

FBI Admits Receiving Goods Stolen From SWP Presidential Candidate

Boston: Struggle Continues Against White Racist Violence

Growing Ferment Over U.S. Control of Panama Canal

Sudden Increase in Police Brutality in Ireland

Eyewitness Accounts of Anti-Palestinian Pogrom

Castro Pins Ford on Acts of Piracy

Llamamiento por el Dr. Miguel Antonio Bernal

Policía Política Confiesa 92 Allanamientos Oficinas SWP

Castro Pins Ford on Acts of Piracy

By David Frankel

Cuban counterrevolutionaries based in Florida machine-gunned two Cuban fishing boats April 6, sinking the *Ferro 123* and the *Ferro 119*. This act of piracy against unarmed fishermen took place in international waters midway between Cuba and Florida. It resulted in the death of one seaman and injuries to three others.

Responsibility for the attack was claimed by the Cuban-exile "Front for the National Liberation of Cuba" and by "Brigade 2506," another right-wing terrorist outfit.

In a protest letter to the U.S. government made public April 10, the Cubans pinned responsibility for the attack on the Ford administration. Noting that the attack was similar to others "perpetrated by counterrevolutionary bands based in the territory of the United States who are bent on seeking revenge against simple Cuban workers," the letter went on to say:

It is notorious that, in the past, this kind of attack was inspired, organized and protected by the CIA and this has been acknowledged by United States Congressional investigating committees and admitted in various books and interviews by former officials and former agents of the CIA.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba cannot but relate these events to the atmosphere created recently by the attacks and threats against Cuba by the highest authorities of the Government of the United States. It is certain that the perpetrators of these attacks have felt encouraged by this atmosphere and they act in the belief that the days when they could rely on the leniency and even the complicity of the United States authorities in their criminal attempts are back.

The Cubans were referring in particular to Ford's attempts to blame the rise of the class struggle in southern Africa on the Cuban troops who took part in the Angolan civil war. On February 28 Ford denounced Cuba as "an international outlaw" because of its role in Angola; and he threatened to take "appropriate measures."

Next Week . . .

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The Pentagon indicated what these might be on March 25, when it announced that it was reviewing plans for possible military action against Cuba. Kissinger has refused to rule out such action. (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 15, p. 386, and April 5, p. 530.)

As the Cuban protest pointed out, the counterrevolutionaries evidently took these threats as a green light for new forays.

Fidel Castro spoke again of the sinking of the Cuban boats on April 19, at a rally commemorating an earlier attack on Cuba masterminded and financed by the White House—the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. Castro noted that the latest attack was "a flagrant violation of the antihijacking agreement" signed by Havana and Washington in 1973.

The Cuban prime minister added that "if such acts do not cease and if their authors are not seriously punished, this will mean the end of this agreement."

The Police Plan to Override French Democracy

Exposure by the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* of a government plan for imposing draconian special powers to deal with "internal subversion" has brought shocked reactions from legal experts and from unionized police themselves.

In a statement following publication of this series of proposals, one organization said:

It was with consternation that the CFDT* union of police learned of the Ministry of the Interior plan published April 7 in *Rouge*.

In a statement in the April 8 *Rouge*, the lawyer Jean-Denis Bredin said:

This document [the Ministry of the Interior plan] claims that the state of siege and state of emergency provisions are not sufficient to maintain law and order, that they "lack flexibility," and that the "practical means" are inadequate. However, no democracy has more provisions than France for dealing with periods of crisis—the state of siege, the state of emergency, and Article 16. One could hardly dream of a more complete and more dangerous array.

In fact, only the ultraright had suspected

* Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail (French Democratic Confederation of Labor).—IP

He also took up the threats against Cuba by the Ford administration, saying, "One knows how and when a war against Cuba can start, but nobody knows when and how it ends."

Castro added that Ford was a "vulgar liar" because of his treatment of the South African role in Angola, and that Kissinger was lying when he said that the Soviet regime was responsible for the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. "The Soviet Union never requested that a single Cuban soldier be sent to Angola," Castro said.

Within hours of Castro's speech, State Department representative John H. Trattner made a conciliatory statement. He insisted that the Ford administration was "adhering to our commitments under the memorandum of understanding on hijacking to inhibit all punishable acts of violence."

Trattner said that the government was taking steps "to deter further such attacks," and an FBI spokesman said that his agency was conducting "an extensive investigation."

What is the explanation for this mild response, compared with the strident threats of only a few weeks ago? Perhaps Ford was influenced by the failure of his bellicose rhetoric to elicit a favorable response from the electorate. Perhaps he thought of the effect that a sudden rash of airplane hijackings in the United States would have on his election campaign. □

the French emergency laws of excessive liberality. One of the main statutes dates from 1849, a period of bloody counterrevolution. The second was adopted in 1878, under the government of General MacMahon. The third was enacted in 1955 with the escalation of the Algerian war.

The Ministry of the Interior document published in *Rouge* noted, however, the following weak points in the repressive legislation already on the books. First, as regards the general principles.

The legislation lacks flexibility. The government can simply declare a state of siege (imminent danger of a foreign war or an armed insurrection) or a state of emergency.

Thus, in principle the government could only assume defined special powers in defined conditions of emergency. It could not just abolish individual guarantees as it found them inconvenient.

Furthermore, "the state of siege does not grant the right to draft labor. Likewise, when not imposed in time of foreign war, it restricts the transfer of jurisdiction." The second limitation would make it difficult for the government to impose an airtight system of drumhead courts.

The Ministry of the Interior noted a

"practical" deficiency in the state of emergency rules: "Attacks on public order do not always take an overt form. The state of emergency rules fail to take into consideration the question of subversion."

In addition, the period for which the government can assume special powers is limited. And, what is worse:

... the principal reproach that must be made against the state of emergency rules is that any extended police powers assumed by the authorities have to be specified in the initial decree. Thus, the right to carry out searches without a warrant and to exercise control over the press is not taken for granted.

In view of the loopholes, the Ministry of the Interior suggested a number of remedies. A "transitional phase" would be added between the state of emergency and the state of siege. "Subversion" would be considered grounds for decreeing special powers. The former time limits would no longer apply. "More extensive powers would be conferred on the authorities.

The provisions of the 1955 law regarding house arrest and banning undesirables from the country would be maintained and extended:

Whereas the former legislation imposed house arrest only on persons "whose activity proves dangerous to public security and order," the new law would apply to all persons "who seek to obstruct the work of the authorities."

Under the first stage of special powers, the state of emergency, the authorities would be permitted to establish "censorship of communication by mail, telephone, and telegraph, as well as censorship of movies." They would have the right to impose "administrative internment" and "to transfer or suspend any state functionary whose activity proved dangerous to the public security." University and high-school teachers, of course, are state functionaries, and could presumably be penalized under this regulation as they have been in West Germany under the "antiradical" laws.

One important new regulation would go into effect under both the state of emergency and the state of siege: "The right to use firearms would be extended to uniformed police and military personnel assigned to police work and maintaining order."

Although massive police brutality has become customary in the event of strikes and demonstrations, especially when they involve young people, the "forces of order" in France have not often resorted to forced involving the killing of persons. Apparently the Ministry of the Interior believes that the time has come to end this coddling of protesters.

Like most capitalist regimes, the French government seems to be preparing for a rise in social conflict by trying to cut back the democratic rights of the masses.

However, the fact that its plans were leaked to the radical press is an indication of how broad the opposition is to such a course. □

In This Issue

Closing News Date: April 26, 1976

U.S.A.	724	FBI Admits Receiving Goods Stolen From SWP Candidate
	725	Boston: Struggle Continues Against White Racist Violence—by David Frankel
PHILIPPINES	726	Political Prisoners Tortured
FRANCE	727	Massive Protests Against University "Reforms"
ARGENTINA	728	Rightist Terror and Inflation Continue Unabated—by Judy White
PORTUGAL	729	Trotskyists Active in Election Campaign —by Bob Kissinger
	730	Interview With a Leader of the LCI
IRELAND	732	Sudden Increase in Police Violence
INDIA	733	Gandhi's Bids to Mao and Bhutto —by Ernest Harsch
MIDDLE EAST	734	Galilee After the Storm—by Marcel Zohar
EUROPE	736	Behind Kissinger's Tough Talk on Keeping CPs Out of West European Governments —by David Frankel
PANAMA	738	Growing Ferment Over U.S. Control of Canal —by Gerardo Solorzano
BRITAIN	742	Irish Prisoners Treated Worse Than Gangland Criminals
GHANA	743	Kofi Awoonor Imprisoned
NEWS ANALYSIS	722	Castro Pins Ford on Acts of Piracy —by David Frankel
	722	The Police Plan to Override French Democracy
CAPITALISM		
FOULS THINGS UP	741	
AROUND THE WORLD	744	
DOCUMENTS	745	
	745	PRT Statement on Suspension of LCI Factory Assemblies Demand End to Ban on LCI
	746	Writers Protest Suspension of LCI's Rights
	746	Women in the Struggle to Liberate East Timor
	747	Behind the "War Fever" Propaganda in Athens
DRAWINGS	743	I. K. Acheampong—by Copain
EN ESPAÑOL:		
E.U.A.	748	Policía Política Confiesa 92 Allanamientos Oficinas SWP—por Larry Seigle
	750	Titulares por Todos los EUA sobre Allanamientos del FBI—por Jim Mack
PANAMA	752	Llamamiento por el Dr. Miguel Antonio Bernal
RESOLUCION DE LA CUARTA INTERNACIONAL	751	Sobre Unificación de los Trotskistas Mexicanos

Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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Published in New York each Monday except last in December and first in January; not published in August.

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

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

Paris Office: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guéménée, 75004, Paris, France.

To Subscribe: For one year send \$24 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail.

For airmail subscriptions in Europe: Write to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL. In Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 151, Glebe 2037. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 1663, Wellington.

Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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

Intercontinental Press is published by the Intercontinental Press Publishing Association.

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FBI Admits Receiving Goods Stolen From SWP Candidate

"Enclosed herewith for the New York Office are two envelopes containing personal papers of HALSTEAD and literature relating to the Socialist Workers Party. This material was obtained from [four lines deleted]."

The December 3, 1968, FBI memorandum that began with these lines was one of the 600 pages of documents recently turned over to Fred Halstead by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Halstead, a longtime leader of the SWP and the party's presidential candidate in 1968, had demanded, under the Freedom of Information Act, copies of all files the FBI had on him.

This particular memorandum gave the government's censored version of how the contents of a briefcase that had been stolen from Halstead turned up in the hands of the FBI one month later. As the four deleted lines show, the FBI is interested in hiding more than the name of the agent involved.

The sensational new disclosure was widely reported in the American news media, including coverage in the April 25 *New York Times*. An Associated Press wire dispatch was circulated to newspapers throughout the country, and CBS network radio reported the story April 24 and 25. NBC national television news broadcast an interview with Halstead April 24.

Halstead was campaigning in San Francisco on October 2 and 3, 1968, when the briefcase was stolen from his car. At the time, Halstead said, he "just assumed that it was a regular burglary."

However, the new FBI documents suggest that what was actually involved was one more "black-bag job" by the American political police. According to the unlikely account given in the uncensored part of the FBI memorandum, the briefcase was "found" by an unidentified person "in the men's restroom" at the United Airlines Terminal in San Francisco on October 28, 1968, almost a month after it was stolen from Halstead. The unidentified "finder" then turned the briefcase over to the FBI.

It may be that the FBI thought it would sound better to say the briefcase was "found" rather than stolen. If so, the agency made a miscalculation. Herbert Jordan, one of the lawyers representing the SWP in its legal fight against government surveillance and harassment,* explained the situation in an April 22 letter to the U.S. attorney's office. Jordan said:

*See *Intercontinental Press*, April 12, p. 580, for account of recent developments in the case.

FBI Poison-Pen Specialists Suggested GIs Give Halstead 'Interesting Experience'



Barry Sheppard/Militant

Halstead (center) discussing war with GIs in Saigon.

During the 1968 presidential campaign, the American political police were disconcerted by the success that SWP candidate Fred Halstead, a central leader in the anti-Vietnam War movement, had in reaching U.S. troops with his campaign's antiwar message.

A July 25, 1968, FBI memorandum noted that Halstead planned to talk to American GIs on a scheduled tour of Vietnam and a number of other countries. It suggested a tactic aimed to "decrease the effectiveness of Halstead's efforts to contact military personnel."

This consisted of circulating a red-baiting article, written by FBI poison-pen specialists and intended for publication in American military newspapers abroad. The FBI "news item" ended with a thinly veiled incitement to attack Halstead.

"It should be an interesting experience for Mr. Halstead when he encounters the men who have served both their own country and others in the interest of freedom," the FBI article said.

Despite the FBI's efforts, Halstead received a friendly reception from GIs in Vietnam.

The brief case was stolen from Mr. Halstead's automobile. The brief case contained Mr. Halstead's personal papers and material relating to the SWP. The FBI knew that these items were the property of Mr. Halstead and, of course, the FBI knew how to reach Mr. Halstead. The FBI made no effort to contact Mr. Halstead concerning its possession of the brief case and its contents, nor did the FBI attempt to return to Mr. Halstead any of the said property. . . . The FBI's conduct in this matter, as I am sure you realize, constitutes the crime of theft. . . . even if the FBI was not involved in removing the brief case from Mr. Halstead's automobile.

According to California law, anyone who finds and keeps lost property without "first making reasonable and just efforts to find the owner and to restore the property to him is guilty of theft."

The further proof of illegal activity by the FBI this new document provides is particularly important for a number of reasons. First of all, the government claims that its burglaries against the SWP were halted in mid-1966. This is clearly a lie, and the new information goes a long

way to proving that.

In addition, the 600 pages of FBI documents obtained by Halstead are proof that the FBI has violated the court order that it turn over to the SWP all documents relating to the party. The 600 documents turned over to Halstead were never given to the SWP's attorneys by the FBI.

Finally, the memorandum on the theft of

Halstead's briefcase also shows that the FBI was in violation of the federal statute that makes it a crime for any federal employee to use his authority "for the purpose of interfering with, or affecting, the nomination or the election of any candidate for the office of President."

Attorneys for the SWP have demanded that the FBI turn over all items illegally

obtained from the SWP or its members, whether they have been stolen, copied, or "found." A written statement from the director of the FBI certifying that this has been done is being sought.

The SWP's attorneys are also asking for a court order forcing the government to turn over all files of whatever type that it has on leaders of the SWP. □

A Confrontation With Nationwide Implications

Boston: Struggle Continues Against White Racist Violence

By David Frankel

At a packed news conference April 21, Maceo Dixon of the Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston, announced the rescheduling of the antiracist demonstration. Ten of the city's key Black leaders were present. They endorsed Dixon's statement.

"The reason why we are delaying this activity rests upon the government of this city, state, and nation," Dixon said. "The reason why this city is hot, tense, and racially polarized rests with Mayor Kevin H. White, City Council President Louise Day Hicks, Governor Michael Dukakis, and President Gerald Ford. They are responsible for the over two-year campaign against school desegregation and for the physical and violent attacks against Blacks and Puerto Ricans."

The segregationist campaign, Dixon said, "is the reason why Blacks can't walk and live safely anywhere in our city." The intensity of racist terror is such, he said, that "it's not possible to hold a peaceful, legal activity at this time."

Dixon described the refusal of the government at all levels to enforce the law and protect the rights of Blacks against the attacks of white vigilante squads. "The Black community is under heavy attack," he said. "We are in a state of siege."

Referring to a statement by a leader of the Boston racists threatening the Black community with vigilante attacks, Dixon said: "We cannot allow this to happen. And we will work with all responsible community residents to take necessary steps in an open and legal manner to exert our democratic right to protect ourselves."

At the same time, Dixon said, there is a need for "continued pressure upon the city, state, and federal governments to provide large deployments of police, state troopers, and federal troops into the racist strongholds when schools reopen.

"These troops should be sent to South Boston, Charlestown, East Boston, Hyde Park, and other racist strongholds to deal with the racist lawbreakers and *not*,

Dixon said, "I repeat, and *not* into our community."

Percy Wilson, director of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center and one of the Black leaders with Dixon at the news conference, stressed the necessity for Blacks in Boston to organize in their own defense. He said, "we have an elementary right to protect our community," adding:

"For two years our community has suffered vicious harassment. We are not attacking white people, but we will ensure the safety of our community."

Dixon told the news conference: "What is needed in Boston today—as it was yesterday and will be tomorrow—is a national march and rally, a mass movement to force the government to arrest all of the racist criminals who are attacking my people and breaking the civil rights laws."

The city of Boston is undergoing a deepening class polarization. On one side are the Black community and the supporters of Black rights, and on the other the racist mobs, encouraged and protected by the local authorities.

Racist violence has been systematically organized. On April 8 the reactionary Charlestown Marshals Association announced that it was mounting dusk-to-dawn patrols to "protect" the all-white neighborhoods. The 350 vigilantes of the South Boston Marshals Association followed suit the next day.

In the meantime, carloads of white thugs were driving through the Black community of Roxbury, smashing car and store windows. The Boston media chose not to report these attacks, and police and city officials remained silent, thus encouraging the racist night riders.

The beating of Black attorney Theodore Landsmark in the city hall courtyard April 5 (see *Intercontinental Press*, April 19, p. 640) was followed the next day by the beating of a Black man in the Boston Common. On April 15 windows in the house of a Black family living in a white

area were shattered by rifle fire. On April 17 two Black bus drivers, and three white drivers who came to their aid, were beaten by a squad of racists.

But all this did not constitute any emergency in the eyes of the Boston city government. Its attitude toward the racist attacks was indicated when organizers of the April 24 march confronted Boston's top police officials with information on death threats they had received. These included signed letters. The cops, however, pretended never to have heard of the well-known racist organizations, such as the South Boston Defense League.

The city government took a very different attitude when the pent-up anger and frustration in the Black community erupted in a series of clashes on April 19. White motorists and a train passing near Roxbury were stoned, and Richard Poleet, a white man, was dragged from his car and beaten by a group of about twenty Black youths. Poleet is in critical condition and may not live.

Seizing on these incidents, the press began a hysterical campaign against "Black violence." The police joined in the creation of a lynch-mob atmosphere by cordoning off sections of the Black community.

Antibusing leaders were quick to escalate their threats. On April 21 Charlestown ROAR¹ leader Thomas Johnston warned Blacks to stay out of the all-white neighborhood, saying that his squads would "protect the community by any means necessary."

The day before, South Boston ROAR leader James Kelly announced that his neighborhood now had a "defensive perimeter," adding that "a Black is not safe in South Boston." Kelly also said that "no one" could stop South Boston residents from going outside the community to attack Blacks.

City officials and cops used the height-

1. "Restore Our Alienated Rights," the main antibusing group in Boston.

ened tensions they themselves had helped to create to put tremendous pressure on Black community leaders not to participate in the April 24 demonstration, and not to defend it from attacks and provocations. Rumors were circulated in the Black community, including the claim that among the whites coming to the march would be South Boston residents who opposed busing.

Floyd Williams, a Black funeral director, spread the rumor that part of the purpose of the April 24 march was to launch a physical attack on Mayor White. In addition, considerable red-baiting was carried out in the Black community by forces opposed to the April 24 march.

As a result of this type of pressure many Black leaders, including state legislators Bob Fortes and Doris Bunte, withdrew their support from the march.

But thousands of people, sickened by the racist violence, wanted to do something to show their opposition to it. Mayor White tried to turn this sentiment to his advantage by calling a "Procession Against Violence" for April 23.

This cynical move was attacked by Dixon at a news conference on the morning of the city hall-sponsored march. Dixon opposed Mayor White's march, which he said would solve nothing. He said:

Mayor White will not cover up two years of morally bankrupt leadership by his march today. At every step of the way he has aided and comforted the antibusing criminals. . . .

Yes, a march is needed today, but a march that says the law, the desegregation order, must be applied fully and firmly. A march that says federal prosecution of antibusing conspirators is needed now. A march that demands federal troops be on hand, fully deployed in South Boston and Charlestown, when the buses carrying our Black youth roll into areas where racist "marshals" have declared open season on Blacks.

The Procession Against Violence drew 20,000 to 25,000 persons. Ninety-five percent of the crowd was white. As for the racists, they understood very well what the real issue was. They denounced the march, saying that the violence would stop only when the busing program was ended.

In an interview in the April 30 issue of the *Militant*, the American revolutionary-socialist weekly, Dixon explained the national significance of the busing fight in Boston:

"In practice, the busing fight symbolizes virtually all the gains of the earlier civil rights movement, which fought around the question of equal access to schools, jobs, and public facilities and against the racist Jim Crow laws, which 'legalized' our oppression in the South."

Dixon pointed out that "the desegregation of schools in Northern and border cities is just beginning."

Boston is just the first battle, he said. "It's where the issue of Black equality

faces its most organized, violent challenge."

The importance of this fight, Dixon explained, is that "what happens in Boston shapes decisions in Milwaukee, Wilmington, Cleveland, Chicago—you name the city and Boston is involved. That's why we have to mobilize, mobilize, and mobilize again to trounce the racists here."

The nationwide importance of the struggle in Boston was indicated again on April 24 when antibusing demonstrators from all over the country gathered in Washington, D.C. Although the racist protest was billed as an appeal to Congress, that body was in recess.

The turnout was small—2,000 to 4,000 according to the *New York Times*, 1,000 according to observers on the spot. But those present were a cross section of the antibusing movement. Boston City Council President Louise Day Hicks marched at the head of a ROAR contingent from South Boston. Similar groups from Detroit and Louisville marched together with Ku Klux Klan members. Confederate flags were prominently displayed, and supporters of the American Nazi party also took part.

Boston is a powder keg on the verge of exploding. Students are scheduled to return to school from the Easter recess April 26, and the racist hysteria that has

been whipped up virtually assures new attacks against Blacks.

The increasing boldness of the racists was indicated in an interview given by Warren Zaniboni, head of the South Boston Marshals Association. Zaniboni, who last December appeared on a platform together with Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke, openly threatened the lives of Black leaders.

In the interview, which appeared in the April 27 issue of the Boston *Phoenix*, he is quoted as saying, ". . . we're looking for (NAACP² President) Tom Atkins and (Black student leader) Maceo Dixon."

Such threats must be met with a massive response from probusing forces, Dixon told the *Militant*. "Our power," he said, "is in our numbers—visible, public, bold—to challenge the racists. We have to debate them in public. Educate against their lies in public. March against them in public. That is how we can win allies and convince them to march with us.

"Because the bigots don't speak for whites, not for the majority of whites. They speak for a small—but aggressive and well-organized—minority. A minority that can be beaten." □

2. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Political Prisoners Tortured in Philippines

Many of the sixteen Philippine political prisoners who staged a hunger strike from January to March had been tortured, according to a report from Manila published in the March issue of the Tokyo *Ampo: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review*. The report, dated March 4, was compiled in part from information obtained by the Task Force on Detainees of the Association of Major Religious Superiors in the Philippines.

All but two of the sixteen hunger strikers had been arrested by the Ferdinand Marcos regime in December 1974. Ten of them were tortured by electric shock, cigarette burns, and beatings.

The sixteen, led by Father Ed de la Torre, launched a hunger strike January 5 at Camp Olivas, Pampanga, demanding better treatment and the right to bail. Despite protests by relatives of the prisoners, as well as by Amnesty International, the Marcos regime refused to grant the hunger strikers' demands. On March 11 four of them collapsed from weakness and the twelve others said that they would discontinue the protest.

Between December 1975 and January 1976, at least 115 persons were known to have been arrested, not including the 194 strikers at Atlantic Gulf & Pacific who were detained briefly. Of the 115, 43 have

since been released.

The report also cited three cases of rape of women political prisoners and the torture of Perla Simonod, who was charged with being a member of the New People's Army (Bagong Hukbong Bayan). Simonod, who was pregnant, had a block of ice placed on her stomach. She suffered a miscarriage as a result.

The report named six political figures who were murdered by the Marcos regime during the past five years:

- Charlie del Rosario, a college professor and general secretary of the Movement for a Democratic Philippines, was kidnapped in 1971 and reported killed by the military.
- Lilia Hilao, a scholarship student at the University of Manila, was raped and murdered in Camp Crame in 1973.
- Santiago Arce, a peasant leader, was killed at an army camp in Abra in 1974.
- Marsam Alvarez, the brother of a leader of the Movement for a Free Philippines, was seized and murdered by the army in Isabela in 1974.
- Ben Gulla, a labor organizer, was murdered by intelligence agents in Quezon City, June 27, 1975.
- Generoso Cibay, a peasant leader, was arrested and killed by constabulary soldiers in Leyte, November 9, 1975. □

Massive Protests in France Against University 'Reforms'

In the biggest wave of student actions since May 1968, demonstrators have shut down most of the French university system, mounting repeated marches through the streets of Paris and other major university centers.

The demonstrations are in protest against cutbacks in the university system, scheduled to take effect at the beginning of the school year in October. In many instances, the actions have been brutally attacked by the police.

On April 23, tens of thousands of students demonstrated in Paris, the largest university center and the national focus of the protests. "Estimates of the size of the day's demonstration ranged from 20,000 to 70,000, according to protest organizers," the *New York Times* reported April 24.

On April 15, an estimated 40,000 to 50,000 students marched in Paris, with an equal number taking part in protests in other university cities throughout the country. "Students are on strike at 40 universities, making it the biggest protest since the widespread worker-student actions of May 1968," correspondent Paul Webster reported in an April 16 dispatch to the *Manchester Guardian*.

According to a report in the April 14 *New York Times*, "a third of France's 850,000 students [are] estimated to be participating" in the protests, "giving rise to fears of a repetition of the student uprisings of May 1968." Weeks of demonstrations and marches throughout the country preceded the two Paris marches.

At issue is a series of government measures aimed at making the university system more "responsive" to the needs of French capital. Under the government's plan, admission to the universities is to become more "selective." At the same time, some courses of study are to be shortened, others eliminated altogether. In addition, French businessmen are to be given a direct say in shaping national educational policy, bringing it more into line with their narrowly perceived interests.

The underlying issue is unemployment, particularly explosive in France, where more than a third of the one million jobless are under twenty-five years of age. Many of them hold diplomas representing years of advanced schooling.

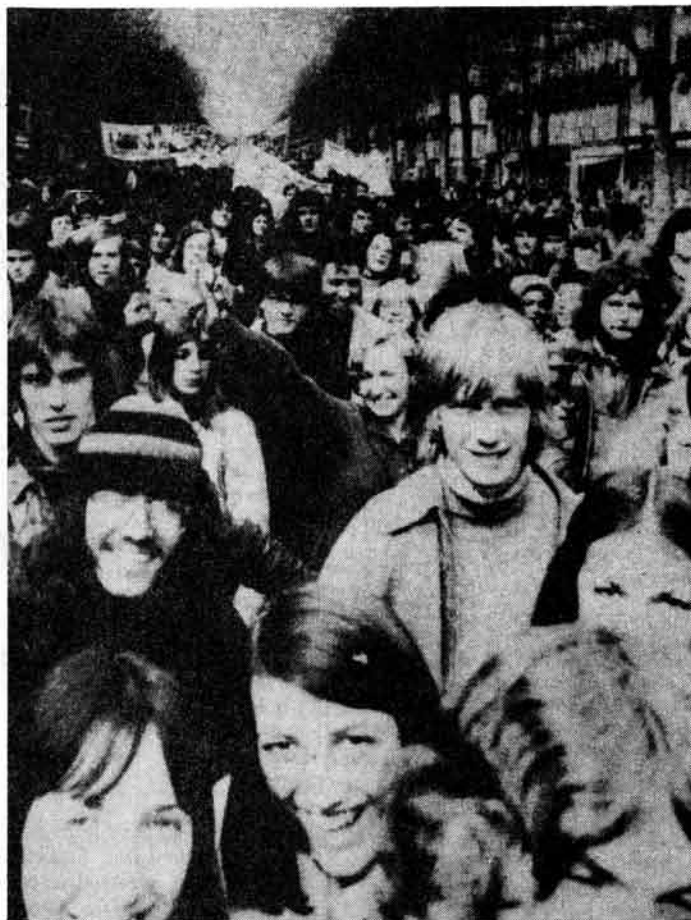
The French student population, which has doubled in the last ten years, is one of the largest in Europe. There are four times as many university students as in Britain, which has roughly the same population, and 250,000 more than in West Germany, which has a population ten million larger. French capitalists claim that neither they nor the state can absorb the present number of graduates, and propose instead to simply shut the university doors to many prospective applicants.

French President Giscard d'Estaing has attempted to counter the outpouring of student protest by a combination of brute force and verbal concessions.

On April 8 student demonstrators gathering at the Paris train station Gare de l'Est were summarily dispersed by police, with anyone "looking like a demonstrator" being detained for an "identity check." Students occupying the rector's office at the Sorbonne were brutally clubbed that same day, and police also attacked demonstrations of 1,200 persons in Rennes and 1,000 in Clermont-Ferrand.

On April 9, 5,000 students and striking teachers marched in Paris, denouncing the previous day's police attacks. Two days later student delegates attending a strike conference in Amiens called a national day of action for Paris April 15 and empowered a committee to seek trade-union support for the protest.

As support for the April 15 action mounted, the government began to take a more conciliatory stance. Alice Saunier-Seïté,



Rouge

Part of demonstration in Paris, April 15.

state secretary for the universities, announced April 13 that the timetable for the reforms would be "reviewed" and that they would "be adopted only following broad consultations." Organizers of the demonstration denounced the statement as a "none too subtle maneuver" designed to divide the student movement.

The government bid "is a very slight retreat," the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported April 14. Its aim is "to divert students from their objective, which is to have the reforms canceled completely." The "true face" of the reforms, the *Rouge* report said, had been shown in Toulouse the day before, when 4,000 students were "brutally attacked" by the police.

The April 15 demonstration was an effective answer to the government. Despite disruption efforts by provocateurs and club-swinging police, student marshals succeeded in continuing the demonstration.

Joseph Krasny, writing in the April 17 *Rouge*, said the action would perhaps be looked back to as "marking a turning point in the struggle" against the reforms. Although attempts to secure the support of the two major trade-union federations have not yet been successful, he said, the most important point was that "masses of high-school students, university students, and teachers turned out in response to the call issued by the Amiens coordinating committee." □

Rightist Terror and Inflation Continue Unabated

By Judy White

One month after General Videla seized power in Argentina, extralegal rightist gangs continue to operate with impunity.

The following cases bear the earmarks of AAA (Alianza Anticomunista Argentina—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance) death squads:

The bodies of four men and one woman were pulled out of Santo Domingo Brook April 21. They had been killed on a nearby bridge and thrown into the stream.

A bullet-riddled body—thought to be that of Félix Marelli, an auto worker at Industrias Mecánicas del Estado—was found in Córdoba the same day. He had been kidnapped from his home April 20.

The April 20 *Washington Post* reported that fourteen mutilated and burned bodies were found near Buenos Aires.

On April 19 Delma Petronila Suárez de Franchelli was found shot to death. The police claimed she was an active member of the Uruguayan guerrilla organization, the Tupamaros.

The April 12 international edition of the Buenos Aires daily *La Nación* reported that in the previous ten days some thirty individuals had been found dead in various parts of the country. Many of the bodies had been destroyed by explosives.

Héctor Natalio Sobal, a thirty-eight-year-old lawyer, has been missing since April 20 when he was kidnapped by several armed civilians as he was leaving his office.

Argentine sociologist Emilio de Ipola and his Chilean wife, Gloria Rojas, have been missing since April 6. The door to their Buenos Aires apartment was found forced open and the premises ransacked.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners reported the arrest and subsequent disappearance April 10 of Chilean MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left) leader Edgardo Enríquez and Regina Marcondes, a Brazilian, in Buenos Aires.

Habeas corpus petitions were filed in Argentine courts in mid-April for the following missing individuals:

- Argentino Quinto Cabral, kidnapped at the Saiair factory in Quilmes where he worked.

- Nora Beatriz Mardikian, Carlos Mardikian, Nelson Valentín Cabello Pérez, Guillermo Vega, and Laura Romero—all members of the same family from Valentín Alsina.

- Tilo Wenner, publisher of *El Actual*, arrested March 26, whereabouts unknown.



VIDELA

The April 18 issue of the weekly review of *Granma* reported that 67 persons had been arrested in Misiones and 115 in Mar del Plata for “economic crimes,” “subversive activities,” or carrying arms.

In a court-martial of leaders of the Unión Obrera Metalúrgica (Metalworkers Union), accused of possession of “arms of war and explosives,” the district attorney is asking sentences of seven years for Mario Amelunge Vargas, Alfredo López, and Augusto Tomás Zambrano, and a one-year sentence for Román Vázquez.

Another military tribunal at the Ushuaia Naval Base in Tierra del Fuego absolved Vicente Mallimaci of charges of arms possession on April 21. However, the tribunal sentenced him to thirty days for “reticence in making statements.”

Granma reported raids on the offices of the hotel and restaurant workers and the oil industry workers. The April 12 issue of *La Nación* reported government take-overs of the Sindicato Argentino de Obreros Navales (Argentine Seamen’s Union), Federación del Personal de Vialidad Nacional (Federation of National Highway Personnel), and Asociación del Personal de la Dirección General Impositiva (Association of Personnel of the General Tax Offices). The April 22 issue of the same daily reported similar action against the

Sindicato de Trabajadores Municipales de Rosario (Union of Municipal Workers of Rosario).

In line with the junta’s plans to cut government payrolls, it was reported April 22 that 242 city workers in Rosario and 23 bank workers in Córdoba have been fired.

Exiles Endangered

The junta’s decree on the expulsion of foreigners places the thousands of exiles living in Argentina in immediate danger. Decree No. 44 authorizes their deportation for a wide variety of reasons, including “activities which affect social peace, national security, or public order.”

The case of exiled Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz Salas makes clear the Videla regime’s intentions on this matter.

The Paris-based Committee for the Defense of Imprisoned Chilean Workers, Soldiers and Sailors reported:

Only 48 hours after the demagogic declarations of the Argentine junta, a military patrol of national police, composed of 30 men in battle gear, raided his [Mario Muñoz’s] house at 3 a.m. (March 25). By mistake they first invaded the house next door, violently breaking down the doors and brutally beating those they found inside. Upon discovering their error they proceeded immediately to the house of Mario Muñoz. They entered, smashed up the interior and dragged out of the house his *compañera*, Olga Meneses Ibaseta, their five children and a couple of relatives who were present, beating them all the while.

All were taken into the street where the troops immediately began interrogating the women and children as to the whereabouts of their father, while the other relative was mercilessly beaten. During the interrogation of the children they were mistreated and savagely beaten, which produced a reaction from all the neighbors who witnessed the terrible scene of weeping and screaming. The troops then tried to snatch the smallest child, a two-month-old baby (born in Argentina) from the arms of its mother, to use it as a hostage. She replied that even if all her children were taken from her, she would not utter a single word that might endanger her *compañero*’s life. Faced with the mother’s courage and firm determination and the anger of all those present, the patrol was forced to retreat; but not without first informing Muñoz’ *compañera* that he was a dangerous extremist in Chile as well as Argentina, and that their orders were to shoot him on sight.

Although to date there are only scattered reports of exiles being deported from Argentina, Amnesty International estimates there are at least 400,000 persons with this status, and all foreign residents have been ordered to identify themselves

by presenting proper documents to the police by May 3.

However, the junta is not waiting for their May 3 deadline. The April 22 issue of *La Nación* reported that four Chilean families—fourteen persons in all—who were living in Posadas were expelled from Argentina because they did not have the proper papers. The families of Héctor Ismael Muñoz Velázquez, Félix Ricardo Muñoz Velázquez, Federico Muñoz Alvarado, and José Enrique Alvarez Gallardo have been offered residence in Canada.

Also expelled from Argentina were British businessman Richard Whitecross and his Argentine wife, Cristina. They arrived in London after being imprisoned and tortured in Argentina for 138 days. Whitecross, who had been in Argentina since 1972 setting up offices for Oxford University Press and other publishers, had sent reports to Amnesty International on political prisoners in Chile and Argentina.

Arrested with Whitecross and his wife were ten Chileans, for whom Amnesty International issued a special appeal April 6.

Buillermina Alicia Gavilán de Pizarro, Roberto Pizarro Hofer, Sergio Muñoz Martínez, Juan José Bustos Ramírez, Gabriel Salinas Alvarez, Ximena Zavala San Martín, Sergio Letelier Sotomayer, Catalina Palma Herrera, Ernesto Bernardo Rejovitzky, and Luis Bravo Moreno face the possibility of being expelled to their country of origin, Amnesty International said. Since they were accused by Argentine authorities of aiding the Chilean resistance, their return to Chile would mean certain torture or death at the hands of the Pinochet junta.

Inflation Continues

On the economic front, prices of many products rose between 30 and 100 percent in the first fifteen days following the lifting of price controls. The April 22 issue of *La Opinión* estimated that the inflation rate for April would be at least as high as it had been for March—38 percent.

In January an hour's wages for the average industrial worker would buy 900 grams of macaroni, 3.1 kilograms of bread, 1.1 kilograms of beef, or 5 liters of milk.

In April the same worker could buy only 700 grams of macaroni, 1.4 kilograms of bread, 300 grams of beef, or 2 liters of milk with an hour's earnings.

The products that have risen most sharply in price are cigarettes, rice, macaroni, and tea.

Milk prices, which are set by the government, increased from 1,800 pesos per liter to 2,600 pesos on March 21. They will rise again on May 1 to at least 3,000 pesos.

In addition, new charges for utilities decreed by the junta mean that for some families the electric bill covering the period up to May 1 will be three times what it was at the beginning of the year. □

LCI Runs Full Slate for Assembly

Portuguese Trotskyists Active in Election Campaign

By Bob Kissinger

OPORTO, April 18—The Portuguese Socialist party held a huge rally last night at the Crystal Palace in this northern city, the second largest in the country. An estimated 40,000 to 50,000 persons turned out for the presentation of the local list of SP candidates and to hear Mário Soares, the national leader of the party.

The rally concluded a day of intensive campaigning, including a tour of many districts, motorcades, and smaller rallies. At an afternoon rally in the town Valongo, which is near Oporto, about 4,000 persons heard Soares.

The media coverage of the election is excellent. All fourteen parties on the ballot, no matter how small, get daily write-ups in the press. Usually a newspaper features two parties a day, presenting their full platforms.

Rallies and meetings are given advance publicity as well as coverage the following day.

All the parties are granted regular television and radio time, with schedules reported in advance so that every organization has an extra chance to build an audience for its presentations.

Literature tables set up in the main squares make it easy to obtain material telling about the candidates and their platforms. Many newsstands sell the press of even the smallest groups, and small shops and street vendors sell the various party pins and buttons.

In Lisbon, Communist and Socialist party posters are predominant. They are on almost every building. And this covering of posters changes constantly, with every new rally. As one walks around the city, young Communists adhering either to Moscow or Peking can be seen on ladders painting huge multicolored symbols and slogans on the walls. Supporters of the bourgeois parties vie with them for space.

As you go north from Lisbon toward Oporto, you see fewer CP posters, and relatively more of the raised-fist symbols of the SP.

There are also more and more posters of the bourgeois parties—the liberal Partido Popular Democrático (PPD—Democratic People's party) and the right-wing Centro Democrático Social (CDS—Social Democratic Center).

As I walked out of the Oporto train station, I was struck by the difference from Lisbon. PPD flags hang from every light post; and CDS posters, hard to find in Lisbon, are everywhere. In fact, the CDS has recently been able to mobilize 20,000 persons for a rally in downtown Oporto.

Two tiny right-wing parties, the Partido Popular Monárquico (PPM—People's Monarchist party) and the Partido Democrático Cristão (PDC—Christian Democratic party), are trying to make gains in the electoral struggle. The PDC was not on the ballot during the Constituent Assembly elections of 1975, having been banned by the Council of the Revolution.

Four Maoist parties are running candidates: the Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado (MRPP—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party), the União Democrática do Povo (UDP—People's Democratic Union), the Partido Comunista Português (marxista-leninista) (PCP [ml]—Portuguese Communist party [Marxist-Leninist]),* and the Aliança Operária Camponesa (AOC—Workers and Peasants Alliance). The AOC is in reality an electoral front of the PCP(ml).

Of these groups, only the UDP, the largest of the Maoist formations, was on the ballot in the 1975 elections under its current name. It elected one person to the Constituent Assembly. The group has been in the news this week for its attempt to stop CDS election rallies in the southern city of Beja. Recently the UDP has made headway in this area among agricultural workers previously influenced by the Communist party.

All of these Maoist groups view the two major workers parties, the SP and CP, as just as dangerous as the ultraright, if not more so.

The MRPP calls itself the "party of national independence," i.e., "independence from both imperialism and 'social imperialism'"—as if the Portuguese state were not imperialist itself.

The PCP(ml) centers its attacks on the CP, saying "'social imperialism' is the greatest danger." In addition, it brands all other Maoist tendencies as "social-fascist."

The UDP calls for an "antifascist, patriotic front"; that is, a patriotic front to defend imperialist Portugal against "Soviet imperialism."

With such a line, the Maoists play into the hands of the counterrevolution.

The Communist party, trying to break its isolation, which was brought on by its antidemocratic and strikebreaking course in the past two years, is featuring as its main slogan, "For a left majority"—

* The PCP(ml) withdrew from the electoral contest on April 23.—IP

meaning an SP-CP majority in the assembly.

But the CP, along with the SP, signed a pact with the Council of the Revolution, guaranteeing the military decisive control over the government. Unlike last year, the CP's petty-bourgeois front, the Movimento Democrático Português (MDP—Portuguese Democratic Movement), is not on the ballot.

The leaders of the Socialist party have stated that they will not form an alliance in the assembly with any other parties. Of course, they are maintaining their alliance with the military.

The main slogans of the SP are "We must reconstruct the country," "A proposal for responsible government," and "Europe is with us."

The latter slogan refers to the meeting of West European Social Democratic leaders held in Oporto the weekend of March 13 in which support for their cohorts in Portugal was expressed by Willy Brandt, Olof Palme, François Mitterrand, and others.

Sectors of the Socialist party stand varying degrees to the left of Soares. At the rally in the Crystal Palace last night, for instance, many participants wore not only insignia of the SP but also badges

with pictures of Che Guevara and Karl Marx.

Of the eight parties running in the elections that claim to stand to the left of the CP and SP, only one showed up to do work among the tens of thousands of workers attending the rally. That was the Trotskyist Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party).

Centrist formations such as the Movimento de Esquerda Socialista (MES—Movement of the Socialist Left) and the Frente Socialista Popular (FSP—People's Socialist Front) have kept their distance from the SP masses, going so far as to say that the party has fascist tendencies.

The attitude toward the PRT is especially friendly among the SP youth. Good relations have developed from joint work in supporting the democratic rights of students in the high schools.

The PRT is running about 150 candidates for the assembly in four districts—Oporto, Lisbon, Setúbal, and Coimbra. The main slogans are: "Break the pact with the military," "For an SP government, without capitalists, and without generals."

In addition, the PRT calls for a "united front of the SP and CP in the assembly

and in the struggle outside the assembly" to fight for the interests of the workers and to defend the conquests of the revolutionary process.

The Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League), Portuguese sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, is presenting a full slate of 296 candidates in all districts except the Azores.

The LCI is even running candidates in places where it has no organization, since candidates do not have to be residents of the districts they run in.

The governmental slogan of the LCI is "For a workers and peasants government." The LCI stresses the need for a united front among the workers organizations and calls for a democratic congress of the trade unions as part of the process, while at the same time warning of the treacherous nature of the leaderships of both the SP and CP.

The LCI is planning a big rally for the night of April 20 at the Sports Palace in Lisbon. Ernest Mandel is scheduled to be the main speaker.

Another election is to be held in June, this time for the presidency. Participants in the current campaign are already beginning preparations for that contest. □

Interview With a Leader of the LCI

The Fight Against Suspension of Our Campaign Rights

[On April 10, the Portuguese government denied access to radio and television for eight days to the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. The ban was, however, lifted on April 15. The following interview, which was given to Joanna Rossi on April 16 by Heitor, a leader of the LCI, describes the protests the LCI built in its defense.]

* * *

Question. Who suspended the radio and television rights of the LCI and why?

Answer. It was the Council of the Revolution. We don't know exactly why, but we think it was because we talked about the reactionary army hierarchy in a radio speech. We said that Jaime Neves [commander of the Amadora Commandos, an elite unit] and Pires Veloso [commander of the Northern Military Region] were representatives of this reactionary hierarchy.

Q. How were you informed about the suspension? What reason did they give?

A. The Council of the Revolution did not inform us directly. The decision was simply announced to the press, and then we were telephoned by the official press agency. This procedure itself was contrary to the official election law adopted by the Council of the Revolution. The law says that if the rights of a party are to be suspended they must be informed first.

We guess that the suspension was based on a Decree-Law of the Council of the Revolution dated April 2, which prohibits parties from "insulting" or "telling lies about" military personnel. The law also says that parties cannot issue calls for insurrection or incite people to disorder or violence.

Q. In one of your election leaflets protesting the suspension, you say that the April 2 law is unconstitutional and in contradiction to the election law.

A. Yes. The election law provides for media time for all parties in proportion to the number of candidates they are running and the number of party branches they have in different areas of the country. Article 53 of the election law stipulates that there can be no restriction on what

parties may say. It says that only after the elections can a statement be judged as slanderous, and that parties cannot be suspended in the course of the electoral campaign.

It is also important to note that the suspension is in contradiction to the new constitution, although the constitution hasn't yet gone into effect.

Q. How did the LCI respond to this attack?

A. We made an appeal to the Council of the Revolution, the Elections Commission, and the Supreme Court. We also called on other parties to protest with us, and to sign a common declaration against the suspension. And we gathered support among individuals on the left, intellectuals, and from some factory assemblies of workers.

Q. What was the response of the parties and people you approached?

A. Two parties took a public position of solidarity—the PRT [Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores—Revolutionary Workers party, a group that has declared its adherence to the Fourth International]

and the FSP [Frente Socialista Popular—People's Socialist Front]. We approached the SP, CP, MES [Movimento de Esquerda Socialista—Movement of the Socialist Left], the UDP [União Democrática do Povo—People's Democratic Union], and the PRP [Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado—Revolutionary party of the Proletariat] as well. The SP and the UDP did not respond. The CP said that election times were not a good occasion for proposing united actions. The MES said they would sign if other parties did. The PRP said they didn't agree with us that the suspension was in contradiction to the election law.

However, some of the regional organizations of some of these parties made solidarity statements. The Setúbal MES and the Oporto organization publicly expressed solidarity. The CP in Almada [a suburb on the south side of the Tejo River] also did so, as well as one of the regional groups of the PRP.

General motions of solidarity were also passed in some workers assemblies, as for example, in the construction trades, in a press organization, and in the Setenave shipyards in Setúbal. The tenants committee in Santa Marinha de Gaia, a town near Oporto, passed a motion. And a number of intellectuals and left personalities signed a statement [printed on page 746 in this issue].

Q. Right in the middle of the suspension period, it was announced that the penalty was being reduced to four days from the original eight. Do you think the reason for this was the defense you mounted?

A. Yes. We got quite a lot of support. We held a protest rally in Oporto in the main square, which drew 500 persons, and we were planning another rally for the following day, April 15, but that was the day the suspension was lifted, so the rally was canceled.

Moreover, the military is still divided, and there are tensions among the various factions. One tendency is inclined toward the "left," while another is headed by Jaime Neves, who is a reactionary.

Q. Have any other parties had their media rights suspended?

A. No, although various parties for various reasons have been called to appear before the Council of the Revolution for "advice" about what they should or should not do.

Q. I know that other parties on the left have made some statements critical of the Council of the Revolution and the military. Why do you think they have not come under attack?

A. I think what upset the council was our propaganda against the military and

for organizing to defend democratic rights in the army. Most—although not all—other parties are running simply electoralist campaigns.

Q. How many candidates is the LCI running?

A. Including alternates,* we have entered 296 candidates.

Q. There has been a great deal of speculation on the outcome of the vote. What kind of a result do you expect?

A. I think the vote will be more or less evenly divided between the bourgeois and workers parties, with the CDS [Centro Democrático Social—Social Democratic Center, the main right-wing bourgeois party] picking up strength. But this equal division will not give the bourgeoisie a large margin for maneuver. They will not be assured of being able to "stabilize" the situation after the election. They will still need the collaboration of the workers parties.

Q. The big workers parties—the CP and SP—showed that they were willing to "stabilize" the situation during the election campaign by the way they turned against the recent strike wave.

A. Yes. But there was a difference of approach between the CP and SP. The CP openly said the nurses' strike was being

*Because of the system of proportional representation in force, the parties run more candidates than there are posts to fill. —IP

led by reactionaries. The SP was not so blatant. One deputy said they should defend the nurses. Another SP leader said you have to be careful when you use the strike weapon.

I don't think the SP will accept a frontal attack on the conquests of the workers movement. The bourgeoisie needs the collaboration of the SP now to stabilize the situation. But at the first moment they can, they will push the SP out. They will take advantage of this collaboration by the workers parties—especially the SP—to get into a stronger position to attack the workers movement. □

The March of Science

When a shower of more than 100 meteorites fell on farmland in northeast China in March, a research team from the Chinese Academy of Sciences was sent to the area to conduct an examination of the rare stones.

In due course it was determined that the meteorites contained silicon, magnesium, iron, sulfur, calcium, nickel, and aluminum.

The success of the research came as no surprise to the Maoist authorities, who reported April 21 in Hsinhua that the scientific survey was conducted in "the excellent situation in which the people of the whole country are intensifying the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary crimes and deepening the struggle against the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts."

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Sudden Increase in Police Brutality in Ireland

Multiplying instances of arbitrary arrest and police brutality in the formally independent part of Ireland indicate that Dublin has given its security forces the green light to terrorize opponents, or suspected opponents, of the neocolonial regime.

"Increasingly over the last two months, the Special Branch [political police] appear to have received carte blanche from the government to do as they like," Anthony Walsh of the Association for Legal Justice told Steve MacDonogh, a leader of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG—Irish section of the Fourth International), in an interview April 11. This association is a group of civil-liberties lawyers centered in Belfast.

"What is particularly sinister," Walsh continued, "is that they [the police] have taken to arresting material witnesses. Obviously this kind of intimidation may make witnesses unwilling to come forward. These developments are going to upset the whole rule of law in this country. . . ."

After the arrest of seventeen members and six friends and relatives of members of the Irish Republican Socialist party (IRSP) in the first week of April,¹ the Association for Legal Justice announced that it would give financial and other support to the defense of the victimized political activists. In a statement issued April 8, the association said:

"We express grave disquiet at the behaviour of the Gardai² in relation to the recent arrests of I.R.S.P. members. We are all the more concerned because the present incident is by no means an isolated one. Such complaints to us have greatly increased in number over the past twelve months and are an increasing cause for concern.

"The savage attacks on these helpless prisoners culminating in the necessity for a High Court Judge to order that one of the victims be removed to hospital and not be subjected to any further interrogation merits comparison with the brutal interrogation methods of the R.U.C. [Royal Ulster Constabulary] and the British Army. It is ironic to note that it was for comparable behaviour that the Irish Government decided to take the British Government

before the Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg.

"This Association has interviewed some of the victims of this recent Garda brutality and has taken statements from them and arranged for the drawing up of affidavits. Doctors have examined the injured parties and the Association will have medical reports in due course. The appalling physical conditions of these people were apparent to those who interviewed them. They had bruises on their faces, ears and eyes, and in one case one of the victims found it painful to walk up a flight of stairs."

Less than a week after the IRSP arrests, another person was arrested who had no connection with the IRSP but claimed to have been treated in a similar way. His statement was published in the April 23 issue of the Provisional republican weekly newspaper *An Phoblacht*. Noel Kershaw of St. Michael's Estate, Inchicore, Dublin, said:

"I was walking in Spa Road, Inchicore, between 3.30 a.m. and 4.00 a.m. on Monday morning, 12th April, 1976. Three lads came running by. I jumped into the garden at the corner to avoid them. A garda came. He jumped into the garden where I was standing and began to clout me. He struck me with his fists on the head, face and stomach. Twice, he aimed a kick at me. He said: You are a cowardly bastard and kept on thumping me and trying to kick me. I told him to stop but he continued. He didn't ask me my name or any other questions.

"A squad car came and some Gardai came out of it—I don't know how many because I was dazed. A woman in the house called out to the Gardai to leave me alone. They dragged me out of the garden, back into Spa Road, out of the woman's view. On the road, I was struck again several times—in the stomach and in the head. I was kicked in the leg. I was struck on the back of the head with something hard—I think it was a baton. I didn't see the Garda who gave me that blow as he had struck me from behind. I lost consciousness.

"When I awoke up there was a Garda fanning my face. I was lying on the road, with my legs spread out; there was a second Garda standing with his foot on my 'privates.' The Gardai pulled me up. I was dazed and I felt sick. I asked for a drink of water. 'Where would I get water,' one of the Gardai replied. 'Do you want me to piss into your mouth?'"

The editors of *An Phoblacht* noted: "When Mr. Kershaw arrived at our offices on . . . April 14, his left eye was still black.

The left side of his face was still discoloured and swollen. There was a bump on the back of his head and he was complaining of headaches. His right knee was swollen as a result of which he walked with a limp."

The police threatened to charge him with assault and resisting arrest, Kershaw said, in addition to charging him with three counts of breaking and entering and stealing £5 from a local pub. He was given bail.

The officers of the student government at University College, Dublin, issued a statement April 14 on the IRSP arrests saying: "We . . . view the serious injuries inflicted on students and members of a registered political party held under the Offences Against the State Act as a matter of grave public concern. In order to ascertain the full facts we call for an impartial public inquiry."

In an editorial April 9, the *Irish Times*, Ireland's most respected daily, expressed concern over this repressive trend:

"There have been disturbing statements and actions from the Government recently that might suggest some hysteria about matters relating to security. The tendency should be watched because basic liberties could, albeit inadvertently, be diminished through lack of vigilance.

"In recent weeks disquiet has been caused by [Minister for Justice] Mr. Cooney's decision to change prison regulations in order to allow defendants in custody to confer only with a solicitor approved by the Minister for Justice."

The *Irish Times* also noted that "a number of members of the IRSP—a registered political party—showed bruises to reporters and made allegations of brutality against the gardai.

". . . The weapon of arrest and questioning is also a serious matter, and if it is being used as suggested as a form of harassment this should also be subjected to examination." □

High-Heeled Shoes for Earthquake Victims

Bob Gersony, an American living in Guatemala who has worked on relief missions since the February 4 earthquake, reports that not all aid sent from abroad has been useful.

According to an April 19 Associated Press dispatch from Guatemala City, "He reported that someone shipped meat-tenderizer to an area where people seldom eat meat; that canned goods unknown to the Indians were dropped from helicopters without can openers; that a shipment of unsorted and out-of-date medicines arrived that 'would have kept a team of a dozen pharmacists busy for a year' before it could be sorted.

"Someone else, he said, sent hundreds of single, unmatched high-heeled shoes."

1. See "Dublin Police Jail 23 in Attempt to Smash IRSP" in *Intercontinental Press*, April 26, p. 689. Requests for further information and copies of protests can be sent to the new IRSP headquarters at 34 Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin 1; or the Association for Legal Justice, 11 South Frederick Street, Dublin 2.

2. The plural of the Gaelic word "garda" (guard) is "gardai."

Gandhi's Bids to Mao and Bhutto

By Ernest Harsch

Stating that the Indian regime favored developing "amicable relations with all countries, notably our neighbors," External Affairs Minister Y.B. Chavan announced April 15 that New Delhi would restore full diplomatic ties with Peking. K.R. Narayan was named the new Indian ambassador to China, the first since diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off shortly before the 1962 border war.

"It is our understanding," Chavan said, "that this initiative for raising the level of our diplomatic representation in Peking will be followed by a similar move by the Government of the People's Republic of China."

Within four days, New Delhi also announced new overtures to the Pakistani regime. It was disclosed that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had sent a letter to Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto April 11 calling for renewed negotiations on the resumption of air, rail, and road links between the two countries. Gandhi also offered to discuss "measures for the restoration of diplomatic relations."

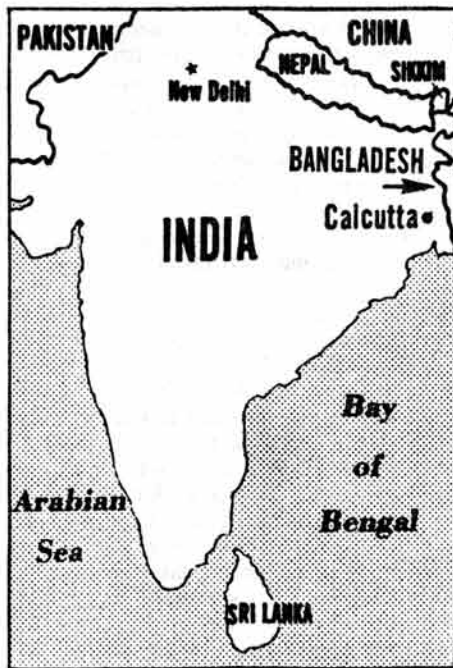
Virtually all ties between Pakistan and India were broken off in December 1971, when the two regimes went to war during the Bangladesh independence struggle. Although Gandhi and Bhutto agreed in 1972 to "normalize" relations, little was actually accomplished except for the signing of postal and border-crossing accords.

New York Times reporter William Borders commented in an April 19 dispatch from New Delhi that "the two moves taken together constituted a startling turn in this country's foreign policy, conciliating its two principal opponents."

The editors of the *New York Times* hailed the Gandhi regime's moves as "a major peace drive." They declared April 21: "Whatever its reason, this turn in Indian foreign policy has to be greeted enthusiastically by all who wish a more peaceful atmosphere in Asia."

The *Times* editors also expressed hope that the diplomatic overtures to Peking might signal a cooling of relations between New Delhi and Moscow, which has given the Gandhi regime significant political and economic backing. An April 19 editorial stated that perhaps "Gandhi feels strong enough now to show more independence of Moscow, and that her hope is to play the Russians and the Chinese off against each other. . . ."

So far, however, there have been no signs of any change in Soviet-Indian relations. In fact, New Delhi signed a new



Washington Post

five-year economic agreement with Moscow April 15, the same day as the announcement of renewed ties with Peking. The agreement provided for a 33.5 percent increase in trade with Moscow.

On April 19, William B. Saxbe, U.S. ambassador to India, noted that there had also been a lessening of anti-American statements by the Gandhi regime in recent weeks.

Saxbe announced that President Ford planned to include \$60 million in economic assistance to New Delhi in his new budget, and that Washington would soon announce the provision of 500,000 tons of wheat and rice to India.

He also lavished praise on the Gandhi regime. While stopping short of explicitly backing the June 1975 coup that abolished nearly all political and trade-union rights and added as many as 100,000 persons to the cells of her political prisons, he said that "you can't deny there have been substantial improvements in India. . . ."

Although Gandhi's diplomatic moves are intended to restore the "apostle of peace" image she formerly cultivated, none of the underlying conflicts that have led to war in the past have been resolved. In particular, as long as India remains under capitalist rule, war with China is a permanent threat.

Since the late 1950s, tensions between

the two regimes have frequently taken the form of border disputes. New Delhi claims both the Aksai Chin plateau region of Ladakh in the western Himalayan mountains, which is now under Chinese control, as well as Arunachal Pradesh (formerly the North-East Frontier Agency) in the eastern Himalayas, which is now occupied by Gandhi's forces. Both areas are inhabited by Sino-Tibetan peoples and were historically part of Tibet.

In 1962 war broke out when the Jawaharlal Nehru regime attempted to seize Ladakh. Peking retaliated, defeating the Indian forces. There have been numerous border clashes since then, the most recent one occurring in October 1975.

War with Pakistan is another constant threat. In addition to the 1971 conflict during the Bangladesh independence struggle, the Indian and Pakistani regimes were involved in two other wars, in 1947 and 1965, over possession of the territory of Kashmir, half of which is now occupied by each side. Both regimes claim the entire territory. According to Borders in the April 11 *New York Times*, the possibility of another war with Pakistan is a central consideration in Indian military plans.

Since the August 1975 coup that overthrew Bangladesh President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, tensions have also risen between New Delhi and Dacca. Troops of the two countries have occasionally clashed. In November 1975, when Indian army units reportedly entered Bangladesh, Gandhi declared that "India cannot remain indifferent and unconcerned" about the unrest in Bangladesh, particularly "when the stability of the region is disturbed."

While talking of peace, Gandhi has in fact continued her preparations for war.

Shortly before her diplomatic overtures, the Defense Ministry said in its annual report to Parliament, "The threat to our security has not diminished. The country will have to maintain constant vigil to protect and safeguard its security, with a greater unity of purpose and discipline."

India's army of 900,000 is now the third largest in the world (after the Soviet Union and China). Its air force is the fifth or sixth largest. Its military industry has reached the stage where New Delhi can now build many of its own planes, ships, arms, and ammunition. In May 1974, the Gandhi regime exploded its first nuclear device, proving its ability to build an atomic bomb.

The stifling of all dissent within the country, it should be noted, makes it easier for Gandhi to embark on military adventures without facing immediate internal opposition.

The potential for new wars in South Asia is in no way diminished by Gandhi's recent diplomatic moves. To the contrary, they are intended to deflect international attention from New Delhi's growing military machine. □

Galilee After the Storm

By Marcel Zohar

[The following article appeared in the April 7 issue of the Israeli weekly *Ha'olam Ha'zeh*, published in Tel Aviv by Uri Avineri. Avineri is a leading figure among Israelis who have tried to develop a "left wing" rationale for Zionist colonialism.]

[The fact that a supporter of the Israeli state such as Avineri has felt compelled to expose the terror campaign with which Israeli officials tried to crush the strike action by Palestinians in Israel March 30 (the "Day of the Land") is an indication of the impact the Arab protest had.]

[The translation from the Hebrew is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The armored personnel carrier came to a halt outside the kindergarten, which was located in a one-story house. Like most of the buildings in the village of Arraba, it was dilapidated, built of old masonry, and had an almost blackened appearance.

Thirty seconds later the vehicle turned with a screech and let loose a long burst of gunfire at the kindergarten. Seventeen bullets smashed into the wall. Another six penetrated the barred windows of the building.

This is a kindergarten for village children aged five and six years, and attendance is compulsory. Fortunately the children were not inside at that hour.

The armored troop carrier turned again and let loose another burst of gunfire. The targets this time were the lamps of neighboring houses.

Several more armored troop carriers came up the pathway leading to the village and stormed into the narrow side streets. The soldiers began chasing anyone coming into the street. A number of teenagers ran back from the village outskirts leaving behind them stone barricades and burning tires. Three bullets hit fifteen-year-old Ismael Na'amni in the stomach and another hit in the leg. The boy fell down in the road. Today he is battling for his life in the hospital.

Khayr Mohammed Yasin did not have any such luck. He was killed in Arraba on March 29, as soldiers spread through the village.

"I telephoned the Saknin police," said Mahmoud Na'amni, head of Arraba's village council. "It was on the eve of March 30. I requested to be put through to Officer Franco, who is chief of police in Acre. I wanted to speak to him and promise that we would restore order on

condition that the army's armored troop carriers withdraw and cease firing on the Arab villages. I had met with Officer Franco the previous day when obtaining the release of my deputy, who is a member of Rakah [the Israeli Communist party].

"We promised Franco that Arraba would remain calm. I called him on the evening of March 30, when both the police and army had already advanced one kilometer into the village.

"The hospital had informed me that we had suffered one death and that many were wounded. I wanted to telephone Franco and tell him that we would immediately restore order in the village so long as the army got out.

"I called three times and identified myself. But the people at Saknin's police station simply cursed and hung up each time. I realized that the situation was likely to worsen. I then went over in person to the Saknin police station to have a word with Officer Franco. I wanted to know how to conduct myself in this situation.

"At the police station I met an army lieutenant colonel who told me, 'Any dog who dares to show his face in the street gets a bullet in the head.' I informed him of my wish to speak with police Officer Franco, and explained that I was head of Arraba's local council. But they just called me and those accompanying me 'dogs.' They humiliated us, and then ordered us to clear off."

At 5:30 a.m. Arraba's council president went out into the street. He heard muffled voices coming over loudspeakers. "They were the soldiers who took me with them on a tour of the village. They were informing people of the curfew. Women and children came out into the streets together with the men, not understanding what had happened. We haven't had a curfew in the village for twenty-eight years and the men didn't understand what was meant by the word. Nonetheless, the army's response was terrifying."

Ahmed Hassan Na'amni, a sixty-two-year-old man from Arraba, has a heavily bandaged head. He claims that he was in his house on March 30 when three soldiers burst into the courtyard and attacked his wife. The soldiers then went back into the street, only to return shortly and beat up the elderly man.

He did not know that during a curfew it is forbidden for him and members of his family to stand in the courtyard. Following the object lesson given by the soldiers his head was covered with blood.

"After the first round on the eve of

March 30, the army unit that had entered the village wanted to withdraw. The soldiers took three youngsters as hostages until they reached Arraba's border. After getting out they released them," the council president continued. He added:

"We want to be citizens of Israel, an inseparable part of the country. But we cannot live without having our own land. We want the government to send in a commission of inquiry. Whoever is responsible for the butchery should be punished. Those who were injured should receive damages from the government. It wasn't Rakah that stood behind the barricades. This was a question of survival. We cannot give up our land. It's our source of livelihood."

The village of Deir Hanna is located several kilometers from Arraba. At the entrance to this village one can still see signs of barricades and the ashes of burnt tires. Why did the army and the police act without cause in Galilee, turning the Day of the Land into a bloodbath?

Many Arabs from the three villages of Arraba, Deir Hanna, and Saknin claim that the government decided to make an example of them for the benefit of Israel's Arab population. By doing so the government wanted the Arabs to understand what is likely to happen to anyone protesting the land expropriations.

The village residents have many questions they want answered, yet not one government minister has offered to do so. "Why didn't the border police fire on Joshua Peretz and the workers at Ashdod when they shut down the gates of the port? Why can Jews go on strike and not Arabs?"

For Abdul Gazzawi, a twenty-five-year-old construction worker and native of Arraba, the answer is clear. The tall, thin young man claimed that the actions of the soldiers and the policeman in his village and in the neighboring villages were intended as acts of oppression. "We are Arabs, not Jews, and that's why we get this."

Gazzawi explains that he was taken to the Saknin police station because he was standing by the window of his house during the curfew. The soldiers had ordered him to close his shutters. The young man explained that he did not have shutters. When he refused to comply with the commands of the soldiers he was immediately arrested.

"At the entrance to the police station," Gazzawi claims, "I was forced to walk through two rows of eight soldiers. Each one beat me and this continued until I reached the station's doorway. Once inside the building, a policeman forced open my legs and kicked me, saying, 'It is better that your blood does not dirty our blood, should you ever get near one of our women.'"

Government ministers claim that the soldiers stormed the Arab villages in order to restore order. Can the actions of the

security forces in the villages be characterized as restoring order?

Raja Khatib, twenty-six, is a teacher by profession and secretary of Deir Hanna's workers council. He told his story while still wearing the shirt bloodied by head wounds suffered when soldiers and policemen set about "restoring order."

"During the morning some women approached me with the request that I help in evacuating those wounded by the soldiers' gunfire. They approached me because I had taken a course in first aid.

"I went out into the street and spotted a private car containing some men who were screaming with pain. Behind the car a stone barricade had been put up. I began to clear the way so that the car could reverse out. At that point the soldiers arrived and began beating me up. They shot up the tires of the car.

"In view of this, I was obliged to transfer the wounded to a second car. When I had finished doing so, a policeman grabbed me and said, 'You're not going back!' I explained to him that I had not done anything wrong, namely that I had not participated either in the demonstration or in the setting up of the barricades.

"The policeman simply replied, 'That doesn't matter. You're going home.'

"A man dressed in civilian clothes was standing beside the car they wanted to get me into. He began beating me up, trying to get at my genitals. I told him that I hadn't thrown any stones, and that I had not done anything apart from transferring the wounded to the car. He, too, replied, 'It doesn't matter!'"

The mood in the villages is still militant. Many residents express their bitterness at the attacks of the soldiers and the police.

"We won't be able to live without our lands," they say. "It's the land that ties us to this place, and to the country as a whole. If we let go of the land the Jews are expropriating, it means that we are giving up the very basis of our existence here."

This is how many Arabs expressed themselves a week after the bloodbath in Lower Galilee. They do not understand what good will come of it, if the state of Israel covers up the truth of what happened.

"Instead of advancing into Lebanon to restore order, as was expected, and as many Israelis threatened to do, the soldiers stormed the Arab villages in Galilee and occupied them. By doing this they thought the tension in the army would be lowered, and that the Israeli Arabs would learn a lesson and not raise their heads in protest."

In other Arab villages youths and older men give warning. "If the Jews really do not want to arouse the Arab population, then the government has to cancel the Arab land expropriation in its entirety. Without doing so, there will be no peace!"

These same people express doubt about the desire of Jews to live peacefully with Israel's Arab citizens. In the village of



Washington Post

Saknin where three Arabs—two men and one woman—were killed by the security forces, the question is asked: How can the government keep silent about the violent acts committed by the soldiers and the police against the village residents in the course of that day's bloodbath? Why has no investigation been started to expose the instigators?

Mahmoud Khalid Darwish, twenty-five, is a carpenter in the village of Saknin. He sits in his house surrounded by members of his family. Every foreign journalist is brought in to hear his story.

People are both concerned and shaken by his story—although many Jews will claim that Mahmoud Darwish is exaggerating, "like every Arab."

This is how the carpenter from Saknin tells his story: "At 8:30 a.m., on the morning of the strike, I was stopped by eight policemen who began beating me up. I yelled: 'This is my land! Why are you taking it from us? Is this democracy? Where is it?'"

Darwish received head wounds in several places in the course of this police treatment. In the station courtyard the policemen renewed the beating until his shirt was covered with blood.

He was then taken to the water trough meant for the police horses; his head was forced under the water and kept there until he virtually lost consciousness. At that point they took his head out of the water, allowed him a few breaths of air, and then pushed it under again. The procedure was repeated several times. According to Darwish, this game was accompanied with talk such as: "So, you want more land?"

Take land! You want democracy? This is for someone who wants democracy!"

Mahmoud Darwish was rescued only when a police officer appeared on the scene and ruled that the amusement had to stop because of the head wounds he had received. Darwish was transferred to a hospital in Tiberias, where his wounds were stitched up.

Another equally serious account is that of Suliaman Hussein Shalatah, twenty-one, a construction worker from Saknin. He displayed his bandaged right hand and claimed that while he was under arrest the police had used it as an ashtray.

"The officer told them not to mess up the place and not to throw cigarettes on the floor. They grabbed my hand and stubbed out the cigarettes in my palm. They called me 'an American ashtray,'" Suliaman Shalatah claims.

All this happened only a week ago. At that time all the roads leading up to the Galilee were swarming with army and police units. Today it is calm there. The fire has been put out, but the cinders still glow. The dead have been buried, but the wounded still scream with pain. Scores of Arabs are in jail. But this calm is both tense and artificial—like the calm after the storm, but also preceding the next one.

April 7, 1976

State Capitalism in Brazil

While the Brazilian dictatorship continues to proclaim publicly its commitment to "private enterprise," the statistics show at least a short-range deviation.

In face of the reluctance of Brazilian capitalists to invest in long-range projects that do not assure quick returns, the government has increased its share of total investment in the economy from 15% at the end of World War II to an estimated 40% to 60% now.

According to a report by Jonathan Kandell in the April 11 *New York Times*, "By some estimates, the participation of the state in the economy has equaled the levels reached in Chile under the late President Salvador Allende Gossens, in Argentina under the Peronists or in Peru under its leftist military Government."

State-run enterprises are concentrated in basic industry, utilities, transportation, and fuel, with a recent sharp increase in manufacturing.

A striking example is the state-owned Companhia Vale do Rio Doce, a giant corporation employing 21,500 persons. The company is the world's largest exporter of iron ore and controls ten fully owned subsidiaries in shipping, marketing, prospecting, mining, and other fields. Its foreign sales of \$611 million in 1975 accounted for more than 10% of Brazil's total exports.

Behind Kissinger's Tough Talk on Keeping CPs Out of West European Governments

By David Frankel

Among the items currently being given rather sensational treatment in the international press are the belligerent declarations emanating from the White House and the State Department against granting responsible governmental positions to candidates of the European Communist parties, particularly in Italy and France, even if these were won in strict conformity with the rules of the electoral system.

The tough talk began in a September 1975 interview granted to the magazine *Epoca* by John A. Volpe, the U.S. ambassador to Italy.

Volpe denounced "participation of the Communists in the [Italian] government and their conquest of power in a NATO member state . . ."

This was followed by the refusal of the Ford administration to allow Italian CP leader Sergio Segre into the United States. (This decision was reversed after widespread protests.)

In November, Kissinger expressed hope that "a coalition can be put together by the democratic parties to prevent the entry into the government of the Communist Party of Italy."

In a series of meetings with European Social Democratic leaders, Kissinger pressed them not to cooperate with the Communist parties.

One British editor, quoted by Flora Lewis in an article in the January 4 *New York Times*, said after a meeting with Kissinger: "It's reminiscent of John Foster Dulles. There's been nothing so vehement since his time."

On February 22, Gen. Alexander Haig, the chief of NATO forces in Europe, declared at a Munich meeting: "As regards other nations in Western Europe [Haig's exception was Portugal], I will not accept any Communist participation in their government."

In Paris, Ambassador Kenneth Rush told two Socialist party leaders that Washington would "not tolerate" participation by the Communists in the French government.

Kissinger has pounded on this anti-Communist theme in a series of speeches in the United States. On April 13, for example, he said that if Communists enter West European governments, "the degree of cooperation that has become characteristic of Atlantic relations will become increasingly difficult."

Not surprisingly, the truculent statements have provoked protests against the

U.S. interference in internal affairs of the West European countries directly involved. Furthermore, the obvious hollowness of the threats has caused some puzzlement.

'Bizarre Motives'?

New York Times correspondent Flora Lewis reported in an April 3 dispatch from Luxembourg: "European opinion, as well as that of many American diplomats in Europe, is so unanimous on the negative, or at best nonexistent, impact of the repeated warnings that many people have begun to speculate on hidden and possibly bizarre motives to explain Washington's persistence."

One of the motivations in the Ford administration's campaign against the West European Communist parties is clear. Ford and Kissinger are both under attack from red-baiters standing still further to the right. Ronald Reagan, Ford's challenger for the Republican party presidential nomination, has made the "red menace" the center of his campaign.

According to Reagan, Ford has been too soft in dealing with Moscow. He said in a recent speech:

Opening the Chinese door offered an excellent opportunity for us to blunt the expansionism of the Soviet Union. But we have since lost the momentum we gained by acting as if we expected the Soviets to inherit the earth.

If you were a Russian official and you heard the American Secretary of State deliver stern warnings to you for trying to dominate the situation in Angola, but all the time you knew he was packing his bags to come to Moscow to negotiate a new arms limitation agreement, would you really take his words seriously?

Senator Henry Jackson has taken a similar stance inside the Democratic party, where he is a major contender for the nomination. Jackson also campaigned in the 1972 Democratic party primaries on this issue.

Ford has responded to these attacks by attempting to prove he has no real differences with Reagan on this question. The most obvious move in this regard was his decision to drop the word "détente." Ford told a Miami television reporter March 1: "Detente is only a word that was coined. I don't think it is applicable anymore."

On March 16, in another move aimed more at the American electorate than the Soviet government, the Ford administration announced that it was canceling three

cabinet-level meetings that had been scheduled with Soviet officials. Displeasure over the Soviet role in Angola was given as the reason.

Kissinger has backed up Ford—and his own prestige as well—with a number of speeches defending the administration's conduct of foreign policy. "America enters its third century and its 48th presidential election with unmatched physical strength, a sound foreign policy design, yet scarred by self-doubt," he told a San Francisco audience February 3.

Speaking in Boston March 11, Kissinger denounced his critics for "pretending that the Soviets are 10 feet tall and that America, despite all the evidence to the contrary, is becoming a second-rate nation."

In an April 16 speech in Phoenix, Kissinger urged the American people to reject "fairy tales of America being second best and forever taken in by wily foreigners." He added, "I am here to tell you that America remains—and will remain—the most powerful nation in the world."

Washington's Real Problem

The rhetoric in Kissinger's speeches is obvious. But it would be a serious mistake to dismiss the red-baiting and contention over America's relative standing in the world as merely campaign propaganda.

What the capitalist politicians are really grappling with is how best to meet the rising challenge to their economic system on a world scale.

Public debate over the détente flared up around the October 1973 Middle East war, when it appeared for a time as if Washington's Israeli client was facing defeat.

In the spring and summer of 1975 the American imperialists were squirming over what to do about the advance of the Portuguese revolution and how to discount the victory of the Vietnamese revolution. Again, questioning of détente made headlines.

Kissinger's message to the leaders and backers of both the Republican and Democratic parties is that they can no longer rely simply on brute force to preserve the dominance of American imperialism. He says, as in his March 11 speech: "No amount of tough rhetoric" can change the fact that "the Soviet Union is a superpower."

He asked in that speech: "What do those who speak so glibly about one-way streets or pre-emptive concessions propose concretely that this country do? What precisely has been given up? What level of confrontation do they seek? What threats would they make? What risks would they run? . . . How concretely do they suggest managing the U.S.-Soviet relationship in an era of strategic equality?"

On April 6 the State Department made public a summary of Kissinger's remarks to a meeting of American ambassadors in Europe last December. There, as in his

public speeches, Kissinger said: "We must contain the Soviets and prevent their expansion either through Western weakness or through the application of military force."

This is a noteworthy departure from State Department policy during the cold war, when Dulles proclaimed that the goal was to contain and to roll back Communism. Top ruling circles, of course, are well aware of the fact that the problem they face is not that of an expansionist policy pushed by the Soviet bureaucracy but the radicalization of the European working class, which is feared as much by the Kremlin as by the White House.

"A great deal of what has gone wrong is not the result of détente or of Soviet policy," Kissinger told the ambassadors. "Examples are Portugal and Italy. . . ."

"What is most worrisome is not the foreign policy of nations in Western Europe, but their domestic evolution. The growth of left-wing policies threatens to undermine the security relationship and defense policies on which the alliance has been constructed."

Later in his speech, Kissinger elaborated on the Soviet role:

The Soviets are not the key element that is producing the present instabilities that we now face in Western Europe. A Communist Western Europe would be a headache for us. It would be a headache for the Soviets as well. They probably prefer not to see Communist powers taking over in Western Europe.

'Good Old Days' Gone Forever

Right after World War II, when the U.S. economy accounted for roughly half of the world's gross national product and the Pentagon had a monopoly on the atomic bomb, the White House felt free to intervene directly against the proletarian upsurge that occurred in those days.

Truman financed the counterrevolutionaries in the Greek civil war and openly threatened to intervene in Italy. In November and December 1947, Truman delayed the withdrawal of U.S. occupation forces from Italy and dispatched a force of eleven warships to Naples.

During the April 1948 elections in Italy, the U.S. fleet was again deployed off the Italian coast, and U.S. military planes made threatening flights over Italian cities. Truman approved a recommendation that the United States "make full use of its political, economic, and if necessary, military power" to prevent a "Communist take-over."

Could such an intervention be envisaged now in either France or Italy? Would the French or Italian working class welcome American troops? Would the American people, after their experience with the Vietnam War, stand by and do nothing? The answers are obvious.

The change in the relationship of forces on a world scale was made dramatically clear by the inability of the U.S. imperial-

ists to defeat the Vietnamese revolution. Lyndon Johnson promised the American workers both guns and butter, but today the emphasis is on the guns and not the butter.

The \$115 billion military budget—the largest in history—is accompanied by \$20 billion in cuts in already inadequate social-welfare programs. Medical care for the elderly—a national scandal as it is—subsidized school lunches, unemployment benefits, and veterans' benefits are among the areas where cuts have been proposed to help pay for the arms budget.

The shift tells much about the decline of American capitalism compared to the days of the "war on poverty." Both Ford and Reagan—and their liberal opponents as well—see eye to eye on the desirability of a swollen arms budget. Their fulminations about the Soviet menace are intended to justify military spending on an astronomical scale.

But the Ford administration's threats have still another purpose—to strengthen the bargaining position of the European capitalists. As the British *Economist* said in one of its lead articles in the March 27 issue:

"American huffing and puffing is part of a perfectly sensible policy of trying to bolt the cage door before the tiger escapes. There are all sorts of good reasons for dismay in Nato at the prospect of Communists in the Italian government."

But, the *Economist* added, nobody should be surprised, in the event of the Communists entering the cabinet, "if present western frowns then turn into a polite smile of welcome for the new Italian government. The possible expulsion of Italy from Nato is a good sword to dangle over the Italian electorate before polling day. But after the event the dismantling of Nato bases would be expensive, and would seriously damage Nato's naval strength in the Mediterranean."

In the April 11 issue of the *New York Times*, columnist C.L. Sulzberger cited some precedents for the attitude recommended by the *Economist*. "There have been loud, sharp admonitions, principally from the United States," Sulzberger said, "that no partner can stay in the [NATO] alliance if it has Communist ministers. This isn't true. Iceland, whose geographic position bottles up Russia's western fleet, and Portugal, each violated this rule and survived."

Sulzberger quoted former German Chancellor Willy Brandt, who recalled that Lisbon agreed to relinquish its role in NATO's Nuclear Planning Group (NPG) when Communist party ministers entered the government there.

In Sulzberger's view, a similar deal could be worked out with the Italian Communists. ". . . they could surely understand exclusion from vital ministerial posts like defense or foreign affairs while any prime minister would acknowledge the impossi-

bility of continuing in the alliance's N.P.G."

Some of Kissinger's critics have argued that his threats are counterproductive. This was the position taken by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who denounced the Ford administration's "extraordinary campaign of public and private exhortation" in an article in the April 2 *Wall Street Journal*.

'The Price of Social Peace'

The fact of the matter, Schlesinger points out, is that a section of the Italian capitalist class are convinced that the Italian Communist party can solve some of their problems. He explains:

Today some Italian leaders are prepared to involve the Communists in the responsibilities of the national government. They see no alternative to a tough anti-inflation, anti-strike, anti-absenteeism policy. Only the Communists, they believe, can get the workers to accept retrenchment and discipline. Communist collaboration, in short, appears the price of social peace.

The French and Italian Communist parties played a similar class-collaborationist role in their respective countries at the end of World War II. It was not until May 1947 that the French and Italian capitalists felt strong enough to dispense with the services of the Stalinists and kick them out of the government.

However, the imperialists fear that the economic and social crisis requiring them to utilize the services of the Stalinists in the Italian government once again may also goad the workers beyond the point of containment by a class-collaborationist party. Inflation in Italy is 17 percent, unemployment is 7 percent, and the value of the lira on the world market is rapidly declining.

For this reason, it can safely be predicted that the CIA will continue its clandestine operations in Italy and elsewhere in Europe. It can also be predicted that while the White House pours huge sums into strengthening counterrevolutionary forces, it will also use participation of Communist party leaders in any capitalist government as a means of gaining time and blocking the workers from taking the road to a socialist revolution. □

'Made in Israel'

In reporting from Jerusalem in the April 18 *New York Times*, Terence Smith noted the following item in the mutually profitable alliance between Israel and South Africa:

". . . Israel served a practical purpose for South Africa. It provided a nondiscriminatory market for South African goods and occasionally served to hide the South Africa label. South African textiles destined for sale in black African countries, for example, were shipped to Israel, finished here, then marketed with a 'Made in Israel' label."

Panama at the Crossroads

By Gerardo Solorzano

[The following article appeared in the March 4 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. We have rectified some errors that slipped into *Inprecor*'s English translation of the original Spanish text.]

Established in 1903 as the result of armed intervention by the United States, the Republic of Panama is more dependent on imperialism than any other country in Latin America, if not in the entire world.

Historically, the fate of Panama has always been tied to the existence of the canal, since the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty. This treaty, which authorized the United States to construct the canal and control the Canal Zone, was signed fifteen days after Panama's secession from Colombia.

Today, the entire economic activity of the country is bound up with the canal. In fact, of the nearly two million people who inhabit the country's 75,650 square kilometers, half live in the vicinity of the canal. Eighty percent of the country's trade and 70 percent of its industry are also located in that area.

Per capita, U.S. investment in Latin America is highest in Panama—\$93, while the average for the continent is \$50. This figure does not include investment in the Canal Zone, which, if added in, would bring per capita investment to \$5,680!

Although Panama has experienced the greatest economic growth of any Latin American country during the past ten years—8 percent per year—this growth actually conceals increasing dependence, as shown by, among other things, the fact that the public debt has reached \$1 billion. Taking into account private debt, the national debt approaches \$1.5 billion. For a country whose gross national product is \$1 billion, this situation is extremely grave.

Imperialist Military Presence

Since its establishment, Panama has played a decisive role in imperialist strategy throughout the Latin American continent. In the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, signed December 18, 1903, Panama ceded to the United States "in perpetuity" a ten-mile-wide strip for the maintenance, functioning, preservation, and protection of the canal. The United States rapidly moved to use the Canal Zone for other purposes, and to control not only the canal but also the

country itself. There have been many North American interventions into the political life of the country, particularly armed interventions—1921, 1925, 1958, 1959, and 1964. But the American presence in the Canal Zone not only allows the United States to control the country economically and militarily. It also allows Washington to exercise close surveillance over the entire Latin American continent.

The troops that collaborated in the overthrow of various governments in Central America left from Panama. The "special forces" who collaborated with the Bolivian army in destroying Che Guevara's guerrillas in 1967 and who fomented the coup in Chile in 1973 left from Panama.

For all these activities, the United States has stationed more than 15,000 soldiers (and 30,000 "civilians") in the territory it controls. They are spread among the fourteen military bases that surround the canal.

In fact, 70 percent of the territory controlled by Americans is taken up with military bases. Since they established themselves in the Canal Zone, the Yankees have invested more than \$5 billion for military purposes.

It is in the Canal Zone that we find, among other things, the United States Army School of the Americas (USARSA), better known as the School of the Americas. As of 1973, this "school" at Fort Gulick had trained a total of 29,328 soldiers for Latin American armies.

In 1973 more than 170 graduates of the School of the Americas were heads of state, ministers, generals, or chiefs of the secret services in their respective countries.

The school is divided into four departments: Command Department (which trains military commanders and chiefs of staff), Operations Department (civic action, counterinsurgency, jungle warfare), Logistics Department (intelligence, military police, medical aid, and supplies), and Technical Department. Pinochet, Leigh, and company, among others, were trained at this school.¹

1. Six of the officers who carried out the September 1973 coup in Chile had graduated from the School of the Americas with the highest ranks. These were the director of intelligence services; and the commanders of the second infantry division, the logistical support division of Santiago, the third infantry division of Concepción, the engineering school of Tejas Verdes, and the school of troops and special

Fort Gulick is also headquarters for more than 1,000 members of the Eighth Special Action Forces, better known as the Green Berets.

Also located in the Canal Zone, at Quarry Heights, is the headquarters of the United States Southern Command (Southcom), which is charged with coordinating all military and secret service activity in Latin America, as well as with supervising all North American military aid programs in the area. The Inter-American Air Force Academy, established in 1943, is located at Albrook Air Base; the U.S. Army Jungle Warfare School, at Fort Sherman; and the Cartographic School of the Inter-American Geodetic Survey (LAGS), which trains specialists in cartography, who are useful in counterinsurgency, at Fort Clayton.

These are only a few examples of what the American presence on Panamanian territory means for the United States, from the military standpoint.

Renegotiation of Dependence

The problem of the canal has been decisive throughout the history of relations between the United States and Panama. The various bourgeois governments that have successively held power in Panama since 1903 have always utilized the struggle for Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal Zone as a means of maintaining their leadership of the country. Thus, the revisions of the 1903 treaty made by the Arias-Roosevelt Treaty (1936) and the Remon-Eisenhower Treaty (1955) represented nothing but means by which the Panamanian ruling classes diverted attention from the exploitation suffered by the working classes of the country and obtained from imperialism a greater share in the exploitation of the canal. The only beneficiaries were the ruling classes of both countries.

The events of January 9-12, 1964, during which twenty-two Panamanians were killed by American bullets and more than 500 were wounded, were the product of the rise of mass struggles that had been brewing over so many years of waiting and disappointment in the fight to recover the canal.

The only immediate result of these events was the opening of new negotiations with the United States over the issue. The outcome of these negotiations was the draft treaty of 1967. This was rejected by the Panamanian government under pressure from the masses, who opposed it because it maintained the presence of the United States and its total control over the canal in other forms.

The failure of the negotiations and the deterioration of the political situation

forces of Santiago (see the *New York Times*, October 23, 1973). In addition, the four leaders of the junta received military training both in the United States and in the Canal Zone (see *Newsweek*, November 24, 1973).



PANAMA, November 1959: U.S. troops prevent demonstrators from placing Panamanian flag in Canal Zone.

within the Panamanian bourgeoisie led to a military government in 1968. This government took up where the previous bourgeois governments had left off on the subject of the recovery of the canal.

In fact, the military government has made the problem of the canal its Trojan horse, in order to stay in power and win support from the popular masses on the basis of the anti-Yankee sentiment always felt by these layers. This is how the Torrijos regime has given new life to the foreign policy of the Panamanian state, using the problem of the canal as a spearhead in international bodies and organizations. The aim is to make the United States concede greater Panamanian participation in all matters concerning the canal.

This nationalist position, typical of the military reformist regimes, allowed the Torrijos government to pass itself off internationally as progressive, going so far as to call itself "revolutionary." Is there any need to show that it is nothing of the kind, despite the endorsement given it even by Cuba?

Military 'Reformism'

Brought to power in 1968 through a coup that overthrew the government of Arnulfo Arias (representative of the interests of the traditional oligarchy), which had been sworn in only eleven days before (October 1, 1968), the military took advantage of the crisis of hegemony among the local bourgeoisie and took power.

Repression against the progressive popular groups was not long in coming: The

student movement, the trade unions, and in particular the working class as a whole became targets of persecution.

During the first year of the military government, arrests, deportations, and disappearances of leaders of left organizations were a regular occurrence.

Then, during the period 1970-71, adopting the strategy of the military reformist regimes, the National Guard (the armed forces of the country) tried to become an instrument of social and political reorganization. To do this the National Guard was compelled to alter its relations with the different political sectors of the country and felt the need to incorporate some of them into the government.

At the end of 1970 the military junta established relatively close relations with the Partido del Pueblo Panameño (PPP—Party of the Panamanian People, the pro-Moscow Communist party) within the framework of a policy of neutralizing one organized and disciplined sector of the masses of people. And, in fact, the pact between the military and the PPP had the anticipated demobilizing effect. For all practical purposes it temporarily put an end to the popular resistance to the military regime that had been provoked by the government's policy during the first year after the coup. The "guerrilla" movements were eliminated and the major cadres of the MLN-29-XI² were forced into exile.

2. Movimiento de Liberación Nacional-29 de Noviembre (National Liberation Movement-November 29), an organization that came out of

Thus the National Guard tried to put into practice an economic and political program corresponding to Panama's designated role in the international division of labor—as a transit zone and as an economy whose development historically has been stunted by its function of providing services and serving as a channel for exchange.

The ground was cleared for making Panama an international financial center,³ for "modernizing" the structures of national production within the framework of "development." The most aggressive capitalist sector was favored to the detriment of traditional sectors. This situation strengthened the most stable sectors of the work force while those sectors involved in seasonal work were weakened.

Capital investments were oriented toward the most dynamic sectors, at the same time that the new labor code permitted an increase in the membership of the trade unions over which the state exercised a more direct control. A relationship of forces favorable to this operation was maintained by the influx of capital into the country.

The nationalist policy of the military

the fusion of several groups that had left the PPP in 1962. It fought the military regime for two years, using both urban and rural guerrilla warfare.

3. It should be pointed out that the currency of Panama is the American dollar. In addition, let us note that there are eighty-two foreign banks in Panama today.

regime headed by General Omar Torrijos corresponded to the new relationship of forces structured around the ruling class's crisis of hegemony.

To carry out the reformist plan required a mass base. The government was to build its base of support on two pillars. The first of these was a broad mass of dispersed peasants, lacking in political organization and a class program. In 1972 the government organized them through the creation of the "Assembly of Corregimientos Representatives."⁴ The second was a well-defined party organization—the PPP—controlling the leading worker cadres located in work-places of relatively low productivity. The petty-bourgeois origin of the PPP leaders facilitated the party's relations with sectors of the state bureaucracy, the intellectuals, and the student milieu.

Role of the Student Movement

The student movement is one of the most active sectors on the political scene.

There has been a tradition of student struggle in Panama for many years. This classic manifestation of the petty bourgeoisie is linked to the problems inherent in a society with an "underdeveloped" economy and a dependent political structure. At certain times, all the contradictions of society may be summed up in the mass of students.

Between 1972 and 1975 the student movement developed only slightly. This was because of both the repression it suffered during the early years of the regime and the profound divisions caused by the most modernist sectors of the dependent bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie's plan was implemented within the student movement by the government, which based itself on the sector around the Federación de Estudiantes de Panamá (FEP—Student Federation of Panama). The FEP, which was controlled by the PPP, was charged with mobilizing support for the bourgeoisie's plan in accordance with the pact established at the end of 1970.

However, in September 1974 the leadership of the FEP left the PPP, its original structure. Since then, it has increasingly become an organization in the service of the military regime and hence in the service of the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Its unconditional support to the government led it to omit from its analyses the contradiction that defines class relations under capitalist society. Once it rejected this fundamental class contradiction, it

sought to justify its new positions by identifying new enemies. These new enemies were not class enemies but rather enemies of the "revolutionary process directed by General Torrijos"—an abstraction that sought to establish a false relationship between the real and the concrete. The tactical alliance with one faction of the ruling class became an alliance with strategic objectives.

Repression Begins

With the first serious signs of political crisis—no treaty with the United States, 25 percent increase in the cost of living, international economic crisis—the reaction of the ruling sectors was directed against those elements that appeared most critical of the regime—the class enemies of the bourgeoisie.

Nevertheless, the most coherently manifested expressions of critical sectors did not come from the organizations of the working class itself. The organization of the proletariat is a continual process and its contradictions are not resolved as long as class society is not liquidated. In the context of this process, what the groups with fascist tendencies (such as the leadership of the FEP) proposed was the destruction of groupings critical of the regime and capable of giving an impetus to class organization that would counterpose a proletarian revolution to the violence of the reactionaries.

The leadership of the FEP and certain currents of the CP leadership attacked the organizations that despite many difficulties were working with the exploited classes in their battle to organize themselves politically.

Hence their repeated attacks on the organizations active at the university (especially in the law school) and certain high schools (Instituto Nacional, for example) during the struggle for a critical, combative, independent student movement.⁵ Hence also their attacks on the communications media identified with the people's struggles and against all those who were acting in defense of the working class's interests in one way or another.

The interests of the working class were not modified by such rightist deviations. The relative weakness of the working class in the final analysis will not prevent it from being the motor force of the new society that will overcome the contradictions of class society. It gains strength in its struggle against the enemies it confronts in the course of its movement toward ultimate emancipation.

These enemies have been able to develop

thanks to the interests of other classes that obscure the working class's perspective and thanks to the absence of analyses of concrete situations, which leads to dogmatism and sectarianism and sometimes to the most aberrant opportunism.

The bourgeoisie's strategy has been bolstered by the military's reformist policy. Because of the regime's bonapartism, the class struggle is masked by a policy of anti-imperialist demagoguery, while at the same time capitalism increasingly penetrates to the very vitals of Panamanian society.

The historic struggle of the Panamanian people for the recovery of the canal is diverted from its final goal by the proposal for "national recovery." Under the slogan of "national unity" the bonapartist regime, with the collaboration of the CP, is trying at all costs to control the rise of struggles that have been occurring recently. They are the result of an economic and social policy that increasingly strikes at the exploited classes and of the failure to reach an agreement with the United States on the question of the canal.

On this subject it must be pointed out that while the revolutionary organizations put forward the slogan of the total withdrawal of American military bases, the bonapartist regime and the CP agree to the maintenance of three of those bases!

Among the revolutionary organizations that have emerged with the rise of struggles, the Fracción Socialista Revolucionaria, a Trotskyist organization founded in May 1975, is fighting for the development of the revolutionary vanguard on an anticapitalist, anti-imperialist basis. It looks to the construction of the revolutionary party as an instrument in the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system. The FSR, which came out of the student movement, has since begun to carry out activity among the working class. This has led it to play an important role within the revolutionary vanguard in Panama. It held its first congress in February, at which time it adopted the name Liga Socialista Revolucionaria [LSR—Revolutionary Socialist League] and voted to affiliate to the Fourth International.

The analysis made by the comrades of the LSR during their congress singled out the rightist turn being made by the bonapartist regime under the guise of "left nationalism," and pointed to the repression that threatens Panamanian revolutionists during coming months.

We call upon revolutionary Marxists throughout the world to support the struggle of the Panamanian people for national and social liberation, and to respond with active solidarity to any attacks against the democratic rights of the workers and revolutionary organizations in Panama. □

4. The Republic of Panama is divided into nine provinces and one national territory. Each province is divided into districts (there are sixty-four of these in all) and these are divided into *corregimientos* (a sort of municipality). There are a total of 505 *corregimientos* in the country, and each has a representative in the Assembly.

5. These organizations are Círculo Camilo Torres (CCT—Camilo Torres Circle); Guaykucho; Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario (FER—Revolutionary Student Front); Fracción Socialista Revolucionaria (FSR—Revolutionary Socialist Faction).

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



As Pure as Mothers' Milk

The use of DDT was prohibited in the United States more than three years ago. Before the ban, however, many rural Black families were routinely sprayed with the lethal pesticide, along with the crops they worked on.

As a result, many Black infants are now being fed a steady diet of the poisonous chemical—straight from their mothers' milk.

Medical examinations of thirty-eight Black women in rural Mississippi and Arkansas showed that their milk contained DDT concentrations nearly ten times higher than the limits set for cow's milk by the World Health Organization.

"Environmental factors" are blamed, Associated Press reported April 20.

"On numerous occasions, workers were seen chopping cotton in fields while the crop was being sprayed or dusted with pesticides.

"And many of the homes inhabited by these black families are situated in cotton fields that were sprayed with DDT."

600 in Tokyo Protest Export of Pollution

About 600 persons attended an antipollution rally in Tokyo April 8 to protest the "export" of pollution by Japanese industry to other countries in the region.

Speakers at the rally gave reports on Kawasaki Steel's sintering-plant project in Mindanao, Philippines; Asahi Glass Co.'s plant in Thailand; Nippon Kagaku's operation in Ulsan, South Korea; and Mitsubishi's plan to build a huge central terminal storage facility in Okinawa.

A resolution was adopted at the rally calling for the establishment of an information center against the export of polluting industries.

'No Risk' Radioactive Waste

Radioactive waste, stockpiled in Drigg, Scotland, more than twenty years ago during the manufacture of Britain's first atomic bomb, has started to leak from the containers.

It will cost an estimated £270,270 to

replace the 10,000 drums.

The drums contain radioactive bricks, overalls, gloves, and other items.

Leaks were detected in drums that had been eaten away by rust.

According to the directors of Britain's atomic program, the waste is only slightly active and there is no risk of contamination to the population.

'Negligible' Radioactive Leak

Japanese officials admitted April 20 that about 960 tons of radioactive water had leaked into the Pacific Ocean from January to March. The source of the leak was a foot-long crack in a coolant tank at a nuclear plant near Tokyo.

The crack was discovered by engineers after they noticed that an excessive amount of fresh water was being supplied daily to the tank of a 90,000-kilowatt reactor at the Tokai atomic research center.

Operation of the reactor was immediately discontinued after the leak was discovered.

Officials at the Science and Technology Agency said the leak's impact on marine and human life was negligible.

Earthquake Shakes Up Area Near Nuclear Power Plants

Legislators, environmentalists, and residents near Indian Point, New York, demanded April 21 that the licenses for the three nuclear power plants at Indian Point be suspended. The protests followed a March 11 earthquake on the Ramapo Fault, only twenty-five miles from the nuclear plants.

Coca-Cola's New Special Ingredient

The Natural Resources Defense Council, an environmental group based in New York City, filed a suit against the Food and Drug Administration April 21 charging it with having illegally approved the use of acrylonitrile (ACN) in plastic soda and beer bottles. The council said that the FDA had not carried out adequate studies of the chemical, which poses a potential health hazard.

ACN is closely related to vinyl chloride, which has been shown to produce cancer in test animals. It has damaged adrenal glands and produced ulcers in rats. ACN, moreover, can "migrate" into the beverage itself.

Plastic bottles containing ACN are already being test marketed in Rhode Island by the Coca-Cola Company. According to the council, between five billion and ten billion of the bottles will be used in the United States each year if no action is taken.

Hudson Shad à la PCB

Facing the prospect of having to pay penalties for the damage it has caused to the Hudson River, the General Electric Company announced April 19 that it may be able to reduce considerably the level of its discharge of toxic polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) into the river.

PCB contamination forced a shutdown of all commercial fishing in the river, except for shad and larger sturgeon until tests were conducted.

A recent check of shad, which spawn in the river in the spring, found up to 8.9 parts of PCBs per million. The Food and Drug Administration has labeled fish containing more than 5 parts per million unhealthy to eat.

Ignoring the Sun

"It's hard to ignore the sun," says columnist Jack Anderson, "but the Energy Research and Development Agency has done it."

The ERDA has prepared a "comprehensive national plan" for energy development in the United States that does not call for the development of solar energy.

Nuclear power, however, is prominently featured. The energy plan calls for more than five times the current consumption of nuclear power by 1985.

It may not be accidental that the plan's basis for discounting solar energy are studies conducted by corporations such as Westinghouse and General Electric, which have a huge financial stake in nuclear power.

Irish Prisoners Treated Worse Than Gangland Criminals

[The following article by Jacqueline Kaye appeared in the March 1 issue of the Dublin daily *Irish Press*. Kaye is secretary and a founding member of the Prisoners' Aid Committee, based in London.]

* * *

Four years ago there were only a dozen Irish prisoners serving sentences for political offences in England and Scotland. One of these was an anarchist, serving two years for attempting to persuade soldiers not to serve in Northern Ireland. There were no loyalist prisoners. Now there are over 70 convicted Irish political prisoners with over 30 on remand or on trial; about 40 are loyalists.

The recent tragic death of Frank Stagg has drawn attention to the way these prisoners are treated and the fact that this, despite disclaimers from British government sources that "political status" does not exist in Britain, is different from, and worse than, the way ordinary criminal prisoners are treated. The build-up of these prisoners in seven or eight top security prisons steadily continues as a result of the Home Office's refusal to transfer them to prisons near their homes—in the face of stated policy that all prisoners should be held in prison near their families. The vast majority of these prisoners were born in Ireland.

All of these prisoners, except a few nearing the end of their sentences, are classified as Category A, which means that all mail is censored; no visitors are allowed unless they can prove they knew the prisoner before conviction and are acceptable to the police. Literature and newspapers are also censored and eligibility to attend educational and recreational facilities is severely restricted. Recently the Home Office has extended these rules to prisoners who are on remand, blatantly denying them the right to be treated as "innocent until proved guilty."

Shane Paul O'Doherty, for example, has been refused remand visits in Brixton from three people who had visited him regularly. They have now been told that they must apply to the Home Office for "clearance." While Paul Norney, aged 17, was on remand in Manchester, a friend who visited at the request of his mother was turned away at the gate after a prolonged inquisition by prison officers. This is despite the fact that remand prisoners are entitled to a visit every day by anyone who wishes.

Restrictions like this mean that many Irish political prisoners have few visits. Michael Murray, serving 12 years in

Leicester, can only be visited by his wife, who lives in Ireland and who has a large family to take care of. He is not allowed to be visited by friends who visited him on remand. Patrick Guilfoyle, serving 14 years on the Isle of Wight, can only be visited by his parents living in Hull. When he protested at being refused visits from friends by refusing to work he was punished by losing nine days' remission for every day he refused to work.

The parents of Fr. Fell, serving 12 years in Hull prison, have had to give up making the long journey from Donegal, as they are too unwell to stand the strain. Over 40 prisoners have their immediate family in Ireland, yet only four, Dolours and Marian Price, Hugh Feeney and Gerry Kelly, have been transferred to serve their sentences.

Even when families do arrive at the prison gates for visits they have to undergo more trials on the obstacle course arranged by the Home Office. They are searched and their bags taken away from them. They are then led into a box for a "screened" visit. Prisoners talk to their families through a thick glass panel, and this takes place in prisons, like Gartree and Wakefield, where other prisoners have their visits in open canteen conditions.

It was in protest at visiting conditions that Frank Stagg undertook two hunger strikes and finally refused visits when authorities threatened to strip search his wife and sister. Last year four Irish prisoners in Gartree went on hunger strike in protest at screened visits and three prisoners in the Scrubs, Roy Walsh, Stephen Blake and Martin Coughlan, staged a roof-top vigil in freezing conditions last November. Roy Walsh, whose family lives in Belfast, has had screened visits for two years.

All three prisoners were given the maximum loss of remission and solitary confinement in punishment. Screened visits have also been extended to remand prisoners like Robert O'Rawe and Jimmy Kelly while they were held in Winchester for 12 months.

In the last 18 months there have been reports of attacks on Irish prisoners by warders and other prisoners. Fourteen warders are currently suspended from Winson Green on full pay charged with assault on six Irish prisoners charged in connection with the Birmingham bombs—these prisoners were alleged to have already been assaulted by the police. On the night of the Birmingham pub bombs a group of Irish prisoners on remand in Winson Green were alleged to have been systematically beaten by warders, who

have not been charged, although some of the prisoners concerned are considering private prosecutions.

While on trial in October last year Paul Hill was attacked by a warder in the van on the way to the Old Bailey. The injuries he received became visible during the course of the day as a black eye developed. A Home Office "inquiry" concluded that his injuries had been "self-inflicted," nevertheless he has been in solitary confinement "for his own protection" under prison Rule 43 in Bristol prison for the last 15 weeks.

Noel Jenkinson is also held under Rule 43 in the punishment block in Parkhurst after having been beaten unconscious in the washroom of the security wing last November. The wing has a ratio of two officers to each prisoner. Noel Jenkinson has had 20 applications to be taken off solitary refused.

He, like Paul Hill, Michael MacLochlainn in the Scrubs and Gerry Conlon serving 35 years in Wandsworth, continue to be held in "punishment" conditions. As in the case of Frank Stagg, who served nearly the whole of the three years that he was in prison in solitary, their plight is a reflection of the prison authorities' inability to cope with the presence in prisons of highly politicised prisoners who do not regard themselves as "criminals" and who therefore will not play the prison games of compliance and obedience upon which the prisons depend.

The problem is tackled by cruel and crude methods. Liam MacLarnon, now in Wakefield, was held in solitary under Rule 43 for two years in the Scrubs. Only after direct intervention to Shirley Summerskill by a Labour M.P. was he taken out to Wakefield, the "danger" having apparently vanished overnight. Irish prisoners who have been attacked by other prisoners, including Gerry Hunter, Kevin Dunphy and Michael Sheehan, have suffered as a result of the prison authorities having, at the very least, turned a blind eye. They, like all Irish political prisoners, are under constant close supervision.

Few if any of these prisoners will get parole. Frank Stagg and the Price sisters were all refused compassionate parole to attend the funerals of parents. Frank Stagg was refused permission to write to his dying father. This contrasts with the high rate of parole given to British soldiers sentenced for criminal offences in Northern Ireland. "Colonel" Georgiou shot 14 British mercenaries in Angola while on parole from Wakefield prison where he had been transferred after committing an offence in Ireland where he was serving

with the British Army.

The Home Office says there are no political prisoners in Britain. They have let the demand for a transfer to Ireland become a contentious issue for Irish political prisoners while they have quickly and secretly transferred large numbers of British soldiers from Ireland to England. They have refused to give in to the "blackmail" of hunger strikes yet they have not transferred a single I.R.A. prisoner who has not been on hunger strike.

When Glenn Barr walked out of the first meeting of the Constitutional Convention to demand the transfer of loyalist prisoners, he was able to return in two days to announce publicly that a deadline had been fixed for the moving of three U.D.A. members. This deadline, unlike the deadline agreed for the transfer of Frank Stagg, Fr. Fell, the Gillespie sisters and four Belfast prisoners, was kept. Four Irish political prisoners have paid with 200 days of torture by force feeding and two have paid with their lives for a right given without effort to loyalist prisoners, 12 of whom have been transferred, according to the U.D.A., and to British soldiers—the right to serve their sentences in their own country.

Irish political prisoners total only 100 out of nearly 40,000 prisoners in Britain. Yet they account for a third of the number who are in Category A (315 prisoners at the end of last year). In addition, although prison rites would technically allow prison governors to impose the restrictions outlined above on all types of prisoners, it is only to Irish political prisoners that they are consistently and deliberately applied. In the case of these prisoners, "special status" exists as special victimisation.

Curiously and significantly there is a group of prisoners in Britain which enjoys rights commonly associated in Ireland with political status. They do not work, but have the right to educational and vocational training. They wear their own clothes, cook their own food which they buy with money sent to them. They are allowed food parcels and frequent visits, limited only by pressure on visiting accommodation. Their visitors are not searched. These men are gangland criminals serving their sentences in the two top security units in Leicester and Parkhurst.

They include, or have included, the Kray brothers, Freddie Sewell, Charlie Richardson, John McVicar, Harry Roberts and many big-time gangsters. They are given these concessions to hold them down while they serve the massive sentences given them by the courts.

Irish political prisoners on the other hand, 20 of whom are serving life sentences and five of whom have recommendations of minimum terms of 30 years and over, are held down in prison by sheer brutality, victimisation and harassment. Some of them have been subjected to trials which were "peculiar," to say the least,

and in which their political opinions have been carefully elicited from them by judges as well as prosecution lawyers. The fact that they will not behave as though they are "guilty" means that they pose a threat to the smooth running of the most secretive of all government departments—the British prison system.

The fact that the Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, does regard them as being different from other prisoners is graphically illustrated by the fact that he continues in office after having engineered the slow and painful deaths of two of them—Michael Gaughan and Frank Stagg, who were only asking to serve their heavy sentences for trivial offences in another

prison. Only in the present climate of "opinion" in Britain where to dare to criticise British policy in Ireland is popularly regarded as a terrorist offence, which it will in fact be after the introduction of amendments to the Prevention of Terrorism Act, could these two deaths have failed to have political repercussions on the minister responsible.

The self-congratulatory approval of opinion in Britain about the way Jenkins has supervised these two deaths and hundreds of days of force feeding, isolation and the intimidation of families of Irish political prisoners is a clear illustration of the "political" status these prisoners have in the British prison system. □

Held Incommunicado by Military Junta

Kofi Awoonor Imprisoned in Ghana



ACHEAMPONG

Ghana's military junta, headed by Gen. I.K. Acheampong, arrested forty to fifty persons in late 1975 in connection with an alleged coup that was said to have been planned for November 19.

Among those arrested were Kofi Awoonor, an internationally known poet and novelist, and Johnny Hansen, a leader of the People's Popular party until it was banned after Acheampong's 1971 coup.

Awoonor, who has published a number of books, the most recent being *The Breast of the Earth: A Study of African Culture and Literature*, was arrested December 31 at the University of Cape Coast, where he was teaching. Peter Benson, an official at New York State University in Stony

Brook, where Awoonor taught for seven years, pointed out that the book had been dedicated to Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first premier, who was deposed by the military in 1965. Benson said that there was some speculation that the dedication may have been a factor in Awoonor's arrest.

Despite repeated queries to the Ghanaian authorities by Awoonor's friends and colleagues, no charges have been made public or reasons given for the arrest. All communication with Awoonor has been denied.

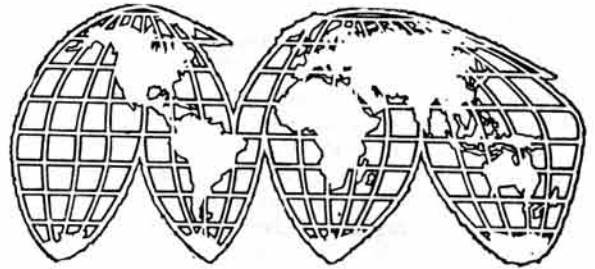
The international writers organization Poets, Essayists, and Novelists (PEN) has launched a campaign in defense of Awoonor. Amnesty International has indicated that it will also take action on the case. The Union of Writers of the African Peoples, headed by Nigerian playwright Wole Soyinka, issued a statement pressing the junta to release details on the reasons for Awoonor's arrest and on his conditions of detention. Soyinka also urged that visitors be allowed to see Awoonor.

A letter smuggled out of one of Ghana's jails indicated how many of the political prisoners have been treated. The letter was quoted in the April 11 London *Observer* by correspondent Colin Legum:

"I have been brutalised several times. My hearing is seriously affected. Every time you go for a session, you are stripped naked and then beaten up by about four people. Result—swollen face, bleeding eyes, ears, mouth and nose. I have had my penis wrenched several times. . . .

"They have told me that in case of death nothing will happen to them. They boast that when they killed Mr da Rocha (a prominent political figure) four years ago nothing happened to them. At least 50 people have been arrested and 90 per cent have been tortured." □

AROUND THE WORLD



Picket at Argentine Consulate Demands Hands Off Mario Muñoz

About 100 persons picketed the Argentine consulate in New York April 22 to protest the Videla junta's "shoot on sight" order against Chilean mine workers leader Mario Muñoz Salas. Muñoz has been in exile in Argentina since the September 1973 coup that overthrew the Allende government.

The picket line, called by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz, was endorsed by several dozen organizations and prominent individuals, including District Council 8 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union; Desmond Trotter Defense Committee; Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action; Noam Chomsky, Frank Donner, Tom Hayden, and I.F. Stone.

A delegation from the committee presented a packet of information on the case to Argentine authorities and demanded safe passage out of Argentina for Muñoz and his family.

Peking and Cairo Sign Military Pact

An Egyptian delegation led by Vice-president Husni Mubarak wound up a visit to China with the signing of a military protocol between the two governments April 21. Although no details were made public, the deal was understood to cover the provision of spare parts for Egypt's Soviet-supplied MIG fighters.

"The Soviet-Egyptian rift has been greeted with thinly disguised delight here, and Mr. Mubarak's 36-member delegation has received an unusually lavish welcome," an April 21 Reuters dispatch from Peking reported.

Peking has already supplied the Sadat regime with thirty jet engines and other parts for its MIG-17 and MIG-21 fighters free of charge. However, Peking does not have any of the more advanced MIG-23 planes, and probably cannot supply spare parts for them.

Mubarak, before leaving China, toasted "the great push forward" in relations between the two regimes.

Battle Pay for Marubeni Employees?

Employees of the Marubeni Corporation in Japan—one of the principal channels of Lockheed bribes—have been working under mounting pressure, according to an Associated Press dispatch from Tokyo.

"Every day I report to work under strict security checks and carry out my job with waves of demonstrators heckling us outside our office," one trade specialist working for Marubeni said.

He added, "At least once a day, demonstrators march to our head office, often mob our reception hall and even have hurled peanuts all around a couple of times.

"In such cases, our public address system advises that there is confusion and we should not go out."

There have been efforts to improve the corporation's image. "Our union asks us to donate blood to the Red Cross, another effort to recover the good name of Marubeni."

So far it hasn't worked.

A Tap on the Wrist for Pinochet

The Pinochet regime was given a verbal reprimand by the Ford administration April 19. Manuel Trucco, the Chilean ambassador in Washington, was called in by the State Department so that Assistant Secretary of State William D. Rogers could "express grave concern" about the arrest and deportation of a Santiago lawyer.

Washington's hypocritical expression of concern was a response to protests by five members of Congress. In March, a congressional delegation investigating human-rights violations in Chile interviewed José Zalaquett after receiving assurances from the Pinochet regime that none of those they talked to would be victimized.

However, on April 5 Zalaquett was arrested, and a week later he was deported to France. Others among the 100 Chileans interviewed by the congressmen have also been harassed. In response, those on the delegation demanded diplomatic action against Pinochet.

Terrorist Provocation in Italy

The latest in a series of terrorist provocations occurred in Italy on April 21, when a leading oil executive was shot and seriously wounded in Rome. A supposedly left-wing group calling itself the "Armed Communist Unit" took credit for the attack on Giovanni Theodoli, the president of the Italian Oil Producers Association and president of Chevron Oil Italiana.

The same group reportedly took credit for an earlier fire bombing of the offices of the Texaco Oil Company in Florence.

Other attacks have been carried out against Fiat automobile plants, supermarket warehouses, schools, and a candy factory. Fire bombs have also been directed at several headquarters of the Italian paramilitary police, the carabinieri.

The right-wing Christian Democratic party, whose grip on the government is increasingly shaky, took full advantage of the latest provocation.

"These attacks clearly reveal a pre-ordered subversive plan to disturb public opinion that is already preoccupied by the serious economic and political situation," Benigno Zaccagnini, the party's secretary, said. He added that "law and order" was now a crucial issue.

Two Cubans Killed by Bomb at Embassy in Lisbon

The third and fourth victims of political murder in the wave of rightist terrorism in Portugal were two persons attached to the Cuban embassy in Lisbon.

Adriana Corcho, the wife of a diplomatic official, and Efen Monteagudo, an embassy official, were killed April 22 by a bomb left in a briefcase at the door of the seventh-floor Cuban offices.

On April 3, a candidate of the Maoist União Democrática do Povo (UDP—People's Democratic Union) and a supporter were killed when a bomb exploded in their car.

Rightist bombings have been regular occurrences in Portugal since last fall. However, prior to April 3, they were apparently intended to create panic but not to kill.

In an article published in the April 7 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*, West German journalist Günther Wallraff claimed that representatives of the reactionary Exército de Libertação Portuguesa (ELP—Portuguese Liberation Army) told him in Braga that they were tired of just planting bombs for the sound effects and that "the time is now ripe to kill."

The bomb planted at the Cuban embassy was apparently a powerful one. Six stories below where it went off, "its force knocked out the elevator door and the front door, on the ground floor," according to an April 22 dispatch in the *New York Times*. "The embassy offices were destroyed, with concrete and glass everywhere."

Besides the two Cubans who were killed, four Portuguese citizens were wounded in the explosion.

PRT Statement on Suspension of LCI

[The following article was published in the April 15 issue of *Combate Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party), a group that has declared adherence to the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The total banning of the LCI from radio and television, which was decreed last Saturday, April 10, was reduced from eight days to five.* This indicates that the suspension was so arbitrary and so indefensible, even by the most adroit political or legalistic demagogy, that the Council of the Revolution had to beat a retreat.

What is most important now is to draw the necessary conclusions from this overtly antidemocratic measure. In the fight against the suspension, the PRT solidarized entirely with the LCI's protests, and signed a document proposed by the LCI comrades denouncing the suspension. In addition, we denounced this measure on radio; and in our second television broadcast, we read a statement signed by our two organizations. Now that the suspension has been lifted, without any more explanation than for its application in the first place, the task remains—and we are determined to carry it through—to demand that the LCI be compensated for the time it lost during the five days of the suspension.

Over and above this, we think that the suspension of the LCI is going to cast more light on the fundamental questions that are being debated in this electoral campaign.

The Council of the Revolution did not take the trouble to try to justify the suspension. The reason for this is obvious. Some people would have laughed, others would have turned up their noses, but no one would have been convinced, because the simple fact is that the generals had no grounds.

So, officially there is no explanation for the suspension. But it was not the result of some arbitrary and childish whim. There were political reasons (which the generals are ashamed to confess), and these seem to be related to some references the LCI made to the armed forces. The fact is that every party has made comments about the armed forces, everyone from the CDS [Centro Democrático Social—Social Demo-

cratic Center] to the MRPP [Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party, an orthodox Maoist sect].

Of course, in elections such as these the people should be able to decide whether they want the kind of repressive PSP [Polícia de Segurança Pública—Public Security Police] they have, if they want a different kind, or no PSP at all. They should be able to listen to the parties in order to make up their own minds.

However, the generals decided that not all the discussion of the armed forces was desirable, and so they suspended the LCI. Also, the soldiers should be able to decide what the armed forces want, since this question concerns them more than any-

Factory Assemblies Demand End to Ban on LCI

[The following resolution on the suspension of the right of the Liga Comunista Internacionalista to appear on radio and television was submitted to a number of general assemblies of workers. The general line was adopted by assemblies in the Setenave shipyards and in the construction trades. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In view of the decision of the Council of the Revolution to prevent the LCI from defending its program on radio and TV for eight days, the workers of this factory assembled on this date consider:

Freedom is not denied to the bourgeoisie, even when it defends fascism and colonialism, as in the newspaper *A Rua*.

Freedom is not denied to the bourgeoisie even when it attacks and slanders the struggles of the workers, as the representatives of the PPD, CDS, PDC, and PPM* do every day on radio and TV.

The workers' freedom of expression and organization, won by their struggles and sacrifices, is the target of repeated attacks. Unionists in the construction trades have been driven out of Bragança. Factories

*Partido Popular Democrático (Democratic People's party). Centro Democrático Social (Social Democratic Center). Partido Democrático Cristão (Christian Democratic party, an ultrarightist party). Partido Popular Monárquico (People's Monarchist party).

body. But the officers put up a sign over the electoral campaign saying: "Not recommended for anyone under the rank of colonel."

The so-called participation of the military in political life means participation by the generals. What should be decided by the workers and soldiers is now being decided by the generals, and they do not give an accounting to anybody.

This decision, let no one have any doubts, is one that could very well be applied by a PPD-CDS government, a decision to forbid the LCI to talk to the workers and the workers to listen to the LCI. But it was a decision made by the Council of the Revolution, and such a decision could be made again by any government controlled by the Council of the Revolution, even an SP government with a general in the presidency.

To prevent a repetition, it is necessary to denounce this arbitrary act (which was completely unconstitutional) in the strongest possible way. We have to vote against the pact [between the parties and the military] and for a government without capitalists and without generals. □

such as INE, Timex, Sanimar, and others where struggles were in progress have been occupied by the PSP [Polícia de Segurança Pública—Public Security Police] and the GNR [Guarda Nacional Republicana—Republican National Guard].

The attempt to gag a working-class organization is one more step toward undermining the defense of the gains of all the workers.

We therefore resolve:

To repudiate strongly this repressive measure by the Council of the Revolution against the LCI and to demand unconditional freedom of expression for all working-class organizations.

Down with the suspension of the LCI!
Long live the unity of all workers! □

More Bribes Disclosed in Italy

Two European oil companies have admitted making payoffs to political parties in the Italian government between 1969 and 1973.

Royal Dutch/Shell, a British and Dutch company, gave bribes totaling \$6 million; British Petroleum, \$1.92 million.

Italian investigators found that the payments represented 5 percent of the additional profits the oil companies expected to gain as the result of favorable pricing and taxation policies that became effective after the payments were made.

*This counts the days inclusive from the day the ban was announced.—IP

Writers Protest Suspension of LCI's Rights

[The following protest against the Council of the Revolution decision to ban the Liga Comunista Internacionalista from radio and television for eight days was signed by more than ninety left-wing writers, intellectuals, and personalities. Signers included Maria Teresa Horta, one of the "three Marias," a coauthor of *New Portuguese Letters*, and a founder of the Portuguese women's liberation movement; as well as the most well known Portuguese singer, Zeca Afonso.]

* * *

By order of the Council of the Revolution, the election campaign programs of the Liga Comunista Internacionalista on radio and TV were suspended. Once again the freedoms of organization and expression won by the enthusiastic outpouring of the masses into the streets on April 25, 1974, have been put in the deep freeze.

This attitude on the part of the Council of the Revolution is all the more disturbing when reactionary gangs are physically attacking members and sympathizers of

the antifascist parties; when reactionary organizations are becoming bolder and bolder; when a notorious fascist, a collaborator of a publication banned by Marcelo Caetano himself for its rightist extremism, has been able to launch the paper *A Rua*; when rumors of new pressures inside the armed forces are appearing in the press.

Those signing this statement are familiar with the rigors of fascist persecution. They know what the censorship and prisons were like under Salazar and Caetano. And they do not intend to endorse an antidemocratic action by their silence.

At this time, the Council of the Revolution is taking a step that even the regime of de Gaulle and Giscard d'Estaing has not dared to take.

Whatever we may think of the program and the actions of the LCI, we cannot fail to protest against this antidemocratic attitude of the Council of the Revolution; we cannot fail to demand that this suspension be lifted; we cannot fail to call on all the antifascist intellectuals to add their names to this statement. □

Women in the Struggle to Liberate East Timor

[The following statement was issued September 18, 1975, by the secretary of the Popular Organization of Timorese Women, Rosa "Muki" Bonaparte. Bonaparte was killed by Indonesian paratroopers in Dili on December 7.]

[The translation from the Portuguese is by Ines Rodriguez. It appeared in the March 4 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in Sydney, Australia.]

* * *

What is the Popular Organisation of Timorese Women—OPMT?

The Popular Organisation of Timorese Women is a mass organisation of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor—Fretilin—which enables Timorese women to participate in the revolution. The principal objective of women participating in the revolution is not, strictly speaking, the emancipation of woman as woman, but the triumph of the revolution, and consequently, the liberation of woman as a social being who is the target of a double exploitation: that under the traditional conceptions and that under the colonialist conceptions.

The exploited and oppressed position of women is not a phenomenon limited to East Timor.

In the great majority of countries, women are deprived of their most fundamental rights, being denied an active

participation in political life.

But in East Timor, as in other countries subject to colonial exploitation, the exploitation and oppression of women is extreme because of the combination of two factors: firstly the traditional conceptions about the submission of women, and secondly the colonialist attitude to women.

Some examples of this conception of the traditional education system concerning the inferior position of women in society are the following:

The *barlaque*, the traditional marriage custom, where the suitor offers the bride's parents material possessions (cattle, fabrics, land, other utensils, or even money, depending on the region) in return for which they will decide for or against delivery of their daughter, thus turning her into a mere object for purchase or sale.

In other regions where women's labor constitutes the essential base of production, polygamy is practiced. In this connection one must stress the exaggerated practice of the *regulas*, the large estate owners and big landlords, the noble authorities.

Besides reflecting a reactionary position, these practices constitute a serious obstacle to women's integration in the fight for liberation, because the alienation that results prevents them from participating in the political, cultural, and social tasks, tying them exclusively to domestic life or to agricultural production in the service of their husbands.

The ideology of a system in which women are considered as "inferior beings" submitted Timorese women to a double exploitation:

- A general form, which applies without distinction to both men and women and which manifests itself by forced labor, starvation salaries, racism, etc. . . .

- Another form of a specific character, directed to women in particular. By separating them from their husbands through forced labor, by depriving them of the means of sustenance for home and children, colonialism has thus created conditions which force women to sell their bodies into prostitution.

As we have already seen, the double exploitation of women by the colonial-fascist system of domination reflects itself in these two aspects: besides providing cheap labor, Timor women constitute an instrument of pleasure for the colonialist bosses.

As the total destruction of all forms of exploitation is an objective of our revolution, led by Fretilin, the revolutionary vanguard of the People of East Timor, the front has adopted a fighting strategy to restore to women the position and rights due to them in the new society which we are building through revolution.

It was thus on August 28, 1975, two weeks after the proclamation of armed struggle to resist the coup carried out by the reactionary UDT [Timorese Democratic Union] which is allied to prominent figures of the Portuguese colonial Government, that the Popular Organisation of Timorese Women—OPMT—was founded. Its aim is to fulfill the more pressing necessities of our revolution, namely, the lodging and treatment of those children and families, abandoned and homeless, whose houses were burnt down, their relatives and parents killed, their material possessions plundered by the reactionary gangs during their escalation which began on August 11, 1975.

The creation of OPMT has a double objective:

Firstly, to participate directly in the struggle against colonialism, and second to fight in every way the violent discrimination that Timorese women have suffered in colonial society.

Timorese women must thus unite and organise around OPMT in order to fight the causes of their exploitation. Women can only struggle and conquer if they are united and organised.

There are some tasks which are important this time.

The first task for women is to educate Timorese children, who will continue the revolution of the Mau Bere people. To this end it is necessary to create creches and kindergartens in all regions so that children will receive an education that will transform them into good revolutionaries, and the mothers will also be freed to work side by side with the men in the fields, that

is, in the national reconstruction, the reconstruction of our country East Timor.

The second equally important task will be to organise the more active and conscious women and to awaken those who are passive and submissive under the exploitation which they suffer.

In the following areas the main tasks of OPMT include:

Education--OPMT is in charge of creches, namely Mau-koli in Maubisse and Bere-leki in Turisca, where orphans or children whose parents are at the battle or production fronts are brought up and educated. They acquire a revolutionary education which envisages the formation of future revolutionary cadres who will give continuity to the revolution until the construction of a more just society in which there will be no more exploitation.

Production--The participation of Timorese women in production reflects itself in carrying out the same tasks of production as their comrades in arms, that is, the cultivation of the land.

Combat--Timorese women, as active agents in the revolution, also participate in battle in full affirmation of their dedication to the cause of liberation of the exploited and oppressed of our country. It is incredible that in a country where more than 50 percent of the population consists of women, that they would not take part in the liberation struggle. To participate in combat does not just mean to take up arms, although this is superior. The participation of Timorese women in the fighting takes various forms: gathering information about enemy movements, their fighting potential, and so on.

Health and welfare--Also in this area the contribution of Timorese women was and is great, considering the chaotic situation caused by colonialism in this sector. The "colonial assistance" made available was of the type for which only the social position of the individual counted.

Welfare is developing both in the preventive and in the curative fields.

By involving themselves in the tasks of these sectors, and in a general way in the struggle for national liberation, the militant women of OPMT reinforce their political consciousness through classes in revolutionary theory and practice, and develop their efforts in the direction of the final objectives of the revolution, the revolution of the Mau Bere people of East Timor.

Long live the Popular Organisation of Timorese Women!

Long live the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor!

Long live the revolution of the Mau Bere people!

Long live independent East Timor!

Long live the world revolution!

Behind the 'War Fever' Propaganda in Athens

[The following editorial was published in the April 3 issue of *Ergatike Pale*, the weekly newspaper that reflects the views of the Greek Trotskyists. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The recent treaty between America and Turkey, which provides for large amounts of military aid to Ankara, has increased tensions in Greek-Turkish relations. And once again in this situation the parliamentary opposition parties have shown what a miserable role they play.

The two CPs¹ and PASOK² have made clear on many occasions the kind of national political unity they are seeking. But their unadulterated chauvinism in this situation is particularly revealing.

Papandreou³ has stressed that "we will defend our inalienable rights . . . no matter what the cost." Eliou⁴ put the accent on "pan-Hellenic unity around the government." Drakopoulos⁵ thinks that a "realistic" policy is essential. And the "exterior" CP says that the people are united "around a policy of determined defense of national independence."

It is obvious that Greek-Turkish relations are becoming more tense. But this is only one aspect of the situation, which the bourgeois press and the government are blowing up in order to hide the other side. What they want to hide is the *internal*

1. Following the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Greek CP split into the "interior," or relatively independent faction allied with the Italian CP, and the "exterior" faction of unconditional supporters of Moscow. The names come from the fact that at one time during the military dictatorship, the Moscow loyalists had a majority of party members outside Greece and the more independent faction had a majority inside. Actually this split was the end result of a long struggle that developed under the impact of the disasters the party suffered in the postwar period because of the zigzags of Kremlin policy. The currents that were repelled by the defeats of the civil war tended to look to the parliamentary road and became closely identified with the legal parliamentary formations set up by the CP in the 1950s.

2. Panellenio Sosialistiko Kinema (Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement).

3. Andreas Papandreou, leader of PASOK.

4. The leader of the Enosis tes Demokratikes Aristeras (EDA--Union of the Democratic Left), the old parliamentary front of the CP. This organization split along the same lines as the CP. After the fall of the junta, the "exterior" faction formally "dissolved" the EDA. The other faction continued to operate as the EDA, in a close relationship with the "interior" CP.

5. A leader of the "interior" CP.

situation in Greece and the advance of the workers movement. In fact, foreign policy is being determined essentially by the domestic situation.

Today the Caramanlis government is facing an economic crisis and a rise in the workers movement. Already, in a widely reported meeting March 5, the employers have said that the main problem is dealing with the workers movement.

The government responded quite rapidly to the recommendations of the SEB [Syndesmos Ellenon Biomechanon--Association of Greek Industrialists] by passing the reactionary law that in effect denies workers the right to strike. This is because the industrialists must increase the productivity of the economy, which means that the factories cannot stop running and the workers cannot present "excessive" demands.

In their meeting (see, for example, issue No. 329 of the SEB bulletin), the industrialists said that it was necessary "always to find the correct balance between common interests and productivity, on which the development and competitiveness of the economy depends."

However, the recent law taking away the right to strike will not be so easy to apply. The workers continue to walk off the job, and new strikes are starting up (for example, the 5,000 metalworkers at Skalisteria in Euboea).

At this time, regardless of how real the disputes are, the Turkish question has been raised to divert the struggles of the workers. And the CPs, which are workers parties, are not only not concentrating on exposing this diversion but are essentially giving aid and comfort to the government, proposing "Pan-Hellenic unity" and the like.

The whole "war fever" that has been spread through the bourgeois press since March 25 is aimed precisely at intimidating the workers and getting them to abandon the class struggle for "Pan-Hellenic unity." But the working class and the working people are not going to determine their vital interests in accordance with the demands of the bosses and the bosses' government. They are not going to subordinate themselves to "Pan-Hellenic unity" so as to help the bourgeoisie get over their crisis.

Only by independent struggle and strong organization can the workers defend themselves against the systematic offensive of the bosses and their government, who will not hesitate to plunge the working class into a murderous war if the "needs" of the economy require this.

By their struggle, aided by the conscious intervention of the revolutionary party, the workers will expose the reformists. They will show that today they cannot be so easily diverted.

Policía Política Confiesa 92 Allanamientos Oficinas SWP

Por Larry Seigle

[El siguiente artículo apareció originalmente en la edición del 9 de abril de *The Militant*, semanario que es publicado en Nueva York.

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

El gobierno de los Estados Unidos, que clama ser el guardián de los derechos y libertades del pueblo norteamericano, ha sido desenmascarado una vez más como el más persistente y peligroso enemigo de esos derechos.

Documentos de los archivos supersecretos del FBI han revelado que el buró, en repetidas ocasiones, irrumpió en las oficinas y sedes de las campañas electorales de la Young Socialist Alliance y del Socialist Workers Party. Los allanadores federales fotografiaron alrededor de 13,000 páginas de documentos concernientes a todo aspecto de la actividad socialista.

Los expedientes, que han ganado los titulares de costa a costa, fueron hechos públicos el 28 de marzo por el Political Rights Defense Fund,* que está asegurando los rëndons para la demanda socialista en contra del FBI, la CIA y doce agencias gubernamentales más.

Los expedientes de los allanamientos cubren sólo el período comprendido entre 1960 y 1966. A excepción de dos, todos los allanamientos documentados ocurrieron en la Ciudad de Nueva York. Los otros dos se llevaron a cabo en la casa del entonces Presidente Nacional del SWP, James P. Cannon, en Los Angeles y en una casa particular en Connecticut.

Los expedientes muestran una violación masiva de la ley y de los derechos democráticos, por parte de la máxima agencia nacional encargada de "hacer que se cumpla la ley." Pero aún esto es un pequeño fragmento del asunto. Por admisión del mismo FBI, los allanamientos no comenzaron en 1960, sino durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial. También continuaron después de 1966. Se llevaron a cabo no sólo en Nueva York, sino en diversas ciudades a lo largo del país.

Lo que es más, el SWP y la YSA son sólo dos de las organizaciones que fueron el blanco de este tratamiento ilegal. No hay duda de que operaciones similares han sido llevadas a cabo contra otros grupos radicales, organizaciones negras y sindicatos.

La suma de todo esto equivale a que el FBI es una de las más grandes organiza-

ciones de criminales que hayan plagado este planeta.

Los allanamientos son parte de la guerra permanente del gobierno capitalista por hostigar, dar al traste con y victimizar a los socialistas y a otros que luchan por la justicia social.

Los detalles de esta guerra han salido a la superficie como resultado de las revelaciones que han aparecido en relación con la demanda levantada por el SWP y la YSA.

En respuesta a órdenes del juez que está encargado del caso, el FBI ha presentado miles de páginas de expedientes ocultos, mismas que detallan las operaciones de su Counterintelligence Program (Cointelpro) en contra del SWP y la YSA, sus miembros, partidarios y candidatos para puestos públicos.

Estas operaciones incluyen intentos para lograr que los socialistas fueran despedidos de sus trabajos; repetidos hostigamientos consistentes en "investigaciones" que incluían visitas del FBI a casatenientes, familiares y patronos; y tretas para provocar desconfianza y divisiones en el seno de la YSA y del SWP, y entre los socialistas y otras organizaciones a través de circular mentiras, calumnias y ataques anticomunistas por parte de agentes del FBI y sus informantes.

Hasta ahora, el FBI había negado haber allanado al SWP o a la YSA. De hecho, el gobierno declaraba específicamente que no había llevado a cabo irrupciones, en una declaración presentada ante la corte en respuesta a la demanda judicial de los socialistas.

Pero los expedientes del FBI muestran que sus equipos especiales irrumpieron regularmente en las sedes de los socialistas. En el período de seis años que cubren estos allanamientos, se llevaron a cabo cada tres semanas como promedio.

Los agentes del FBI irrumpían en las oficinas utilizando llaves que habían hecho con este propósito, poco después de la medianoche. Fotografiaban, y algunas veces extraían informes, cartas, listas de destinatarios, actas de reuniones, nombres y direcciones de los que contribuían financieramente a las campañas electorales, información acerca de lugares de trabajo y afiliación sindical de los miembros, formas confidenciales sobre el pago de impuestos e información respecto a la estrategia de la defensa en casos que involucraban procedimientos legales federales.

Una lista típica, que contiene los resultados de una irrupción en la oficina nacional

del SWP el 3 de junio de 1960, contenía lo siguiente:

- Una carta "planteando el tema" de un discurso para ser pronunciado por Myra Tanner Weiss, candidato a vicepresidente por el SWP, y "catalogando el itinerario completo de las ciudades que visitaría de ahí en adelante, en una gira por toda la nación";

- "Formas para pedir el ingreso" que habían sido llenadas por dos individuos;

- "Carta de un individuo en otro continente, asignado con un batallón de señales del ejército, pidiendo información acerca del SWP";

- "Una carta que habla del nuevo empleo" de un miembro del partido en Nueva York;

- "Carta a un trotskista canadiense planteando que el dirigente del SWP [borrado] sería uno de sus oradores, proporcionando el número de vuelo y tiempo del viaje y lugar de su estancia en Toronto";

- "Carta proporcionando la identidad de un individuo al que se le había hecho un citatorio para aparecer ante el comité [House Un-American Activities Committee: Comité sobre Actividades No-Americanas de la Cámara de Diputados, el comité macartista con el que se montó la cacería de brujas durante los años cincuenta] en Washington en junio y arreglos hechos por el SWP para que la American Civil Liberties Union representara a éste y a otro miembro individual del SWP que fueron citados."

Otros materiales que fueron copiados esa noche consistían de: "la identidad de un miembro del SWP" que se había mudado a Nueva York desde Milwaukee; actas de reuniones del comité ejecutivo de una rama del SWP; y "una carta a otros locales solicitando ayuda para la campaña del SWP en la región superior del Estado de Nueva York."

En una conferencia de prensa el pasado agosto, el jefe del FBI Clarence Kelley reconoció por primera vez que el FBI había estado llevando a cabo "registros subrepticios" desde la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Kelley alegaba que los allanamientos fueron diseñados para obtener "información pertinente a la seguridad de la nación."

"Los últimos documentos muestran que la declaración de Kelley es falaz y fraudulenta," aseveró Peter Camejo, el candidato presidencial del SWP. "La información robada al SWP concernía actividades perfectamente legítimas, incluyendo planes para campañas electorales de un

* PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003, USA/EUA.

partido político. No hay indicación alguna, en cualquiera de los documentos copiados, de tan siquiera un acto ilegal llevado a cabo por el SWP.

"Lo que los ladrones del FBI trataban de proteger no era la 'seguridad de la nación,' sino la seguridad de los partidos Republicano y Demócrata para que éstos lleven a cabo sus políticas belicistas y racistas, libres de las críticas y los retos planteados por la alternativa socialista," dijo Camejo.

"Estos allanamientos constituyen una irrupción masiva a los derechos constitucionales no sólo de nuestro partido, sino de cada uno de los habitantes de este país.

Aunque estos allanamientos por sí mismos formalmente no eran parte del Cointelpro, la información obtenida a través de éstos fue utilizada para iniciar operaciones bajo el "Programa para Dar al Traste con el SWP" de Cointelpro.

Syd Stapleton, el secretario nacional del Political Rights Defense Fund, explicó a *The Militant* que el personal del PRDF ha relacionado por las fechas algunas de las informaciones robadas con actividades de hostigamiento que fueron descritas en los expedientes de Cointelpro entregados anteriormente por el FBI.

"El 26 de abril de 1963," dijo Stapleton, "el FBI fotografió correspondencia mostrando que el congreso venidero del partido sería llevado a cabo en el Empire Hotel de Nueva York. Antes de que transcurrieran dos semanas, la oficina de Nueva York del FBI pidió autorización a [el jefe del FBI, J. Edgar] Hoover para llevar a cabo 'operaciones de hostigamiento,' que aparentemente incluían un intento por persuadir a la administración del hotel para que cancelara las reservaciones para la convención."

Durante otras dos irrupciones—el primero de diciembre y el 15 de diciembre de 1961— el FBI copió cartas entre el SWP y la recientemente formada organización conocida como Labor Negro Vanguard Party. Este grupo había llevado a cabo una conferencia en Nueva York en la cual Farrell Dobbs, entonces secretario nacional del SWP, había participado. El grupo estaba encabezado por Clarence Coggins, un sindicalista negro de Nueva Jersey.

El 15 de marzo de 1962, la sede de la FBI en Washington proporcionó directivas a sus oficinas en Nueva York y en Nueva Jersey para que "consideraran una operación del programa de hostigamiento" para evitar la acción común entre el SWP y el LNVP. "Se espera que el LNVP colabore apoyando a los candidatos del SWP en las elecciones venideras," previno el FBI.

En lo que puede llegar a desarrollarse como uno de los aspectos más explosivos de las nuevas revelaciones, el FBI sistemáticamente copió documentos relacionados con casos judiciales en los que estaban involucrados miembros del SWP y de la YSA.

Los agentes federales en repetidas ocasiones irrumpieron en las oficinas del Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students

(CABS), que subarrendó un segmento de la oficina nacional de la YSA. CABS fue formado para ayudar a organizar la campaña de defensa de tres miembros de la YSA que fueron procesados en 1963 por actividades "sediciosas" en la Universidad de Indiana en Bloomington.

Este caso, la clásica estratagema legal contra actividades políticas, involucraba cargos en el sentido de que los tres jóvenes socialistas eran culpables de "asistir a una reunión donde se abogó a favor de un derrocamiento violento del gobierno." La reunión a la cual se refieren fue un discurso público, al cual asistieron más de cien personas, en donde un representante nacional de la YSA dijo que el pueblo negro debería usar su derecho constitucional de autodefensa para protegerse contra la violencia racista.

Más de 1,300 profesores universitarios, personas en favor de las libertades democráticas y otras figuras prominentes de todo el país auspiciaron el CABS. Con apoyo público, y una enérgica defensa provista por el destacado abogado constitucional Leonard Boudin, quien ahora representa al SWP y a la YSA en su demanda en contra del gobierno, la estratagema fue vencida.

Pero el 14 de mayo de 1965, mientras el caso se ventilaba en las cortes, agentes del FBI fotografiaron documentos que contenían información de "procedimientos legales en curso y sobre el financiamiento del CABS" e "informes referentes a actividades de los miembros de la YSA asignados a una gira para promover el CABS en varias ciudades del Sur y del Sudoeste."

El 16 de julio otra irrupción puso en manos del FBI "maniobras legales propuestas para el CABS," "resultados de las giras nacionales del CABS" y "la estructura de financiamiento del CABS."

Otra información, concerniente a las medidas legales para vencer los intentos por deportar a miembros del SWP, fue hurtada durante este período de seis años.

El 19 de julio de 1966 William Sullivan, jefe de contrainteligencia en el FBI, escribió un *memorandum* explicando que "no obtenemos la autorización fuera del FBI para llevar a cabo 'black bag jobs' [trabajos de ratero]. Esta técnica involucra transgresión y es claramente ilegal; entonces, sería imposible obtener justificación legal. Sin embargo, los 'black bag jobs' han sido utilizados debido a que representan una técnica de incalculable valor para combatir actividades subversivas de naturaleza clandestina, que están dirigidas a minar y destruir nuestra nación."

Sullivan agregaba que "a través del uso de esta técnica, en numerosas ocasiones hemos podido obtener material altamente secreto y guardado muy de cerca por grupos subversivos y organizaciones . . ."

¿De qué se trata esta información "altamente secreta"? ¿Planes de espionaje? ¿Tramas de asesinato? ¿Conspiraciones terroristas?

No. La información "altamente secreta," explicó Sullivan en su *memorandum*, "consistía de las listas de miembros y listas de destinatarios [de los envíos] de estas organizaciones"!

Como resultado de las revelaciones de los dos últimos años en cuanto a crímenes cometidos por el FBI en contra de los socialistas y otros disidentes, el gobierno ha intentado crear la impresión de que ahora repudia los rompimientos más atroces de la ley. El Procurador General Edward Levi ha caracterizado el programa Cointelpro como "insensato, debido a que no funciona bien" y "atroz, porque pienso que ya de por sí hay suficiente deshonestidad y falta de candor y civismo en nuestra sociedad."

Pero el Director Clarence Kelley ha defendido los allanamientos obstinadamente. En su conferencia de prensa el pasado julio, Kelley dijo: "No veo en alguna de estas actividades un burdo abuso de autoridad . . . No siento que se trate de una corrupción de la confianza que nos ha sido depositada."

A pesar del obvio entusiasmo de Kelley por el allanamiento, como técnica "para hacer que se cumpla la ley," el gobierno pretende que discontinuó esta práctica a mediados de 1966, por órdenes de Hoover.

Sin embargo, existe una considerable evidencia de que estas pretensiones son falsas. En su conferencia de prensa en julio pasado, según el periódico *Star* de Washington, Kelley dijo que cuando Hoover paró los "registros subrepticios" no eliminó "operaciones de contrainteligencia extranjeras ahí donde hubiera un grave impacto sobre la seguridad de la nación."

El periódico *Star* continúa diciendo: "Desde 1966, dijo, había habido unos cuantos registros, pero se rehusó a definir qué quiso decir con 'unos cuantos' excepto que 'no habían sido muchos.'"

El FBI nunca ha explicado precisamente qué grupos están dentro de la categoría correspondiente a "contrainteligencia extranjera."

En 1972 el Director del FBI, L. Patrick Gray, ordenó un allanamiento de una oficina de información árabe en Dallas, Texas.

Al menos en un caso, el SWP tiene pruebas de que el FBI allanó su sede en Detroit. En 1971, intrusos penetraron la sede de la campaña electoral del SWP en Michigan y hurtaron listas de los partidarios de los candidatos del SWP junto con otros expedientes. Uno de los polizontes enviados a la escena del crimen dijo que el robo parecía "un trabajo del FBI."

Poco después, algunos de los partidarios cuyos nombres figuraban en las listas robadas comenzaron a ser visitados por agentes del FBI.

Entre los artículos extraídos en el hurto figuraba una carta de Norma Lodico, una ex miembro del partido. Tres años más tarde, Lodico fue interrogada por la US Civil Service Commission acerca de su

"aptitud para ser empleada." Uno de los documentos en su expediente era una copia de la carta que le había escrito al SWP en Detroit.

La Civil Service Commission, desde entonces, ha admitido en la corte que la copia de la carta provenía del FBI. El FBI, sin embargo, en una declaración presentada ante la corte federal el 24 de marzo de 1976, pretendía que "una revisión de los anales correspondientes en el FBI no pudo revelar o sugerir la fuente de donde provino la carta."

Queda por verse si esta declaración va a resultar tan falaz como el rechazo original de que se habían llevado a cabo allanamientos contra el SWP y la YSA.

Es obvio que toda la verdad acerca de estos crímenes no va a conocerse hasta que todos los expedientes de los organismos secretos del gobierno sean abiertos.

En una declaración a la prensa el día que se hicieron públicos los documentos concernientes a los allanamientos, Peter Camejo declaró: "Nuestra intención es la

de insistir, en público y por medio de nuestra demanda judicial, que todos los documentos sobre ataques del FBI contra los socialistas, activistas por los derechos civiles y otras víctimas sean puestos a disposición del público.

"Pongamos los hechos sobre la mesa para que el pueblo norteamericano, no los funcionarios gubernamentales, puedan decidir quién es quien presenta una amenaza al Bill of Rights [Carta de Derechos de la Constitución de los EUA]." □

Millones se Enteran que SWP Lucha contra Espionaje del Gobierno

Titulares por Todos los EUA sobre Allanamientos del FBI

Por Jim Mack

[El siguiente artículo apareció originalmente en la edición del 16 de abril de *The Militant*, semanario socialista revolucionario publicado en Nueva York.

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

"El FBI Admite 92 Allanamientos, Revela Repetidas Irrupciones en Oficinas Socialistas," proclamaron titulares a todo lo largo de la primera plana en el *Los Angeles Times*. "El FBI Dice: Allanamos a los Socialistas en 92 Ocasiones," decía la primera plana del *Miami Herald*.

El *New York Times* publicó la historia a tres columnas en la parte superior de su primera plana, con un despacho de su corresponsal John Crewdson desde Washington y una versión desde Nueva York por separado. Entre los dos artículos, los editores colocaron una fotografía del candidato presidencial del Socialist Workers Party, Peter Camejo.

Las revelaciones sobre los allanamientos del FBI fueron tratadas en forma similar en periódicos a lo largo del país, en grandes ciudades y pequeños poblados por igual.

Internacionalmente fue también una noticia de gran importancia. Aunque no hemos recibido recortes de otros países, sabemos que el *International Herald Tribune* colocó la historia en su primera plana.

Alguien con sentido del humor en el *Miami Herald* decidió publicar un despacho de la UPI con el título "El Jefe del FBI Alega [que existe] Apatía hacia el Crimen," como un enmarcado en medio de la historia sobre los allanamientos. Según el despacho, Clarence Kelley—Allanador en Jefe—dijo: "Nuestra sociedad está verdaderamente asolada por una ola de crímenes

con dimensiones sin precedentes." "Ha llegado la hora en que los ciudadanos deben dejar de hablar acerca de lo espantoso que es el crimen y deben ponerse a hacer algo para resolverlo."

Decenas de millones de personas se enteraron por la radio y por presentaciones y noticias en la televisión acerca del Socialist Workers Party y su lucha en contra del espionaje del gobierno. Syd Stapleton, secretario nacional del Political Rights Defense Fund, apareció el lunes por la mañana, 29 de marzo, en el programa "Today" de la red de la NBC.

Esa noche, una presentación del Public Broadcasting Service sobre Peter Camejo comenzó por describir las nuevas revelaciones acerca de los allanamientos del FBI. A la mañana siguiente, la dirigente del SWP Linda Jenness apareció en el programa de la ABC difundido nacionalmente por televisión "Good Morning America," que es un programa de comentarios matinales.

La revelación de los documentos del FBI también provocó editoriales en apoyo del SWP en su lucha contra el hostigamiento gubernamental. El *New York Post* denunció los allanamientos del FBI como "Subversivos, ilegales y que constituyen una afrenta a la Constitución." Notaba que "a pesar su inexorable actividad criminal, el FBI fue totalmente incapaz de obtener evidencia alguna para incriminar al SWP."

El *Miami Herald* hacía un llamado por que "las actividades anticonstitucionales en contra de un partido político legítimo por parte del gobierno federal sean ventiladas en forma completa y abierta, con una justa recompensa por cualquier daño causado."

El *Atlanta Constitution* notaba: "No debe sorprendernos que la gente haya perdido su fe y su respeto por instituciones como el FBI y otras. Cuando una agencia que se supone que debe sostener la ley y

ver que se cumpla adopta como rutina el rompimiento de ésta, tarde o temprano el público despierta."

El *New York Times*, en su principal editorial [de ese día], dijo: "Estos allanamientos fueron asaltos contra la Constitución. Se llevaron a cabo por una agencia gubernamental haciendo a un lado deliberadamente los más elementales derechos de los ciudadanos en una democracia: [el derecho a] estar seguros de cateos ilegales, sin autorización."

The Nation, la principal revista liberal en el país, publicó un gran editorial en apoyo a la demanda judicial de los socialistas, instando a los lectores "que quisieran ayudar a mandar a juicio a los criminales oficiales en este caso de allanamiento 'legal'" a que enviaran contribuciones al PRDF.

El bisemanal negro *Philadelphia Tribune* dijo en un editorial: "Aquéllos que sientan que esto no tiene que ver con los negros, deben recordar que el SWP tiene muchos miembros negros y que el FBI llevó a cabo [el mismo tipo de] operaciones ilegales contra el finado Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., y de muchos dirigentes y organizaciones negros durante les sesentas.

"¿Y dónde están las expresiones de afrenta por parte de nuestro 'por la ley y el orden' Presidente, para no mencionar otros candidatos tales como Carter, Jackson, Reagan y demás, en contra del rompimiento de la ley por el FBI? Su silencio parece indicarnos que Watergate todavía vive, que los crímenes son malos sólo si son cometidos por personas pobres, no si los comete el gobierno."

El semanario maoísta *Guardian* publicó una amplia relación noticiosa. Sin embargo, el *Daily World* pro Moscú, cegado por su hostilidad sectaria hacia el SWP, no ha escrito una sola palabra acerca de este importante desarrollo. Esto profiere al *Daily World* la obscura distinción de ser

virtualmente el único periódico de este país que consideró pertinente ignorar la relación de los hechos.

Sólo aquéllos que aprendieron periodis-

mo en la escuela de censura Stalin pueden sentirse agusto encubriendo una de las más grandes revelaciones hasta ahora sobre los crímenes del FBI. □

Resolución de la Cuarta Internacional

Sobre Unificación de los Trotskistas Mexicanos

[La siguiente resolución fue aprobada unánimemente en la reunión de febrero del Comité Ejecutivo Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional.

[La traducción apareció en el número de marzo de *Bandera Roja*, órgano del Grupo Comunista Internacionalista, una organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional en México. Hemos cotejado esta traducción con el texto original en inglés para corregir ciertos errores obvios.]

El pleno de febrero de 1976 del Comité Ejecutivo Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional observa que como resultado de la erupción repentina de diferencias políticas y organizativas en la Liga Socialista, una de las dos organizaciones simpatizantes de la Cuarta Internacional en México, se ha dado una escisión *de facto*, y que una minoría no reconoce la legitimidad y las decisiones del congreso de diciembre de 1975 de la organización. Esta escisión ha sido acompañada por graves ataques públicos de naturaleza organizativa que amenazan seriamente con socavar la creciente reputación que la Cuarta Internacional ha ganado en los últimos años entre cada vez más amplias capas de la juventud y de los trabajadores radicalizados en México.

Al mismo tiempo, el CEI reafirma el anhelo de implementar el llamado del Décimo Congreso Mundial (*reiterado* por la resolución del plenario del CEI de febrero de 1975) en favor de la unificación lo más pronto posible de los adherentes a la Cuarta Internacional en México sobre una base de principios. Las diferencias políticas existentes entre los miembros en México de la Cuarta Internacional de ningún modo pueden ser consideradas como un obstáculo que imposibilite el trabajo en una sola organización que funcione sobre las bases del centralismo democrático.

No hay estipulación alguna en los estatutos de la Cuarta Internacional ni en las decisiones del Décimo Congreso Mundial para reconocer a una tercera organización simpatizante de la CI en México. Además, el CEI no considera aconsejable legalizar las escisiones *de facto* y las negativas de las minorías para reconocer decisiones mayoritarias de los congresos tal como podría implicarse al reconocer la existencia de dos fracciones públicas de la Liga Socialista en México. Sin embargo, a

fin de no crear obstáculos adicionales para la rápida unificación de las fuerzas de la Cuarta Internacional en México, el CEI considera que todos aquéllos que eran miembros de la Liga Socialista al abrirse el congreso de ésta siguen siendo miembros de la CI el día de hoy.

Esta situación extremadamente precaria de membresía individual en la Cuarta Internacional fuera de una organización que haya sido reconocida puede, sin embargo, representar sólo una medida excepcional de corto plazo que tiene como objetivo la superación de la crisis organizativa creada por la escisión *de facto* en la Liga Socialista. Su propósito es ayudar a la unificación general de las fuerzas de la Cuarta Internacional en México.

El CEI entonces resuelve:

1. Recomendar a las direcciones del GCI y de la LS que abran negociaciones orientadas hacia una reunificación principista de los dos grupos, que incluya a todos aquellos que eran miembros del GCI y de la LS en el momento de los últimos congresos y los nuevos reclutas obtenidos desde entonces.

2. De acuerdo con las resoluciones elaboradas por el Décimo Congreso Mundial, la organización unificada se transformaría inmediatamente en la sección mexicana de la Cuarta Internacional.

3. Antes de la unificación se elaborarán estatutos acordados mutuamente basados en los estatutos de la Cuarta Internacional adoptados en el Décimo Congreso Mundial. Entre otras cosas, los estatutos incluirán cláusulas sobre el deber de las minorías de aplicar las decisiones de la mayoría y a actuar en público bajo la disciplina mayoritaria; el derecho de las minorías para formar tendencias o fracciones, que estarán representadas en los organismos de dirección por representantes que éstas mismas hayan elegido, proporcionalmente más o menos de acuerdo con sus fuerzas numéricas, y de estar protegidas contra las represalias administrativas y el hostigamiento. Los estatutos especificarán también el derecho de las células y los organismos regionales de elegir su propia dirección, que estarán obligadas a respetar, por supuesto, el centralismo democrático de la organización nacional.

4. La organización unificada se guiará igualmente por (a) un programa de princi-

pios y (b) un documento común, sobre "Tesis sobre la Revolución Mexicana," ambos a ser elaborados en común, antes de la unificación, por representantes de todas las partes concernientes.

5. Una discusión precongreso de unificación se realizará entre todos los implicados, en torno a uno o más proyectos de resolución política sobre las tareas tácticas inmediatas; esto es, lo que constituirá la determinación de la línea política del trabajo cotidiano de la organización unificada. Tal como el programa de principios y las tesis comunes sobre la revolución mexicana, los proyectos de resolución política se someterán a la discusión en las bases y a votación en el congreso de unificación. A nivel de dirección, se deberá hacer un esfuerzo serio para elaborar una línea general para la organización unificada y para evitar cualquier tipo de métodos compulsivos con los camaradas que estén involucrados en campos de intervención específicos y cambiarlos contra sus convicciones. También se hará un esfuerzo común para iniciar una actividad inmediata común en todos los campos de intervención antes de la unificación, incluyendo una campaña electoral común de todos los involucrados, en las elecciones presidenciales de México. Sin embargo, dado el grado más bien estrecho de las diferencias políticas existentes, incluso si tal acuerdo no puede lograrse en todos los casos, esto no podrá impedir la unificación; las decisiones serán tomadas por voto mayoritario en el congreso de unificación.

6. Se recomienda que la unificación se realice en un período no mayor de seis meses posterior a este pleno del CEI.

7. Los camaradas que no reconcieron la legitimidad del congreso de la Liga Socialista se comprometen en:

(a) Que no han levantado cargo alguno en contra del camarada Ricardo y que lo consideran leal a la Cuarta Internacional. El Comité Dirigente de la Fracción Leninista Trotskista declara que no tiene alguna razón para dudar de la lealtad del camarada Ricardo a la Cuarta Internacional.

(b) Que están de acuerdo en no publicar periódico alguno con el nombre *El Socialista* y en no hablar públicamente a nombre de la Liga Socialista.

(c) Que van a regresar todo el material, excepto pertenencias personales, que estaban en el local de la Liga Socialista en el momento del congreso de diciembre de 1975.

8. Todos los miembros de la CI en México y todos los miembros o partidarios de la Cuarta Internacional fuera de México se comprometen a abstenerse de todo acto o escritos que puedan estorbar o poner en peligro el curso hacia una unificación de principios en México.

9. El CEI nombra una comisión de tres camaradas para observar cómo la presente resolución se lleva a cabo y para informar más tarde al Secretariado Unificado. □

Llamamiento por el Dr. Miguel Antonio Bernal

[La siguiente declaración fue emitida el 19 de abril por el United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Un destacado oponente panameño al control por parte de los EUA del Canal de Panamá y a la presencia de bases militares norteamericanas en su país ha sido exilado por la dictadura del General Omar Torrijos.

El Doctor Miguel Antonio Bernal fue arrestado por la policía de seguridad estatal (G-2) a las 6:00 a.m. el 18 de febrero cuando llegaba al aeropuerto de Panamá, proveniente de un viaje a Europa. Fue exilado a Guayaquil, Ecuador, al día siguiente.

Las autoridades panameñas no levantaron cargos en contra del Dr. Bernal, ni ha sido enjuiciado por crimen alguno. No se proporcionó explicación, de cualquier tipo, por parte de las autoridades sobre el exilio de este abogado. No apareció explicación alguna en los diarios panameños.

El Dr. Bernal estudió derecho en Burdeos, Francia, y era profesor en la Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad de Panamá. Ahí daba cursos sobre derecho internacional, incluyendo tratados internacionales, así como sobre ciencia política. También trabajaba como redactor en jefe para la única revista publicada en Panamá, la revista mensual *Diálogo Social*.

Este abogado exilado es bien conocido en su país debido a sus abiertas críticas al gobierno y especialmente a la propuesta de Torrijos de renegociar con Washington el tratado concerniente al Canal de Panamá. Torrijos quiere dejar a los Estados Unidos en control del canal hasta el año 2,000.

El Dr. Bernal, quien se describe a sí mismo como un socialista revolucionario, ha llamado por el regreso del canal a Panamá y por el retiro de la red extensiva de bases militares que el gobierno de los EUA mantiene en su país. Considera que estas bases no sólo están encaminadas en contra de la soberanía de su país, sino también en contra del resto de América Latina y del Caribe. Expresaba estos puntos de vista en un programa semanal en la estación de radio llamada Radio Iniciativa, así como en *Diálogo Social*.

Un representante de USLA tuvo la oportunidad de hablar con el Dr. Bernal recientemente. Este último le dijo que "está claro que me han exilado de mi país debido a que defendía públicamente los derechos del pueblo panameño en contra del impe-

rialismo norteamericano, especialmente en lo relativo al canal."

La edición del 20 de febrero del diario de Guayaquil *El Telégrafo* citó al Dr. Bernal, quien denunció su exilio como un intento por parte del régimen de Torrijos para perseguir "elementos izquierdistas que no transigen con las componendas."

Las amenazas del gobierno en contra suya, le dijo el Dr. Bernal a USLA, comenzaron después de una manifestación de unas cinco mil personas frente a la embajada norteamericana en Panamá el pasado 23 de septiembre. En esta manifestación, en la que participó el Dr. Bernal, el Teniente Cleto Hernández de la G-2 le profirió una amenaza de muerte.

El Dr. Bernal denunció públicamente esta amenaza en Radio Iniciativa, y fue contestado por el Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores Juan Antonio Tack. En el Canal 4 de televisión en Panamá, Tack dijo que el Dr. Bernal no estaba amenazado "dentro de un régimen de absoluto respeto a su libertad de acción, siempre y cuando no exceda los límites del irrespeto a otras personas quienes, mucho más que él, están luchando en una forma real y verdadera por sembrar bandera y soberanía en la Zona del Canal."

En las páginas de *Diálogo Social*, el Dr. Bernal contestó que estaba en su derecho al "protestar en contra de la injusticia, las calumnias y las mentiras: "Lo hemos hecho y lo seguiremos haciendo. Para ello no tenemos que pedirle permiso a nadie. . . ." (El subrayado es del Dr. Bernal.)

El mes de enero del presente año, mientras que el Dr. Bernal estaba fuera del país, el régimen de Torrijos adoptó medidas en contra de aquéllos que se oponen a su nuevo tratado con Washington, fuese desde la izquierda o desde la derecha. Haciendo una amalgama, el régimen denunció que había una conspiración entre "marxistas revolucionarios" y la extrema derecha.

Un largo artículo sobre la deportación en el diario ecuatoriano *Expreso* el 20 de febrero dijo: "La misma [fuente gubernamental] aclaró que, en efecto, el profesor Bernal era miembro de la extrema izquierda . . . aunque, como ya se había hecho notar cuando se procedió a la deportación de los empresarios, en contacto con miembros de la extrema derecha."

Una docena de personas fue exilada. Entre éstas había dos abogados socialdemócratas, uno de los cuales—el licenciado Alberto Quiroz Guardia—era el propietario de Radio Iniciativa. Los otros incluían varios comerciantes, cuatro ganaderos y hasta un alto ejecutivo del Chase

Manhattan Bank, el general Rubén Darío Carles, ex ministro panameño de finanzas. Radio Iniciativa fue cerrado y desmantelado.

De acuerdo a la edición del 20 de febrero de *Expreso*, un "alto vocero oficial del gobierno panameño" dijo que el Dr. Bernal figuraba en la lista original de personas a ser exiladas en enero. Suponemos que hubiera sido exilado desde entonces, si no fuera porque se encontraba fuera del país.

El Dr. Bernal dijo que su vida había sido amenazada nuevamente cuando fue arrestado. Mientras era escoltado por agentes de la G-2 a las oficinas de ésta en el aeropuerto, vió a su hermana, que había ido a recogerlo, al otro lado de la puerta. Le escribió una nota, explicándole que había sido arrestado y se la aventó a través de la ventana que había encima de la puerta. En ese momento un agente de la G-2 sacó su pistola, la apuntó entre los ojos del Dr. Bernal y le dijo que lo iba a matar. "Soy más revolucionario que tú," le dijo el agente, "tú eres sólo un intelectualito ¡y yo soy un policía!"

La policía "revolucionaria" entonces se llevó al Dr. Bernal al Cuartel de Tocumen, cerca del aeropuerto, donde fue encerrado durante veinticinco horas en una pequeña celda. Había dos policías cuidándolo. Ni siquiera se le dió permiso para ir al excusado. Cuando era necesario, sus captores le daban una casco de refresco vacío.

Al terminar el período en que lo mantuvieron encerrado, fue llevado al aeropuerto. El Sargento Sánchez Galán de la G-2 lo acompañó en un viaje a Guayaquil. Antes de entregarlo a las autoridades ecuatorianas, Galán tomó su pasaporte, su dinero y toda su documentación. Así que ha quedado desamparado, sin fondos, y sus prospectos son inciertos. Su esposa, Myrna Castilleros, no puede unirsele, ya que tiene que permanecer en Panamá para trabajar y sostener a sus dos hijos, de cuatro y seis años de edad.

El United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) llama a todos aquéllos que son partidarios de la democracia y de la decencia humana elemental a protestar contra este caso escandaloso de persecución política. Las demandas por que al Dr. Bernal se le permita regresar a su país deben ser enviadas a las embajadas panameñas.

Se requieren fondos urgentemente para ayudar al Dr. Bernal a sobrevivir mientras busca trabajo en el exilio, y así prestarle ayuda para reunirse con su familia. USLA ha creado un fondo con este propósito. Los cheques deben ser expedidos a nombre de USLA, y rogamos que se indique que están destinados para el Fondo de Defensa del Dr. Bernal. Los cheques y copias de los mensajes deben ser enviados a USLA, 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, N.Y. 10003, EUA/USA. □