade. The following appeal, one of many similar ones, was signed by 1,067 Crimean Tatar women and was delivered to Soviet Communist party chief Leonid Brezhnev on August 21, 1975.]

[The translation from the Russian is by Marilyn Vogt.]

* * *

Pity the person who has not experienced that ineradicable feeling of love and attachment for the land of his grandfathers and ancestors, for his native culture, language, and customs.

—L.I. Brezhnev

Having been raised by the Communist party and with the ideas of the works of Lenin and his continuators, we are appealing to you, to the great party of Lenin, with our grief and despair, with our concern for the people of the rising

generation and for the present and future of our small Crimean Tatar nation.

On the eve of the Twenty-Fifth Party Congress, on the glorious thirtieth anniversary of the crushing defeat of fascist Germany, during the International Women's Year, that was proclaimed by the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, we hope to receive a positive response from you.

In the unforgettable years of the Great Fatherland War, our people, alongside all the peoples of the USSR, rose up to defend the Motherland. Our women fought in the ranks of the Red Army, in partisan detachments, and in underground organizations. The same fate befell our women as befell all Soviet women who lived under the temporary fascist occupation of their native land.

On October 18, 1921, over the signature of the great leader of the proletariat, V.I. Lenin, our people received their statehood. The "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia" was put into practice as was the appeal of the Council of the Peoples' Commissars "To all Muslim workers of Russia and the East." The women of the Crimea played an active role in building a new life. These were the unforgettable years of working-class upsurge.

On January 3, 1934, the Crimean ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] was one of the first in the Soviet Union to be awarded the Order of Lenin. It is, therefore, fully natural that a people who were the first in history to receive statehood rose up to defend their socialist fatherland against the brown plague of fascism.

The women who had received equality and who had become actively involved in public life, who had joined the ranks of the Komsomol and the Leninist party along

with the men, rose up to fight against the enemy. The families of political workers, of activists, and of partisans were shot to death. The majority of the villages in the mountains and hills, inhabited mainly by Tatars, were burned for having links to and aiding the partisans.

In Simferopol alone, the fascists tortured and shot more than 100 active participants in the underground movement. Among them were the women members of the underground organization of "Uncle Volodya"—Abdulla Dagdzi: Eminye Batyrova, Aishye Karayeva, Asiye Bayadinova, Safiye Amyetova, Khatydzhye Chapchakchi, Fatimey Ramazanova, Safiye Osmanova, Gulzadye Sofu, Aishye Tarkhan, Abibye Asanova, Khatydzhye Saranayeva, Ediye Dagdzi, Zyera Dagkzhi, their mother, and so on. There is a more extensive account of this in the book *Daglar Bashynda* [In the Foothills] written in the Crimean Tatar language by the underground fighter Zalikha Kyermyenchikli-Niyaziyeva.

In the city of Bagchisara, the patriots freed the following persons from death cells: Saliye Tairova, Vyeli Shyefika, Usniye Zaryedinova, and others. An underground group, headed by the resident intelligence agent of the Independent Maritime Army, Komsomol member Alimye Abdyennanova, operated for almost three years maintaining regular radio contact with the mainland, broadcasting vital information to the Command at the Front.

As a result of the treachery of one of the radio operators, the entire group was discovered, tortured, and executed. Alimye was brutally tortured, scalped while still alive. Enduring all this, she perished heroically in the torture chambers of the Simferopolsk Gestapo.

A number of our compatriots took part in

the defense of Sevastopol: Nailye Vyeliyeva, Zyeinyep Ibraimova, Eminye Zyeitullava, Zyeinyep Chakalayeva, Muzyein Khalilova, Shyefika Alibayeva, and others.

These women fought in the quarries of Adzhi-Mushkaya, in the partisan detachments: Shyemsnur Chyelyebiyeva, Afieye Kadyrova, Fatma Syelimova, Mairye Akayeva, Zyera Amyetova, Kurtlykhan Pashayeva, Lyutfiye Ashirova, Myedinye Vyeliyeva, Safiye Cherkyezova, and others.

Our women—such as Lyotchitsa Shyefika Izzyetovna—took an active part in the war in the ranks of the Red Army. Our women—such as Taifye Azanova and Fatma Abyamitova—took an active part in the defense of Leningrad. Our women—such as Fatma Suyunova—took an active part in the defense of Stalingrad.

Our women—such as Lieutenant Zyeinyep Adzhimamyetova, Fatima Chyerkyezova, and Pakizye Ryefatova—took an active part in battles. And others took an active part as doctors, medical attendants, and nurses: Zyeminye Dagdghi, Dzhyevai-rye Ismailova, Zoinyep Chakalayeva, Khatydzhye Dobraya, Suvadye Kyuymdzhye, Gulsum Sufyanova, and many others, according to the incomplete data, more than 250 persons.

Regarding the many families that were totally wiped out during the deportation and the names of many of our dead heroes—these remain unknown to us.

According to the incomplete data, which is corroborated by a survey that was conducted, about 50,000 Crimean Tatars fought in the ranks of the Red Army and the partisan detachments of whom more than 28,000 perished on the fields of battle.

The dark days of fascist occupation passed, the joy of liberation, and the impending victory made everyone feel brighter. But on the night of May 18, 1944, all through the Crimea one could hear the cries of thousands of children and the muffled groans of the old people and of the women who had experienced so much grief.

The victims of charges that were without foundation, all Crimean Tatar children, old people, and women—whose fathers, husbands, and sons and daughters were at that moment shedding their blood to save the Fatherland—were on fifteen minutes' notice deported en masse from their native land.

This was a blatant injustice and one of the greatest tragedies of our people. We grieved endlessly for the husbands who had not returned from the field of battle. We who were children at that time suffered terribly for our fathers, whom we had not seen and did not even know where their graves were.

Imagine the grief of a mother who had lost nine children to the front like Dzhumaniyaye Peria from Gurzuf, Shyest-Asiye Emirova, and of the many others who died during the deportation to Central Asia.

We, the children of that time, had to see

our mothers, brothers, and sisters die. The men were all at the front and we had to perform the burials by ourselves, if we were still in a condition to do so. We have shed many tears; we have experienced immeasurable grief and injustice.

"Muslims of Russia, Tatars of the Volga and Crimea. . . Organize your national life freely and without interference. You are entitled to do so. Know that your rights, and the rights of all the peoples of Russia, are protected by all the power of the Revolution. . . You yourselves must organize your life as you see fit. You are entitled to do so since your fate is in your hands," says the appeal "To all Muslim workers of Russia and the East."

For thirty-one years our people have been living outside of their own national homeland. Our homeland taught us and our children never to become reconciled with injustice or national enmity.

The party has taught us to be internationalists, devoted to the great ideals of Marxism and Leninism. Our children are taught this in school. They ask us: "Why are our people deprived of their national homeland?" "Why don't we get to have the advantages of all the national rights of the peoples of the USSR?"

We, Crimean Tatar women, know that the resolution of this problem depends only on you, members and candidate members

of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, since our fate is in your hands.

We, grey-haired mothers, workers of the fields, plants and factories, girls only coming forth into life, appeal to you and through you to the Communist party of the Soviet Union; to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; and to the Council of Ministers of the USSR with the most earnest request: Return our people to our national homeland—the Crimea.

Perform this great deed in the name of our husbands, fathers, brothers, sisters, sons and daughters who perished in the battles against fascism; in the name of the invalids crippled by the war; in the name of those who returned with medals of their native land on their chests and who to this day are living in the hope of returning to the Crimea; in the name of justice; and in the name of honor and human dignity.

Let us, the Crimean Tatar people, also be, in the eyes of the future generation of Soviet people, distinguished members of a bright communist society. Please help us in this noble cause so that the spark of happiness and joy for a bright life and excellent future may glimmer in our hearts. This supreme request is being sent to you by the women of the Crimean Tatar people, with hope for a positive decision on our national problem. □

Police Persecution of Crimean Tatars

[The following document was one of those made available by Pyotr Grigorenko and Andrei Sakharov at a December 3, 1975, news conference in Moscow. The news conference was called to publicize the case of imprisoned Crimean Tatar fighter Mustafa Dzhemilev, who has been on a hunger strike since June 1975.

[The translation from the Russian is by Hilary Jaeger.]

On November 18 [1975], 150 Crimean Tatars assembled at the building of the Regional Executive Committee (Simferopol) to appeal to Chemodurov, chairman of the Regional Executive Committee, seeking residence permits and job placement. But he received no one.

The militia, arriving at the scene, took away two persons: Mustafa Semanov, who resides in the Soviet Region on the Shadfiy state farm and who was demobilized in 1972 from the ranks of the Soviet army but had not yet been issued civilian registration papers; and Serder, who resides in the Belogorsk Region in the village of Belaya Skala.

The others were sent to the regional administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, where Gaidamak, head of the administration, received four persons. The others refused to meet with him and demanded the release of the two who were being detained. After this demand, these

persons were freed.

On November 22 at 8 p.m., Mamedi Chobanov and Medat Kurtvapov were detained and taken off the Simferopol-Kharkov train. During a search of Chobanov, letters in defense of Mustafa Dzhemilev (with about 700 signatures) addressed to the Central Committee of the CPSU, to the Sakharov Committee for Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, and to the Ministry of Justice of the USSR were confiscated.

On November 24, Chobanov was taken home by KGB agents, to the town of Zhuravki in the Kirov Region; there was a search of his house, but nothing was found and nothing was taken away. The search was conducted by Ilinov, from the regional administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs; two KGB agents from the city of Feodosia; and first lieutenant of the district militia Golovyov. A KGB agent, who called himself Ivan Timofeevich, said: "If you people keep on struggling this way for return to your homeland in the Crimea, the same thing might happen that happened to the Crimean Tatars in 1944."

General Petrov, chief of the Crimean KGB, denied altogether that there are Crimean Tatars in the Soviet Union.

In Simferopol, Adzhimilsk Mustafaeva was sentenced to one and a half years of exile from the Crimea. □

Portuguese PRP—Still Looking for Military Savior

[The following article is from the March 24 issue of *Luta Proletária*, the weekly paper of the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League), Portuguese sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

With the courage of her convictions, Isabel do Carmo did not hesitate to tell *Jornal de Notícias* (in an interview published March 3): “. . . frankly what the LCI does makes little difference for the FUR,¹ for better or for worse. The LCI was never active anywhere.”

Now, everybody has to do the best they can with the line they have. But this statement goes beyond what is acceptable in a debate between revolutionary organizations, because it is not true.

The LCI and the PRP belonged to the FUR. The FUR has already faded. Some time ago, the LCI made a profound self-criticism for having accepted the August 25 accords and for agreeing to participate in the FUR. This formation led the workers it was able to influence to successive illusions and defeats, hoping that the military officers would grant what in fact could only be won by the power of the working class. By dividing the workers, the FUR helped to abort a great opportunity for an advance by the mass movement.

All that was needed to take advantage of this opportunity was to fight in the factories for unity and independence of the workers movement, to bring together and coordinate the workers commissions and

the unions, to begin building, and to involve all the workers in building, the workers' own power. Both the fifth and the sixth provisional governments opposed such a development, as did both the Socialist and Communist parties. The sixth government and both these parties continue to oppose it.

However, Isabel do Carmo criticizes us in the name of a front that is dead and that deserved to die, pretending that it is still alive. This is not without irony.

Then, Isabel do Carmo accuses us of “aberrant rightism,” which is supposed to have been imposed on us by the Fourth International. But then she has the extraordinary gall to say: “We did everything possible to keep the MDP in the FUR, but we had *major tactical differences with some leaders* of that movement.” (Our emphasis.) This staggers the imagination. The LCI is supposed to exhibit aberrant rightism but the PRP only has *tactical differences* with the MDP (and then only with some leaders). The PRP made every effort to keep the MDP (this association of progressive lawyers²) in the FUR. That is beyond belief!

Besides this, the revolutionist Isabel do Carmo has come up with a new goal for the Portuguese proletariat—a government of the poor! The program is the following:

“Insurrection is the only possible road, an insurrection that will establish a revolutionary power to carry out a revolutionary program. Such a power will initiate a new kind of international relations and not subordinate itself to imperialism. It will solve the problems of the small and middle peasants and will not deceive them (the government must buy the peasants' produce, eliminate parasitic intermediaries, and lower the price of fertilizer and tools). This revolutionary power will also apportion the sacrifices equally and not put the burden solely on the perpetually exploited. This power, finally, will be workers power.”

What vacuity the lack of perspectives can lead to. Apportion the sacrifices equally, help the peasants, end subordination to imperialism—this is the program of commonplace petty-bourgeois moralists. It is not a program of “revolutionary workers.”

However, in time of elections, the PRP can reach the pit of incoherence. The PRP refuses to take part in electoral “vote chasing.” Why? *In the first place*, because the PRP does not want to give cover to the tactic of the bourgeoisie, which consists in preparing for the establishment of fascism via the electoral road. This belief, which is widespread among the far left, is totally erroneous. Where do they see any possibility for a fascist party winning these elections? Let these comrades tell us that. There is no such possibility. This could only happen if the workers parties ab-

stained, like the PRP, and the bourgeoisie was able to crush the proletariat.

The first conclusion that must be drawn is that it is not a matter of indifference for the working class who wins a majority, the CDS-PPD² or the SP-CP. The PRP presents a second argument: “The elections can bring about grave reformist illusions in the working class”; “an electoral campaign that necessarily polarizes votes around parties divides the working class.”

Now the PRP does not want to divide the working class. So, it leaves the reformist parties free to spread and foster reformist illusions and to divide the working class between the SP and the CP. But, however small an opportunity they may offer for disseminating revolutionary ideas, the elections must be utilized to organize and reinforce a working-class current around a revolutionary program.

However, the PRP really reaches bottom when it says that the revolutionists must support the candidacy of a revolutionary military officer for the presidency, arguing that “such a candidacy, unlike the campaign of the parties in the legislative elections, is not aimed at dividing the workers,” “since it is part of a revolutionary program that is understood by the exploited.”

This defies belief! In the first place, the PRP deludes itself into believing that its revolutionary military officer is going to be the only candidate for the presidency. The CP and the SP are going to support their own candidate or candidates, and so we will have another unfortunate “division.” In the second place, if the legislative elections are going to be a farce, the presidential elections are going to be a farce to the tenth power. The bourgeois and reformist parties will try to put across some figure purported to stand above the classes, to serve the nation, a bourgeois president with full powers. In the third place, the workers can never leave their program in the hands of a military officer, however revolutionary he might be.

The workers do not need crutches or great saviors. The “revolutionary” military officers, for their part, are of a different breed from the workers. Otelo, or Fabião? Who are these men who ally themselves one day with the fifth government and the next with the sixth, and then try to get a common platform between the Group of the Nine and Copcon³ and so on?

2. Centro Democrático Social (Social Democratic Center), the right-wing bourgeois party. Partido Popular Democrático (Democratic People's party), the liberal bourgeois party.—IP

3. The military group led by Melo Antunes that started the campaign in the Armed Forces Movement to oust General Gonçalves from the premiership. They presented a clearly counterre-

1. Frente de Unidade Revolucionária (Front for Revolutionary Unity). This formation, originally called the People's United Front, was initiated with accords signed August 25 by all the parties supporting the fifth provisional government, as well as by those that gave critical support to General Vasco Gonçalves against the SP because they backed the fifth government's “people's power” project.

The August 27 demonstration in Lisbon was organized on the basis of these accords. However, conflicts arose on the line of march when the PRP (Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado—Revolutionary party of the Proletariat) in particular objected to the demonstration being turned into a simple rally for Gonçalves. A day later, when CP leader Alvaro Cunhal made an overture for negotiations with the SP, the PRP demanded the expulsion of the Stalinist party from the front. The CP did not attempt to remain in. Its satellite, the Portuguese Democratic Movement (MDP—Movimento Democrático Português), however, remained in the front until it collapsed in the wake of the November 25 coup attempt.

After the departure of the CP from the front, the name was changed to the FUR, and a new manifesto was published September 11. For the text, see *Intercontinental Press*, September 22, 1975, p. 1259.—IP

We do not want to repeat the mistakes of the FUR, which in one meeting on September 29, when the workers were fighting the

revolutionary program. The Copcon (Comando Operacional do Continente—Mainland Portugal Operations Command), the special security command headed by Otelo de Carvalho, presented an alternative program that contained a lot of revolutionary-sounding rhetoric and some revolutionary proposals. Carvalho tried to work out a common program between the two; he continues to maintain that the ultraleftist and centrist elements who supported him missed a great opportunity when they refused to accept a joint program with the Nine.—IP

For a CP-SP Government in Portugal

[The following editorial was published in the March 10 issue of *Luta Proletária*, the weekly paper of the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League), Portuguese sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

“You gentlemen who represent the capitalist bourgeoisie needn’t sharpen your fangs, because the reaction is not going to win. Our class consciousness and our organization are the guarantees of that. Contrary to what you think, we workers, regardless of whether we are Socialists or Communists, are and will remain united in defense of the gains we have already won and in struggle for further advances. We do not intend to stop this struggle. Our goal is the end of exploitation of man by man.”

It was Casimiro dos Santos, a worker at the UTIC and a Socialist party deputy in the Constituent Assembly, who said this.

The positions of the Socialist party trade unionists are well known. In any case, this statement by Casimiro dos Santos was a challenge to the bourgeois parties in the assembly; a challenge to the bosses, who are trying to restore their authority in the plants and reinforce the power of their president of the republic and their government; and a challenge to the Social Democratic leadership, which suspended dos Santos when he signed a joint CP-SP-MDP¹ communiqué in his factory.

While such conflicts are sharpening and the parties are preparing for their electoral campaign, the workers are beginning to put a word in by their struggles. This is true of the workers at Conlus and Facar, Sacor, Mondex, Guérin, the agricultural workers and small peasants in Vagos and

military occupation of the radio stations, said, “Death to Fabião, Otelo is a fascist,” and two weeks later ending up supporting the two figures.

Our position on this remains the same. If these men want to join in the struggle of the workers and soldiers, fine. Then we will defend them against the reaction. If they do not want to, that is their business. But we will not turn over the task of defending the revolutionary program to them.

The PRP must explain what choice it proposes to make. □

Pombal, and the workers of the self-managed enterprises.

After the lifting of the suspension of collective bargaining, a new phase of struggle is opening in which the workers are regaining confidence in their strength and reorganizing themselves.

The potential of this counterattack by the workers movement was shown by the success of the metalworkers’ strike, and it is confirmed every day by mobilizations from one end of the country to the other. But once again this counterattack against the bosses, against their CIP² and their government, has not been prepared and coordinated on a national level.

Today the workers are defending their jobs and their standard of living. This struggle must be waged effectively enough to meet the threats and attacks from the bosses. This is why revolutionists have fought for a democratic congress of the unions to discuss a plan of struggle to defend the workers’ gains. This is why we have called for the democratic election of representative workers commissions in the factories to assure workers control and block the attempts of the bosses to reassert their authority.

However, a lag in this process, the slowness in discussing a plan of struggle, in preparing days of action decided on by the workers, is facilitating the bourgeoisie’s electoralist maneuver and blocking the rapid organization of a coordinated counterattack.

While this lag continues, Soares is greeting his guests in the place donated to him by the Marquis of Praia. Cunhal is making sure that the CP stays in the government, doing everything possible to demonstrate his loyalty to the pact³ and

2. Confederação da Indústria Portuguesa—Confederation of Portuguese Industry, the organization of “modernist” employers.—IP

3. The pact between the bourgeois and reformist parties and the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) that defines the program and powers of government.—IP

his commitments to the bourgeoisie. This weekend the lines the workers parties intend to follow in the elections will be defined clearly. In welcoming its European Social Democratic colleagues,⁴ the SP leadership is setting the tone of its campaign: Vote for us and you will make sure that we get the foreign credits that will make it possible for us to govern in collaboration with the bourgeoisie. At the same time, the CP is building a conference of activists for the weekend that will launch its campaign for CP-SP unity.

The unity the CP wants is unity behind the pact, unity behind the deals with the bourgeoisie. This kind of unity does not serve the interests of the workers. Because if the CP wanted to get behind the struggle of the workers in defense of their gains, then it would accept the right of tendencies in the workers movement; it would begin building a congress of the trade unions including all the union and factory organizations, a congress that could elect a genuinely representative leadership to head Intersindical.⁵ If the SP really supported democracy in the workers movement as a means for building resistance to the government’s attacks, then it would not confine itself to words but would begin laying actual foundations for a congress of unions, proposing this in Intersindical meetings and starting up discussion of the various resolutions put forward by the SP and CP leaderships in the plants and unions.

That is what revolutionists are fighting for in this election campaign. For workers unity in the plants, in the workers commissions, and in the unions to carry out a plan for workers struggle.

Against the bourgeois pact, no deals with the bourgeoisie. The workers must not let their hands be tied by a bourgeois president imposed on the country by the will of the army and by a deal among the parties intended to pave the way for applying an austerity plan.

For socialism, for workers power, for a national organization of the organs of workers power to destroy the power of the bourgeoisie that exploits and oppresses us.

These are the central points of our program.

And this is also the challenge that we will make on radio and television and in the press to the reformist parties. This is what the revolutionary candidates will say.

We demand that the CP and the SP assume their responsibilities by forming a government without representatives of the bourgeoisie. We will support a government that breaks with the pact and carries out a plan of workers struggle, a government that is responsible to a congress of the unions and to all the working people. □

4. This refers to the conference of SPs in Oporto on March 13-14.—IP

5. The Stalinist-controlled national union organization.—IP

1. Movimento Democrático Português—Portuguese Democratic Movement, the organization of the petty-bourgeois periphery of the CP.—IP

PRT Position on Portuguese Elections

[The Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party) is running its own slate in the legislative elections that will be held on April 25 in Portugal. It is presenting candidates in Lisbon, Oporto, Setúbal, and Coimbra. At the opening of the campaign, two of the party's candidates presented its electoral program over Rádio Renascença in Lisbon. The following summary of their remarks was published in the April 9 issue of *Combate Socialista*, the PRT's weekly newspaper. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Comrade workers, women, and youth:

The mobilizations and struggles that have developed throughout a two-year-long revolutionary upsurge have brought us important political, social, and economic gains. They have also given us a lesson. The only force that can transform society and build a better world is the mobilization of the oppressed and exploited masses.

Over these two years, the working masses have imposed their own control over spheres and sectors of society that before seemed permanently reserved for the bosses, the bureaucrats, and the experts. This is one of the fundamental aspects of the mobilizations we referred to.

In fact, the workers have been fighting against the union bureaucrats and struggling to build democratic unions. In the elections in the clerks union, the bank workers, nurses, and municipal employees unions, the workers have made their position clear—"We have had enough of maneuvering behind our backs! We are the ones who rule in the unions and not a handful of bureaucrats!"

And the fight for democratic participation by the working masses has not been waged solely in the workers organizations. The workers are not limiting themselves to controlling the life of their unions and their workers commissions; they are also making inroads into the preserves of the bosses, exercising control over the factories and businesses.

On this level also, all the maneuvers that have customarily been carried out behind the backs of the workers have been challenged. With workers control, there are no longer any business secrets nor diversion of capital to secret hiding places. Facing such a situation, some bosses have fled. Others remain. But they all have to accept a new reality—the workers already rule in the factories as well!

But, we ask: Are the workers who have established their power in the factories and imposed their will in the unions going to let the generals continue to rule in the country? Are the workers who drove the capitalists out of the factories and ran the bureaucrats out of the unions going to let

the generals stay in the government? Are the same workers who have already toppled Spínola and Vasco Gonçalves going to leave it at that?

The bourgeois parties and the Council of the Revolution want them to stop there. That is why they imposed the pact. The SP and CP also signed this pact, which commits them to forming a coalition with the capitalists and the generals to present a presidential candidate with strong support, with a big mandate, with enormous power.

But we do not want the workers, Socialists or Communists, to fall into the trap that has been laid by the pact. We want them to continue to fight to impose their

Philosophers Denounce Repression in Iran

[The following declaration, circulated by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran,¹ was signed by eighty-nine philosophers at American universities, including Kai Nielsen (Brooklyn College), Max Black (Cornell University), Noam Chomsky (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), and Herbert Marcuse (University of California at San Diego).]

* * *

The Shah of Iran poses as an enlightened monarch, a lover of freedom and culture. The facts of political life in Iran show, rather, that he is a tyrant. He has ruled since 1941, imprisoning and torturing those whose views he finds unacceptable, all the while presenting a benevolent face to the world outside Iran's borders.

In the last few years, he has sent some of his oil money out of Iran to buy good will. Much money has come to American universities, funding conferences and institutes across the country. The temptation to take this money is, understandably, great, for much of it does good work. The money Baruch College has received, for example, will be put to the worthy use of bringing together different traditions in philosophy for a free and open discussion of common concerns. This project is, superficially at least, scholarly and not political. However, the Shah's motives are neither scholarly nor charitable. His purpose is to obtain a measure of support from American philosophers for a regime which, as we now know, refuses to tolerate free, open discussion.

The Biltmore conference is planned, paid for, and, we expect, will go on as sche-

1. 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

power and their control over all sectors of society.

So, the PRT is running a slate in the elections for the Assembly of the Republic to challenge the SP and the CP to tear up the pact with the generals and fight together for a workers government that will solve the crisis by socialist measures, a government that corresponds to the will and aspirations of the Socialist and Communist workers. The PRT is running especially to challenge the SP, the biggest workers party, to carry out its promise to "govern alone" by really governing alone, without any capitalists as ministers or any general as president.

Comrade workers, women, and youth:

If you want a government that represents the will of the SP and CP comrades, if you want an SP government without capitalists or generals, vote for the PRT. □

duled.² It is not too late, though, to frustrate the Shah's public relations campaign. The American philosophical community has a duty to be useless to him; we must, therefore, make it a matter of public record that we remain unbehind to him, that, indeed, we find his brutal policies deplorable, an offense to human rights. Should we take the Shah's money and fail to repudiate his methods, we will thereby strengthen his repression. We must publicly dissociate ourselves from his policies or else our silence may be interpreted, not unreasonably, as implicit sanction of them.

To that end, we the undersigned do hereby affirm that: (1) we abhor the continuing offense to human rights committed by the Shah of Iran and his secret police; and (2) those of us participating in the Biltmore conference do not intend that our participation be construed as a sanction of the Shah's policies. In addition, we call upon the government of Iran to free Atefeh Gorgin, Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi, Fereydoun Tonokaboni, Nasser Rahmani-Nejad, Saeed Soltanpour, Moshen Yalfani, and Mahmoud Dowlatabadi.

We urge our colleagues in the American philosophical community to join us in this statement of conscience. □

2. The week-long conference began March 28 in New York City.—IP

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On Unification of Mexican Trotskyists

[The following resolution was passed unanimously at the February meeting of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The February 1976 plenum of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International notes that as a result of a sudden eruption of political and organizational differences inside the Liga Socialista, one of the two sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International in Mexico, a *de facto* split has occurred in that organization, a minority not recognizing the legitimacy and decisions of the December 1975 congress of the organization. This split has been accompanied by grave public mutual attacks of an organizational nature that threaten to seriously undermine the growing credit which the Fourth International has won in recent years among larger and larger layers of radicalized youth and workers in Mexico.

At the same time, the IEC reaffirms the desirability of implementing the call of the Tenth World Congress (*reiterated* by the resolution of the February 1975 IEC plenum) in favor of the earliest possible unification of adherents of the Fourth International in Mexico on a principled basis. The existing political differences between members of the Fourth International in Mexico can in no way be considered as making it impossible to work in a single organization functioning on the basis of democratic centralism.

There are no provisions in the statutes of the Fourth International or in the decisions of the Tenth World Congress for the recognition of a third sympathizing organization of the FI in Mexico. In addition the IEC considers it inadvisable to legalize *de facto* splits and refusals by minorities to recognize majority decisions of congresses such as would be implied by recognizing the existence of two public factions of the Liga Socialista in Mexico. However, in order not to create additional obstacles to rapid unification of the forces of the Fourth International in Mexico, the IEC deems that all those who were members of the Liga Socialista at the opening of the Liga Socialista congress remain members of the FI today.

This extremely precarious situation of individual membership in the Fourth International outside of an organization that has been recognized can, however, represent only a short-term exceptional measure intended to help overcome the organizational crisis created by the *de facto* split in the Liga Socialista. Its

purpose is to help bring about a general unification of the forces of the Fourth International in Mexico.

The IEC therefore resolves:

1. To recommend to the GCI and LS leaderships that they open negotiations aimed at a principled reunification of the two groups, including all those who were members of the GCI and the LS at the moment of the latest congresses of both organizations, and the recruits gained since then.

2. In accordance with the provisions set up by the Tenth World Congress, the unified organization will immediately become the Mexican section of the Fourth International.

3. In advance of the unification, a set of mutually agreed on statutes is to be drawn up based upon the statutes of the Fourth International adopted at the Tenth World Congress. Among other things the statutes will include clauses on the duty of minorities to apply majority decisions and to act in public under majority discipline; the right of minorities to form tendencies or factions, to be represented on leadership bodies by representatives of their own choice roughly on the basis of their numerical strength, and to be protected against organizational reprisals or harassment. The statutes will also specify the right of cells and regional bodies to elect their own leaderships, who are committed, of course, to abide by democratic centralism of the national organization.

4. The unified organization will likewise be guided by (a) a principled program, and (b) a common "Theses on the Mexican Revolution," both to be drafted in common, before the unification, by representatives of all those concerned.

5. A preunification congress discussion will be held among all those concerned around one or more draft political resolutions on immediate tactical tasks; that is, determination of the political line of the daily work of the unified organization. Like the common principled program and the common theses, the drafts of the political resolution are to be submitted to the ranks for discussion, and to a vote of the reunification congress. At the leadership level, a serious effort should be made to work out an agreed upon general line for the unified organization, and to avoid any harsh methods of forcing comrades engaged in specific fields of intervention to change these fields against their convictions. A common effort will also be made to start immediate common activity in all fields of work before the reunification, including a common electoral campaign of

all those concerned, in the presidential elections of Mexico. However, given the rather narrow degree of existing political differences, the IEC recommends that even if such an agreement cannot be reached in all cases, this should not prevent unification; decisions will then be taken by majority vote at the unification congress.

6. It is recommended that the unification take place not later than six months after this IEC plenum.

7. The comrades who did not recognize the legitimacy of the Liga Socialista congress pledge:

(a) That they have not placed any charges against Comrade Ricardo and that they consider him to be loyal to the Fourth International. The Steering Committee of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction states that it has no reason to doubt Comrade Ricardo's loyalty to the Fourth International.

(b) They agree not to publish any newspaper with the name of *El Socialista* and not to speak in public in the name of the Liga Socialista.

(c) They agree to return all the material, except personal belongings, which was present in the Liga Socialista headquarters at the time of the December 1975 congress.

8. All members of the Fourth International in Mexico, and all members or supporters of the Fourth International outside of Mexico pledge to abstain from all acts and writings that might hinder or endanger the course toward a principled unification in Mexico.

9. The IEC appoints a commission of three comrades to observe in Mexico how the present resolution is carried out and to report back to the United Secretariat. □

José Zalaquett Expelled From Chile

José Zalaquett, a human-rights attorney, was exiled from Chile April 12. The reason given by the Pinochet junta was that Zalaquett was a "danger to the security of the state."

Zalaquett had served as legal adviser to the church-sponsored Committee for Cooperation and Peace, which played a central role in aiding refugees and political prisoners under the Pinochet regime.

Zalaquett told reporters he believed the immediate reason for his expulsion was a meeting he held in Santiago in March with three members of the U.S. Congress, who were investigating violations of human rights in Chile.

Zalaquett had been arrested by the junta, along with other leading members of the Committee for Cooperation and Peace, in late 1975 when Pinochet forced the committee to disband.

After his release from prison three months later, the lawyer became active with the Vicariate of Solidarity, a new church-sponsored human-rights group.

Protestas Masivas en Pekín

Por Michael Baumann

[A continuación, se encuentra una traducción del artículo "Mass Protest in Peking" que apareció en el número del 19 de abril de *Intercontinental Press*. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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El 5 de abril, en la plaza central de Pekín, decenas de miles de personas llevaron a cabo una manifestación que duró todo el día y que sorprendió al mundo.

Esta acción de protesta acaeció en medio de una lucha creciente en el seno de la burocracia china. Uno de los factores aparenta ser la sucesión de Mao Tsetung, que ahora cuenta con ochenta y dos años y se informa que su estado de salud ha venido decayendo.

La protesta se desencadenó como resultado de que a temprana hora en la mañana fueron retiradas miles de ofrendas colocadas el día anterior en honor a Chou En-lai en el Monumento a los Mártires en la Plaza de Tien An Men.

Numerosos carteles habían sido colocados en la plaza, solicitando que las ofrendas—muchas de las cuales contenían dedicatorias políticas—permanecieran intactas hasta el 6 de abril. El festival de Ching Ming (Día para Recordar a los Muertos) del 4 de abril había servido de ocasión para rendirle tributo públicamente a Chou.

El corresponsal Ross H. Munro del *Globe and Mail* de Toronto fue testigo presencial de las protestas que siguieron cuando las ofrendas fueron retiradas y ha brindado una de las versiones más detalladas que haya presentado un reportero occidental sobre los sucesos acaecidos ese día. Sus apuntes son de interés, ya que difieren en varios aspectos con la versión de la manifestación que fue presentada por la agencia noticiosa china Hsinhua el 7 de abril.

Informó sobre el origen de la manifestación de la manera siguiente:

El personal que retiraba las ofrendas trabajaba detrás de un cordón de cientos de elementos de seguridad. Cerca de las 8 de la mañana del lunes, sin embargo, grandes multitudes de personas comenzaron a reunirse en el cordón. Algunos testigos entonces presenciaron un forcejeo, las gorras del los policías fueron lanzadas al aire y la muchedumbre trataba de avanzar. Poco después, las líneas de la policía fueron traspasadas en varios lugares y miles de personas llegaron a la plaza.

El día 6 de abril un comunicado de Reuters desde Pekín informaba que los

manifestantes habían logrado entrar a la plaza y que estudiantes de secundaria habían colocado nuevas ofrendas en el monumento.

"Aclamados por la multitud," decía Reuters, "alzaron una fotografía del Sr. Chou. Los manifestantes entonces avanzaron hacia la escalinata del Gran Salón del Pueblo, aparentemente con la intención de presentar una petición.

"Fracasaron y entonces se desarrollaron algunas escaramuzas. Un automóvil fue volcado y había jóvenes bailando encima de éste."

Un gran número de personas intentó entrar al Gran Salón, donde sólo unas semanas antes los altos burócratas maoístas habían brindado con el ex Presidente Nixon. Munro describe lo que sucedió:

Cordones de soldados desarmados, policías y oficiales de seguridad vestidos de civil frenéticamente formaban filas una y otra vez dentro y en torno a la Plaza de Tien An Men, en un intento de controlar a la multitud.

Pero había más de 10,000 personas nadamás en la escalinata de la entrada principal del Gran Salón, coreando "Abren la puerta . . . Viva el Presidente Mao . . . Viva Chou En-Lai . . ." Con el reto en sus voces, cantaron la Internacional, el himno comunista internacional.

Y en el monumento a los héroes populares en el centro de la plaza, jóvenes insolentemente colocaban ofrendas en honor del finado Primer Ministro mientras que la multitud aplaudía con aprobación.

El alcalde de Pekín, Wu Teh, hacía repetidos llamados a que los manifestantes se dispersaran. En un mensaje grabado, repetido en los megáfonos, le echaba la culpa de la manifestación a "una pequeña minoría de hombres ambiciosos y perversos," a "malos elementos" que se habían "involucrado en actividades subversivas contrarrevolucionarias."

Este tema, junto con versiones sorprendentemente detalladas de la supuesta "violencia" de los manifestantes, llegaría a constituir un enfoque importante de la versión oficial de la manifestación que sería emitida dos días más tarde.

Las versiones de los reporteros occidentales, mientras que notaban empujones y peleas ocasionales, difieren agudamente con la versión de Pekín al describir el estado de ánimo de la multitud.

Munro, un veterano corresponsal, informó de ciertas similitudes sorprendentes con protestas que había reportado en otro continente:

Había un sentir de vivencia para un observador que había presenciado muchas manifestacio-

nes esencialmente no violentas por los derechos civiles y en contra de la guerra en Norteamérica. El estado de ánimo de la multitud era una combinación de excitación, miedo, curiosidad y reto.

La vasta mayoría de las personas no eran violentas y realmente no supieron qué hacer cuando llegaron a la puertas del Gran Salón en la orilla de la plaza o al monumento que está en el centro de ésta. Coreaban, cantaban, aplaudían y se movían como un oleaje de arriba a abajo de la gran escalinata del Gran Salón.

Otros informes hablan de tres vehículos automotores que fueron quemados y de un edificio, que se dice era el cuartel general de seguridad, que fue saqueado y luego incendiado. Sólo los informes de Hsinhua hablan de incidentes en los cuales "algunos [de los manifestantes] llegaron a aventar cuchillos y dagas a la policía del pueblo."

El problema que los "analistas extranjeros" encuentran con la versión oficial de Hsinhua, dijo Munro el 9 de abril, es que "algunas veces está en desacuerdo con lo que ellos mismos presenciaron." Dio el siguiente ejemplo:

La versión china levanta el cargo de que el homenaje al Sr. Chou fue planeado por "un puñado de enemigos de clase," pero desprecia mencionar el hecho de que muchas de las personas de los cientos de miles que acudieron a la plaza parecían estar entusiasmados acerca de lo que estaba sucediendo.

Frete a este entusiasmo, las autoridades pusieron un abrupto fin al tributo que había sido políticamente motivado, retirando todas las ofrendas y carteles muy temprano por la mañana del lunes [5 de abril], y colocando un cordón de agentes de seguridad en torno a la plaza.

La protesta por el retiro de las ofrendas siguió a varios días de fermento político. Según Reuters, las manifestaciones públicas que brindaban apoyo a Chou comenzaron el 2 de abril, supuestamente como parte del Festival Ching Ming.

El 3 de abril, informó la UPI, miles se juntaron en la plaza, "cargando [un] gran retrato del finado Primer Ministro Chou En-lai y ofrendas florales."

El 4 de abril el fermento continuó. Según Reuters, "grandes multitudes" se juntaron en la plaza, pegando letreros "elogiando al Sr. Chou." H.D.S. Greenway del *Washington Post* informó que "multitudes estimadas en más de 250,000 personas se reunieron en la plaza" ese día, y que "miles de ofrendas, algunas con inscripciones de una naturaleza decididamente política, se amontonaban en torno al monumento."

Según Munro, las inscripciones despertaban el interés entre los participantes en la manifestación del 5 de abril, algunos de los cuales "diligentemente trataban de decifrar los jirones de los carteles que habían sido destruidos."

El día 6 de abril, unos cuantos miles de personas regresaron a la plaza, ocasionalmente pateando o golpeando los automóviles que pasaban. Dado que pocos ciudadanos que no tienen puestos oficiales en China tienen acceso a automóviles, pode-

mos suponer que éstos eran utilizados por burócratas y funcionarios.

También el 6 de abril, miles de milicianos fueron llevados a Pekín, algunos desde puntos lejanos de acuerdo a las placas de los camiones que los transportaron.

El 7 de abril, Teng Hsiao-ping, que había sido presentado anteriormente como el sucesor aparente de Mao, pero que desde la muerte de Chou ha sido vilificado como un obstinado "defensor de la vía capitalista," fue echado por una "decisión unánime" del Buró Político. El Buró Político, llevando a cabo "Una proposición de nuestro gran dirigente, el Presidente Mao," le retiró a Teng todos sus cargos como vicepresidente del PC Chino, primer vicepresidente del PC Chino, primer vicepresidente del PC Chino, primer vicepresidente del PC Chino y comandante en jefe del ejército.

Teng, quien previamente había sido denunciado como "demonio" y como una "monstruosidad" durante la Revolución Cultural, no fue instado a abandonar su membresía en el partido comunista, indicando como razón de esto que "se va a observar su comportamiento en el futuro."

Hua Kuo-feng, ex jefe de la policía política, fue elevado al puesto de primer ministro y al de primer vicepresidente del PC, convirtiéndolo teóricamente en el número dos de la jerarquía, después de Mao.

Ambos anuncios fueron hechos la noche del 7 de abril. Posiblemente estas medidas fueron adoptadas con el fin de endurecer a las filas burocráticas, enfrentadas a un peligro amenazador: un ascenso de las masas.

Durante toda esa noche y al día siguiente, se llevaron a cabo manifestaciones en Pekín aclamando la decisión de echar a Teng. Estas tuvieron un carácter un tanto diferente de aquéllas que se realizaron en la Plaza Tien An Men. Un despacho del 8 de abril al *Globe and Mail* de Toronto informó:

Poco después del anuncio, varios camiones repletos de gente joven que tocaba tambores, címbalos y gongs se movían a través de las calles del centro de Pekín, celebrando el cambio sustancial en la dirección de su país. . . .

Manifestaciones organizadas en apoyo a los cambios políticos fueron creciendo en tamaño conforme la noche avanzaba. Esta madrugada a las tres, había cientos de camiones con manifestantes que tocaban música, que se paseaban de arriba a abajo por el centro de Pekín, y que comenzaron a extenderse por toda la ciudad.

Grupos organizados de manifestantes, algunos portando banderas rojas, parecían haber sido despertados y traídos a las calles para el acontecimiento. Mientras marchaban por el perímetro de Tien An Men, los encargados del orden ocasionalmente los dirigían para corear. Algunos de los manifestantes, frecuentemente somnolientos, fueron traídos desde vecindarios cercanos. Otros eran miembros de la milicia. . . .

El 9 de abril estas manifestaciones prefabricadas, ahora dirigidas por funcionarios de alta investidura, fueron continuadas en Pekín y extendidas a otras partes del país.

"Marchando en columnas de varias



CHOU EN-LAI

millas de largo que ondeaban banderas," informó un despacho en el *Washington Post* del 9 de abril, "los manifestantes tocaban tambores, gongs y címbalos. Pero estos desfiles parecían carecer de espontaneidad, y los peatones que observaban a los participantes no igualaban su entusiasmo."

De hecho, el servicio noticioso japonés Kyodo informó el 8 de abril, los residentes de Pekín "parecían estar atónitos" por los nuevos desarrollos y "aparentemente abrigan un sentido de perplejidad por el rápido ritmo de los cambios."

Podemos decir lo mismo de los "observadores de China," los comentaristas y los especialistas del Departamento de Estado de los EUA.

El *New York Post*, por ejemplo, publicó el siguiente editorial en su edición del 9 de abril:

Sentimos estar incapacitados para poder ofrecer una penetración informada y definitiva dentro del tumulto político chino. Tenemos que confesar esto después de estudiar de cerca la conflictiva falta de información que hay en Washington y en otros puestos diplomáticos receptores de información. . . .

Respetamos el esmero con el cual algunos de nuestros contemporáneos se han lanzado a analizar acontecimientos que obviamente son tan difíciles de comprender para ellos como lo son para nosotros. Cuando estemos convencidos de que tenemos conocimientos valiosos para transmitir, nos apuraremos a imprimirlos.

Mientras tanto, el único juicio seguro que podemos emitir es que la prensa china controlada no está aclarando el cataclismo.

Es cierto que la estricta censura ejercida sobre la prensa en China representa un obstáculo formidable. La práctica del

régimen maoísta de disfrazar sus movidas en una palabrería obscurantista nos presenta con otro obstáculo, así como lo hace su práctica de taparle la boca aun a los críticos más tibios.

Pero parte de la confusión la podemos atribuir a la práctica de la prensa occidental de presentar los acontecimientos en China como si involucraran a dos agrupamientos, a los cuales se les ha puesto los membretes de "radical" y "moderado." Estas etiquetas pueden ser muy engañosas, ya que no corresponden a la realidad en mayor medida que el cargo de que Teng sea un "demonio" o de que la reciente protesta de masas sea resultado del trabajo de un pequeño puñado de "malvados."

A pesar de la falta de información sobre los diversos aspectos, unas cuantas conclusiones pueden ser extraídas acerca de la manifestación del 5 de abril.

Primero, la protesta demuestra que existe una agrupación en oposición a Mao. Su grado de organización o su tamaño no pueden ser determinados, debido a la censura.

Segundo, que mientras que puede ser posible, como los editores del *New York Times*—entre otros—han especulado, que el retiro de las ofrendas haya sido una "provocación" preparada por las fuerzas maoístas, todavía tendríamos que contestar a la pregunta: ¿Cual era el propósito de la provocación? Si estaba dirigida a desacreditar a una agrupación de oposición, debemos concluir que sí existe una oposición y que es suficientemente grande como para preocupar a Mao.

Tercero, que si estaba involucrada una provocación, parece que detonó una reacción mucho más explosiva de lo que se había calculado. Esto puede ser explicado sólo sobre la base de la existencia de problemas ampliamente sentidos por las masas. Como en la Unión Soviética, éstos pueden extenderse desde el nivel de vida y las condiciones de trabajo hasta el odio a la burocracia y fuertes sentimientos por el derecho a expresar puntos de vista políticos disidentes.

Si no está involucrada una provocación, las manifestaciones en torno a la colocación de ofrendas en honor de Chou En-lai son todavía más significativas. Atestiguarían sobre la existencia de una oposición, cualquiera que sea su coloración política, que está suficientemente organizada como para comenzar a apelar directamente a las masas, con buenas oportunidades para recibir una respuesta favorable.

Cualquiera de estas alternativas que pruebe ser la correcta, es claro que la coherencia interna de la casta burocrática que gobierna a China no es tan fuerte como la propaganda maoísta nos quiere hacer creer y que las masas pueden estar más prestas de lo que se espera para entrar en la escena en el momento oportuno e imponer su solución a los agudos problemas que enfrentan en esta etapa de la revolución china. □

En la Víspera de las Elecciones en Portugal

Por Gerry Foley

[El siguiente artículo fue publicado en el número del 19 de abril de *Intercontinental Press* bajo el título "On the Eve of the Portuguese Elections." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Sólo dos semanas antes de las elecciones legislativas 25 de abril en Portugal, el resultado todavía parece incierto. Los sondeos de la opinión pública publicados hasta ahora indican que la mitad del electorado está indeciso. Al mismo tiempo, los derechistas van avanzando mientras que los partidos obreros de masas van en retroceso y capitulan a la presión de los capitalistas.

El repliegue es más evidente en el caso del Partido Socialista, el cual había logrado atraer a las más amplias fuerzas de la radicalización que siguió al derrocamiento de Caetano. Los dirigentes del PS pidieron y obtuvieron la inclusión del PC en el primer gobierno provisional. Aún el pasado verano, cuando estos partidos se odiaban a muerte, los dirigentes del PS continuaron defendiendo la perspectiva de una coalición con el PC, a pesar de las protestas por parte de sus apoyos financieros socialdemócratas del Norte de Europa.

El día de hoy estos mismos dirigentes sostienen que es imposible verse las caras con el PC. En la edición del 1 de abril de *Portugal Socialista*, el órgano del PS, Jaime Gama llegó incluso a escribir lo siguiente: "Cuando los Comunistas erróneamente invocan el nombre del socialismo, debemos recordar que no tienen nada en común con nosotros. Así como el nacional-socialismo, el 'socialismo' de las dictaduras burocráticas es sólo una palabra hueca que nos deja en frío."

Soares en el American Club

La misma edición de *Portugal Socialista* informaba de un discurso por el dirigente del partido, Mário Soares, pronunciado ante el American Club en Lisboa, en el cual se comprometía a no hacer una coalición con el PC después de las elecciones.

La propaganda del PS ha sido centrada en echarle la culpa a la "demagogia" del gobierno de Gonçalves por los problemas que afectan a la economía portuguesa. Lo que se necesita, de acuerdo al PS, es darles garantías a todos aquellos que fueron asustados por esta demagogia: aclararles que no va a haber más nacionalizaciones, que el control obrero no va a interferir con

la administración capitalista y que el papel de la empresa privada va a ser defendido.

Los dirigentes socialdemócratas dicen que su objetivo es formar un gobierno del PS. Sin embargo, prometen que si no pueden obtener votos suficientes para llevar esto a cabo, aceptarán el "veredicto democrático del pueblo portugués" y se retirarán para constituir una oposición.

En la misma edición del primero de abril de *Portugal Socialista*, la cual fijó la línea para la campaña del partido, la dirección del PS desechó la distinción que previamente había hecho entre "socialista" y "socialdemócrata." El primero se supone que debería ser una forma revolucionaria del "socialismo democrático," en contraposición al parlamentarismo y al reformismo de los PSs. y partidos laboristas del Norte de Europa. Los dirigentes del PS ahora se asocian con "revolucionarios" tan conocidos como el Canciller de Alemania Occidental Helmut Schmidt y el primer ministro de Suecia Olof Palme.

Es claro a qué están jugando los dirigentes del PS. Quieren convencer a la clase capitalista portuguesa y de otros países que puede confiar en ellos como cabezas de una recuperación y estabilización de la economía capitalista y de la sociedad burguesa en Portugal. Tomando nota de las amonestaciones de Kissinger, buscan asegurar a los capitalistas de que no va a haber un gobierno basado únicamente en los partidos de los trabajadores, que no va a haber coalición con el PC.

Los dirigentes del PS también responsabilizan al PC por los "excesos en el proceso"; esto es, las concesiones anticapitalistas que se les hicieron a las masas en el ascenso que siguió a la caída de Caetano. Esto, por supuesto, es totalmente deshonesto.

El PC, También, a Favor del Capitalismo

Todavía es difícil hacer una distinción entre el programa del PS y el del PC. "Nosotros, los comunistas, no estamos en contra de la iniciativa privada," dijo Alvaro Cunhal el 2 de abril en la Radiodifusión Portuguesa. "Llegamos incluso a pensar que un gran sector de nuestra economía debe estar reservado para la empresa privada."

Los dirigentes estalinistas demandan que el PS se comprometa a constituir una nueva alianza con el PC después de las elecciones. Su argumento es que ningún partido va a poder ganar una mayoría

absoluta y que la tarea principal es bloquear una revivificación de la reacción.

El PC nunca habla de la unidad de los trabajadores, sino que siempre habla de una coalición de "fuerzas democráticas." Actualmente no llama a la unidad de las luchas de los trabajadores en contra de la ofensiva capitalista. Sobre ésta, adopta la misma posición que el PS, de que toda "agitación" en período preelectoral juega a las manos de la derecha. Más aún, los dirigentes sindicales del PC arguyen que no son necesarios los derechos de las minorías en los sindicatos cuando responden a los sindicalistas combativos del PS quienes hacen llamados por un movimiento sindical unido y democrático.

Los llamados del PC por la unidad no son más que una maniobra electoral y una trama para escindir al PS.

El Partido Comunista se ha aislado. Ha sufrido fuertes pérdidas. Su periferia está desmoralizada y, hasta cierto punto, enajenada por los vaivenes de su política. Una gran caída de la votación a favor del PC es tomada como algo seguro por parte de la prensa portuguesa. En ausencia de prospecto alguno para una coalición PC-PS, muchos de aquéllos que votarían por el partido estalinista van a votar por el PS, debido a que la competencia principal parece estar entre éste y el Partido Popular Democrático, y enfrentando esta dicotomía prefieren al PS.

Además de la propaganda anticomunista directa, en la edición del primero de abril de *Portugal Socialista* la principal línea de argumentación lanzada contra las proposiciones de unidad del PC era en el sentido de que las propuestas estalinistas eran un intento de escindir al partido por medio de contraponer a las bases con la dirección.

Los estalinistas han seguido la táctica conocida como "frente unido desde abajo" hacia el PS y han usado fracciones disidentes no representativas como punta de lanza en sus ataques contra ese partido. Poniendo énfasis en sus llamamientos por "unir a las fuerzas democráticas" hacia las "bases" del PS y no hacia la dirección es una crasa indicación de que los dirigentes del PC no están actuando de buena fe. Este tipo de enfoque facilita a los dirigentes socialdemócratas crear prejuicios contra la lógica demanda de que los partidos de los trabajadores se unan en contra de la ofensiva capitalista.

El fraccionalismo sin principios y las maniobras oportunistas de las direcciones de ambos grandes partidos alimentan el

venenoso crecimiento del sectarismo. Esto se ha hecho claro desde las elecciones del año pasado, cuando estos dos partidos hicieron sus campañas bajo tales consignas como "Miren y vean el poder del PC" y "Así pueden observar la fuerza del PS."

El PC encubrió el rabioso fraccionalismo del Frente Socialista Popular en contra del PS. El PS tendía a mezclar sus banderas con maoístas fanáticos tales como el Partido Comunista Portugués (ML), el cual, todavía después de la abierta capitulación de la dirección de Soares a las presiones capitalistas, denuncia al PS por su "conciliación hacia el socialfascismo"; esto es, el PC y el Kremlin.

A principios de marzo, aun antes de que comenzara la campaña, los partidarios del PC atacaron reuniones del PS en tres poblados del Alentejo. En los primeros días de la campaña, dos personas resultaron heridas en un enfrentamiento entre grupos del PC y grupos maoístas que pegaban carteles, armados hasta los dientes.

Enfrentamientos sectarios de este tipo le abren paso a un incrementado uso del terror por parte de derechistas que tienen el objetivo de atacar los derechos democráticos de las masas y desanimarlas de

participar en la política. El 3 de abril, un candidato de la União Democrática do Povo maoísta y un partidario de su campaña fueron asesinados por derechistas que colocaron una bomba en el automóvil que estaban utilizando. Ha habido una escalada del terrorismo de derecha, pero este fue el primer asesinato político deliberado.

El 30 de marzo, una pandilla derechista atacó la sede de la campaña electoral del Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT), trotskista, en el centro de Lisboa. La policía se rehusó a actuar contra los agresores, quienes fueron más adelante echados por miembros del PRT.

Los derechistas obviamente están probando el terreno para realizar actos similares en otras partes y a mayor escala. Todos los partidos dentro del movimiento obrero, incluyendo al PS, encuentran cada vez más difícil realizar sus campañas donde la derecha es fuerte.

El hecho de que las luchas obreras están concomitantemente en ascenso, a pesar de la capitulación de los grandes partidos de trabajadores, hacen que la situación se torne explosiva. En la conferencia de prensa del PS con la cual abrió su

campaña electoral el 26 de marzo, el experto laboral del partido, Marcelo Curto, dijo que los trabajadores tienden a salirse del control de los dirigentes sindicales.

Mencionó el caso de los trabajadores de la construcción, en donde algunas secciones se fueron a la huelga el primero de abril. Esto era una prueba de la necesidad de tener una "dirección representativa," dijo. Pero no existe razón alguna para pensar de que una dirección "representativa" del PS hubiera sido más capaz de lograr que esos trabajadores aceptaran una traición. Y si Curto está dispuesto a engañarse a sí mismo acerca de esto los capitalistas no lo están.

La necesidad imperiosa es la de superar las divisiones en el seno de la clase trabajadora que son causadas por el oportunismo del PC y del PS. Esto requiere una lucha enérgica en contra del anticomunismo del PS, por una parte, y en contra de control burocrático de los sindicatos, por la otra.

Los trotskistas de la Liga Comunista Internacionalista, que están presentado un total de 350 candidatos en todos los distritos electorales del continente, han puesto el énfasis en estos dos ejes. □

Sentencia de Desmond Trotter es Conmutada

Desmond Trotter obtuvo la conmutación de una sentencia a muerte en la horca. Sin embargo, todavía enfrenta la cadena perpetua por el falso cargo de haber asesinado a un turista blanco.

Trotter, activista político en la isla de Dominica en el Caribe, iba a ser ejecutado para el 8 de abril. Este dirigente negro de 22 años fue arrestado en mayo de 1974 y fue encontrado culpable durante un juicio al que el juez primero de la Caribbean Court of Appeals caracterizó como un proceso con burdas irregularidades.

Patrick John, Primer Ministro de Dominica, anunció un indulto para Trotter el 3 de abril, y el 5 se declaró que la sentencia había sido conmutada. Todo esto fue el resultado de la nueva evidencia presentada por una delegación organizada por el Desmond Trotter Defense Committee y el United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Participaron en la delegación—organizada para pedir la conmutación de la sentencia a muerte de Trotter—Philip Wheaton, un representante del National Council of Churches; el Padre William Davis, S.J., director de la Office of Social Ministry de la U.S. Jesuit Conference; Victor Good, representando a la National Conference of Black Lawyers (Conferencia Nacional de Abogados Negros); y Bernard Wiltshire del Desmond Trotter Defense Committee.

La delegación se detuvo en la isla de Antigua cuando viajaba hacia Dominica, con el objetivo de reunirse con Vere C. Bird, el abogado que trabajaba con el comité de defensa. Por coincidencia, la delegación llegó a la oficina de Bird al mismo tiempo que Camilla Francis, quien fuera la testigo clave contra Trotter durante el juicio.

La coordinadora nacional de USLA, Mirta Vidal, dijo en una entrevista a *Intercontinental Press* que Francis había firmado una declaración bajo juramento, estipulando que había mentido al presentar su testimonio contra Trotter. Francis, quien presentó su declaración ante la delegación, dijo que a cambio de su testimonio contra Trotter, la policía había retirado cargos en contra suya, surgidos de un asunto no relacionado con el caso de Trotter.

La delegación, entonces, redactó su propia declaración estipulando que las afirmaciones de Francis fueron proporcionadas voluntariamente. Ambos documentos fueron presentados al gobierno de Dominica el primero de abril. Después de una reunión especial del gabinete, convocada para discutir la nueva evidencia, el indulto fue anunciado. Días más tarde, la sentencia sería conmutada.

Sobre la base de la nueva evidencia, el Desmond Trotter Defense Committee exige que el caso vuelva a abrirse.

El primer Ministro John fue ayudado en su carrera política por la estratagema legal en contra de Trotter y, hasta ahora, la conmutación de la sentencia a muerte sólo significa que el veredicto del juicio anterior es cambiado por cadena perpetua.

Cuando la delegación norteamericana pidió permiso para visitar a Trotter, quien ha estado incomunicado por casi dos años, el permiso no fue concedido.

Se ha venido acumulando la presión pública en favor de Trotter. En Nueva York se llevó a cabo un mitin de protesta el 4 de abril al que asistieron 140 personas, demandando que se retirara la sentencia a muerte. El 31 de marzo una delegación de diecisiete abogados, doctores, jueces y magistrados de Martinica viajaron a Dominica para presentar una protesta por el caso de Trotter.

El Groupe Révolution Socialiste, la Sección Antillana de la Cuarta Internacional, ha venido publicando el caso de Trotter desde sus inicios. Impulsó una manifestación recientemente, en la cual participaron miles de personas en apoyo a Trotter.

Sólo una presión continua de este tipo puede forzar al gobierno de Dominica a liberar a Desmond Trotter. Telegramas y cartas de protesta deben ser enviadas al Premier Patrick John, Ministerial Building, Roseau, Dominica, Indias Occidentales/West Indies. □

FROM OUR READERS

A subscriber in Sri Lanka wrote us about the usefulness of the article "Release Egypt's Political Prisoners!" published in the March 22 Intercontinental Press.

"One of the immediate results of our being able to receive copies of the Intercontinental Press is that our Committee which met on Sunday 28th decided to organize a campaign of protest at the arrest of the twenty Trotskyists in Egypt referred to in the issue of 22nd March. We have in mind a campaign of letters and collection of signatures to petitions ending in a public protest meeting."

"Please let us commend you and express our congratulations for the Spanish translations that you have done," a reader in Ecuador wrote us. "This has allowed us to get the information and analyses that you publish rapidly and adequately. We cannot rely upon ourselves for experienced translators for this kind of material, a factor that had greatly reduced the possibilities of reproducing and distributing several of the articles in the magazine on a broader scale."

A reader in Paris suggests giving better publicity to Spanish translations:

"Every issue should have at least one short headline, front page, in Spanish. No one knows there's a Spanish section from the cover. Perhaps make the last page in Spanish, with headline and article continued on an inside page."

Our Spanish readers are pressing not only for more (and bigger) headlines on the cover, but also for more (and shorter) articles in Spanish. As for jumping articles, Intercontinental Press has refrained from that from the very first issue. No jumps—easier reading and easier makeup.

"Five comrades have gotten together . . . to take out airmail subscriptions for six months. You should send the bundle of five to my address," a West German reader writes. "I sometimes feel like I should get five subs for myself alone. From the last four months I currently have about three issues in my back file after continuously loaning various copies out to insistent comrades 'until next Monday.'"

Loaning out copies is a good way to acquaint others with Intercontinental Press. Besides spreading information that can be found nowhere else, it often leads to new subscriptions.

Getting a bundle of five copies lowers the unit cost of airmail postage. If you would like to take advantage of this saving, please write us.

In a follow-up letter, our West German correspondent asked:

"There are a couple of others here interested in joining in with us on the joint IP bundle we get from New York. . . . Is it possible for them to join in the middle of the sub period?—like half-way or one-quarter of the way through? And then how would we figure out how much to pay—one-half, or three-quarters of the rate?"

Anybody can get in on the bundle subscription at any time. Just let us know how many more copies to send. Figuring out the one-half or three-quarters is easy with the pocket calculator a friend gave us after watching us count on our fingers.

More complaints from subscribers about the Postal Service. Here's a typical one from Toronto:

"We have been receiving our bundle of IP very erratically. . . . Sometimes it arrives on Mondays, sometimes on Fridays, sometimes even into the next week. I guess there's not much can be done to remedy that—it's just the chaos of the U.S. post office."

Chaos is right. And for an accurate itemization of the chaos check Herblock's cartoon above.

Intercontinental Press gets around. Here are some examples:

Jornal Novo, Portugal, in its March 23 "internacional" column, printed excerpts from an interview with Leonid Plyushch as well as his open letter to the Communist parties of East and West. Both items were taken from the March 22 issue of Intercontinental Press.

Viewpoint, a weekly magazine published in Lahore, Pakistan, regularly uses material from Intercontinental Press, especially drawings by Copain. One of Harold Wilson illustrated an article on Britain in the March 26 issue; one of Agostinho Neto, an Angolan story in the April 2 issue; and in the same issue one of Isabel Perón in an article entitled "The lady was a bungler."

In Bangladesh, *Holiday*, the national Sunday newspaper, is serializing Steve Clark's article "More Secrets of the Central Intelligence Agency" that appeared in Intercontinental Press February 23.

In Australia, the April issue of *Young Socialist*, published by the Socialist Youth Alliance, featured a full page of items taken from Intercontinental Press, under the heading "International Student Action." The selection included student actions in South Africa; Boston, Massachusetts; Palestine, Spain, Iraq, England, and Bolivia.



Herblock/New York Post

Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War by Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas is getting good publicity. The review of this book in the March 8 Intercontinental Press was picked up by the *Sentry*, a Baruch College (New York) student weekly. The *Sentry* reprinted it from the *Vanguard*, a Portland, Oregon, campus newspaper. □

Those Familiar Family Faces on the Kim Il Sung Payroll

When Bulgarian functionary Ludmila Zhivkova visited Kim Il Sung February 17, without exception every report of the event in the North Korean press described her in one breath as "Chairman of the Cultural and Arts Commission and daughter of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic."

Something more than a shortage of censored news copy that day may have been involved.

According to correspondent Robert Whyment in the April 9 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "This could be construed as a reminder that in other communist countries, too, the leader gives top jobs to those he can trust."

To be sure, Whyment said, "President Kim believes that blood is thicker than ideological purity."

For example: "His brother, Kim Yong Joo, is a member of the 13-man Politburo; his wife, Kim Song Ae, is Chairman of the Central Committee of the Women's League; and Kim Byung Ha, husband of his niece, heads the powerful office of National Political Security. Another 13 relatives and in-laws are listed by South Korea as occupying high positions."