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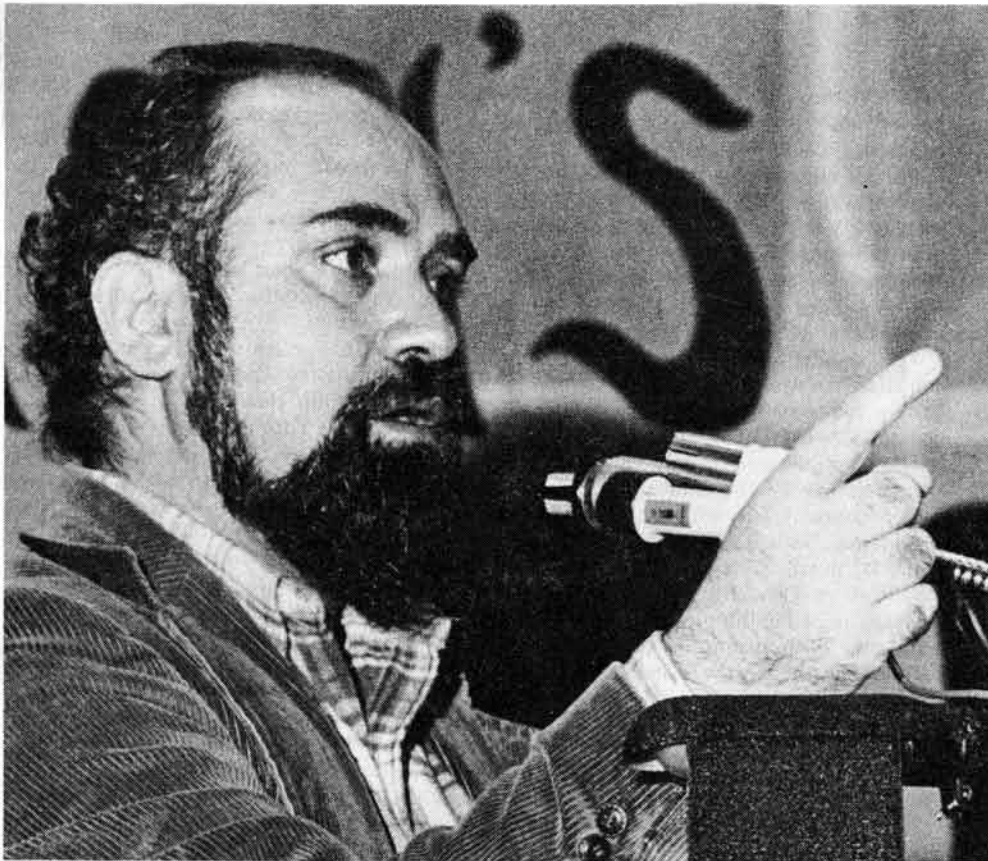
the Americas

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May 10, 1976

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Chuck Fishman/CAIFI Reporter

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NEWS ANALYSIS

The FBI's 40-Year Attack on Democratic Rights

By Ernest Harsch

For more than forty years, the American government has maintained an extensive and far-reaching secret-police system that has spied on and harassed hundreds of thousands of persons in the United States.

The main targets of the political police were Black leaders, trade unionists, women's liberation activists, and antiwar protesters, as well as members and supporters of political parties, such as the Communist party and the Socialist Workers party.

A report released by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence April 28 on the domestic intelligence operations of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and other government bodies provided the most comprehensive and detailed account of Washington's police-state methods disclosed so far.

The release of the Senate report followed earlier disclosures of some of the illegal FBI activities against political dissidents. The Socialist Workers party suit against government spying and harassment had, for example, led to a number of revelations of the Cointelpro (counterintelligence program) operations.

The Senate report charged the FBI with four decades of "lawless and improper behavior" and of using intelligence methods "reminiscent of totalitarian regimes."

According to the report, the FBI has about 500,000 domestic intelligence files at its Washington headquarters and more at its regional offices. From 1955 to 1975, it investigated 740,000 "subversive matters" and 190,000 "extremist matters."

In addition, the U.S. Army maintains files on 100,000 Americans. The Internal Revenue Service, between 1969 and 1973, amassed political files on 11,000 individuals and groups and later computerized 465,000 names for general intelligence purposes.

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) collected an index file on 300,000 Americans and full dossiers on 7,200 individuals and more than 100 organizations under its Operation Chaos program against domestic dissidents. From 1953 to 1973, the CIA illegally opened 250,000 letters, producing a "computerized index of nearly one and one-half million names," the report said.

At the height of the cold war in the early 1950s, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, acting on orders from the White House, compiled another, special list. Called the Security Index (renamed the Reserve Index

in 1960), the list contained the names of more than 10,000 Americans slated for summary detention in the event of a "national emergency."

According to the report, those on this list included "professors, teachers, and educators; labor union organizers and leaders; writers, lecturers, newsmen and others in the mass media field. . . ." Although the index was supposedly discontinued in 1971, the FBI and Justice Department continued to maintain "a secret administrative index of suspects for round-up in case of a national emergency."

The Senate report laid part of the responsibility for the cancerous growth of secret political surveillance on six past presidents, both Democrat and Republican. It noted that in 1936 President Roosevelt, a Democrat, sent a memorandum to the FBI calling for more systematic gathering of information on "subversive activities in the United States, particularly fascism and communism."

Although the Senate report avoided mentioning any recent illegal activities by the FBI that might embarrass President Ford, it did cite examples from the rest of Roosevelt's successors: Truman (Republican), Eisenhower (Republican), Kennedy (Democrat), Johnson (Democrat), and Nixon (Republican).

A particular target of the political police was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the oldest and largest civil-rights organization in the United States. Beginning in 1941, according to the report, the FBI launched an attack on the NAACP, infiltrating the group with informers and gathering extensive reports on its membership, headquarters, and activities. Although the NAACP never committed a single illegal action, the FBI continued spying on the civil-rights group for twenty-five years.

"Similarly," the report said, "the F.B.I. has admitted that the Socialist Workers Party has committed no criminal acts. Yet the bureau has investigated the Socialist Workers Party for more than three decades on the basis of its revolutionary rhetoric—which the F.B.I. concedes falls short of incitement to violence—and its claimed international links."

With the rise of the anti-Vietnam War, student, and women's movements in the 1960s and early 1970s, the FBI turned its attention to groups involved in those

struggles as well. Informers were sent to meetings of the National Organization for Women and other women's groups. In 1970 the FBI ordered investigations of every member of the Students for a Democratic Society and of every Black student union in the country.

The FBI did not limit itself to spying on political organizations, however. It actively sought to disrupt them. In the 1950s it initiated the first formal Cointelpro operations against dissident groups.

Describing the kinds of activities the FBI carried out under the Cointelpro operations, the report said, "Unsavoury and vicious tactics have been employed—including anonymous attempts to break up marriages, disrupt meetings, ostracize persons from their professions and provoke target groups into rivalries that might result in deaths." (For details on some of these Cointelpro operations, see *Intercontinental Press*, February 10, October 20, and December 15, 1975, and January 26, 1976.)

The Senate report described at length the FBI's harassment of Black civil-rights leader Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was assassinated in 1968. In 1963, the FBI's Domestic Intelligence Division characterized King as the "most dangerous and effective Negro leader in the country." The Senate report quoted the FBI official who was in charge of the bureau's "war" against King as saying, "No holds were barred."

One of the FBI's efforts to "neutralize" King involved the gathering of information on his private life, which was then used to try to break up his marriage and to discredit him publicly.

Although the FBI's Cointelpro operations were officially ended in 1971, the Senate committee confirmed that similar programs are continuing.

According to reporter John M. Crewdson in the April 29 *New York Times*, the committee heard testimony from William C. Sullivan, who for ten years served as head of the FBI's Domestic Intelligence Division, "that the program's 15-year life was largely an artificial distinction, and that the techniques that characterized Cointelpro, such as anonymous inflammatory letters, had been used by the F.B.I. to some extent since 1941 and had been continued after 1971. . . ."

The Senate report also pointed out that the FBI "is currently using its informants to collect information about S.W.P. members' political views, including those on 'U.S. involvement in Angola,' 'food prices,' 'racial matters,' the 'Vietnam War' and about any of their efforts to support non-S.W.P. candidates for political office."

Throughout the more than forty years the FBI trampled on the democratic rights of American citizens, the Congress followed a consistent policy of looking the other way. It was only the growing distrust in the government among the

American people, which was fueled by the massive antiwar movement and the Watergate revelations, that finally forced some of Washington's secret policies and practices out into the open.

The revelations contained in the Senate report make the illegal activities of the FBI and CIA a matter of official record and are thus an important gain in the struggle to defend democratic rights in the United States.

The Senate investigation, however, was designed to release this explosive information in a controlled manner so as to ensure the least amount of damage to the White House. *New York Times* reporter Nicholas M. Horrock commented in the April 30 issue:

The committee was unwilling from the beginning to operate in public or to confront and do battle with intelligence agencies that were reluctant to supply full and complete information. . . .

The committee said that the assassination matters were too sensitive for public hearings. And it later bowed to Administration wishes not to disclose matters on covert operations.

The committee, particularly toward the end of its inquiry, seemed intent on proving that Congress was as reasonable in keeping secrets as was the executive branch.

The Senate report ended with ninety-six recommendations for the reform of some of the more blatant practices of the intelligence agencies. But it stressed, "The excesses of the past do not, however, justify depriving the United States of a clearly defined and effectively controlled domestic intelligence capability."

Thus the proposed reforms would leave the political police free to function as an agency designed to circumscribe democratic rights. Moreover even these limited reforms may never be enacted. □

U.S. Companies 'Pure,' Says Merchant of Death

Willard F. Rockwell, Jr., the chairman of Rockwell International, told a prayer breakfast of hundreds of businessmen April 16 that American corporations were "purer than Ivory Soap." (In its advertisements, Ivory Soap claims to be 99.44 percent "pure.")

His speech was an attempt to belie the bad publicity that Rockwell, one of the largest American arms producers, has recently received. In March, it was disclosed that the company had hosted a number of top Pentagon officials at an exclusive hunting lodge.

Rockwell also called for a "no" vote on the California referendum that would restrict the construction of nuclear power plants in that state. He said he was opposed to the referendum "as a free man, as a businessman, as a citizen." Rockwell controls Atomics International of Canoga Park, a major supplier of nuclear systems.

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Kissinger's New Policy in Southern Africa

By David Frankel

Kissinger's two-week visit to Africa, which began in Kenya April 24, was designed to help dramatize an important shift in the State Department's stance in southern Africa. "The black tide is flowing southward," Joseph C. Harsch commented in the April 30 *Christian Science Monitor*. "It has become a simple question whether American policy would be rolled under that tide, or ride with it."

In Rhodesia, the white racist regime of Prime Minister Ian Smith faces massive opposition from the Zimbabwean masses and a widening guerrilla war. Moreover, the rise of the class struggle in southern Africa, epitomized by the collapse of Portugal's colonial empire, is putting increased pressure on the apartheid regime in Pretoria.

In response, the Ford administration has decided to establish closer ties with Black leaders in southern Africa while publicly dissociating itself from the Smith regime in Rhodesia and from the most vicious aspects of the apartheid system in South Africa.

Kissinger's New Line

Originally, Kissinger's itinerary included stops at Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Zaïre, Ghana, Liberia, Senegal, and a return visit to Kenya to attend the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. However, on April 27 Kissinger was informed that he would not be welcome in Ghana, where students had demonstrated against his visit. The State Department blamed Moscow for the cancellation, claiming that it had instigated the protests. Earlier, the Nigerian government had also declined to receive Kissinger.

Kissinger's prescription for overcoming Washington's diplomatic difficulties in Africa was presented in Zambia April 27. To begin with, Kissinger backed "in the strongest terms" British Prime Minister James Callaghan's March 22 proposal for a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia leading to majority rule and independence within two years.

Both the British and the American imperialists badly want such a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia. They fear that the stubbornness of the Smith regime may provoke a mass movement that could prove fatal to imperialist domination in all of southern Africa.

In his talk, which was billed in advance as a major foreign policy statement,



Ken Burgess/Washington Post

Kissinger said that "the Salisbury regime must understand that it cannot expect United States support either in diplomacy or in material help at any stage in its conflict with African states or African liberation movements. On the contrary, it will face our unrelenting opposition until a negotiated settlement is achieved."

Kissinger made a number of additional pledges in regard to Rhodesia. The most important were that:

- The Ford administration would seek to enforce economic sanctions voted against the Rhodesian regime by the United Nations. "We will urge the Congress this year to repeal the Byrd Amendment, which authorizes Rhodesian chrome imports to the United States. . . ."

- Washington would provide \$12.5 million in aid to Mozambique to partially offset the economic losses sustained there as a result of the Samora Machel regime's decision to close its border with Rhodesia.

- Washington "is ready to help alleviate economic hardship for any countries neighboring Rhodesia which decide to enforce sanctions by closing their frontiers.

Turning to Namibia, which is illegally occupied by the South African regime, Kissinger called for "a definite timetable acceptable to the world community for the achievement of self-determination."

He also urged Pretoria "to permit all the people and groups of Namibia to express their views freely, under U.N. supervision,

on the political future and constitutional structure of their country."

However, when it came to South Africa itself, Kissinger carefully avoided any reference to majority rule. He confined himself to calling for "a peaceful end to institutionalized inequality," and to urging that the Vorster regime put pressure on Ian Smith "to promote a rapid negotiated settlement for majority rule in Rhodesia."

Even in the case of Rhodesia, the Ford administration's newly proclaimed commitment to majority rule was strictly limited. At his final news conference in Nairobi on April 25, Kissinger insisted that the U.S. government "does not plan to give military aid in any form to the nationalist movements in Africa."

'Tar Baby' Flops

Nevertheless, Kissinger's speech represented a turn in State Department policy. The old policy toward southern Africa was set out in a memorandum prepared by Kissinger and approved by former President Nixon in February 1970. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 3, 1975, p. 1504.)

Nicknamed "Tar Baby" by White House advisers, Kissinger's former policy was to:

. . . maintain public opposition to racial repression but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on the white states. . . . Without openly taking a position undermining the UK [United Kingdom] and the UN on Rhodesia, we would be more flexible in our attitude toward the Smith regime. We would take present Portuguese policies as suggesting further changes in the Portuguese territories. At the same time we would take diplomatic steps to convince the black states of the area that their current liberation and majority rule aspirations in the south are not attainable by violence and that their only hope for a peaceful and prosperous future lies in closer relations with white-dominated states.

Nixon and his advisers were mainly concerned with South Africa. Under the "Tar Baby" policy, the Nixon administration quietly reopened military sales to Pretoria. South Africa's share in the almost \$3 billion in direct American investments in sub-Saharan Africa jumped from 38 percent in 1972 to 56 percent in 1974. This percentage is still rising.

Although Rhodesia was not nearly as important economically or militarily, Kissinger argued in 1970 that "it seems to me premature to give up Salisbury now."

The basic premise behind this policy was

that the "whites are here [in Africa] to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them."

This racist "white man's burden" policy was the foreign counterpart of the domestic policy of "benign neglect" followed in relation to Blacks in the United States by Nixon's former assistant on urban affairs, Daniel P. Moynihan. The passage of the Byrd Amendment in 1971 was no more than one of the practical consequences of a policy that had already been approved by the White House.

But the assumption that the African masses could be safely ignored began to crumble in 1974, along with the Portuguese colonial empire. The collapse of the imperialist military intervention in Angola was decisive in showing the State Department that a turn in policy was required.

A Matter of Timing

The first signs of this shift came with Kissinger's trip to Latin America in February. As an article in the March 15 issue of *Intercontinental Press* ("Saber Rattling Over Cuba's African Role") pointed out, under cover of his denunciations of Cuba Kissinger was moving toward a different stance in Angola. It was noticeable, the article said:

... that the Peruvian government recognized the MPLA government the day after Kissinger left Lima.

Colombian President Alfonso López Michelsen announced his intention to recognize the MPLA with Kissinger sitting next to him. . . .

One of Kissinger's objectives in his tour thus seems to have been to assure the Latin Americans that Washington would not retaliate if they recognized the MPLA government in Angola. This would accord with the State Department's decision to make a turn in Angola, a course first indicated by the permission granted to Gulf Oil to resume friendly collaboration with the MPLA as in the past.

This turn dovetails with the actions of America's imperialist allies in Europe in hastily mending fences with the MPLA.

Of course, it was necessary for Kissinger to take the matter of timing into account. After beating the drums about the Communist menace in Angola, which supposedly endangered the whole African continent, Kissinger was hardly in position to move immediately toward recognizing the MPLA regime.

As a result, the shift in State Department policy in Africa was made step by step. On April 6, for example, U.S. Ambassador William Scranton voted in the UN Security Council in favor of extending economic sanctions against Rhodesia. This was a precursor of Kissinger's call for the repeal of the Byrd Amendment.

On April 14, Kissinger met with members of the Congressional Black Caucus. One participant in the meeting, Congressman Charles Diggs, said that Kissinger was not yet prepared to recognize the MPLA regime, "but he obviously feels that

at some point the U.S. will recognize that country."

Speaking in Liberia April 30, Kissinger said, "We wish Angola well as a unified and independent state." He added that before discussions on diplomatic ties could take place, "We want to know Angola's intentions with respect to the presence of foreign forces on its soil."

This muted reference to "foreign forces" illustrated another aspect of the State Department's new approach. Throughout his African tour, Kissinger has avoided the former strident rhetoric about "Cuban mercenaries" and the danger of "Soviet expansionism."

'If It Can Happen in Egypt . . .'

Washington's basic calculation was summed up by columnist Clayton Fritchey in an April 24 article in the *New York Post*. Fritchey noted that only a few years ago the Soviets appeared to be "firmly entrenched" in Egypt, but today Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat is strongly supporting Kissinger's Middle East policy.

"If it can happen in Egypt," Fritchey argued, "it can also happen—even more readily—in Angola, which is why our European allies, in contrast to the U.S., have promptly recognized the MPLA liberation force as the official government of Angola and have started offering economic aid."

The decision to rely more heavily on the neocolonial regimes in southern Africa and to put pressure on leaders within the Black freedom movements to collaborate with American imperialism was clearly necessary from Washington's standpoint, in view of the objective situation. The delay in implementing this policy had more to do with Ford's problem of winning the Republican nomination for president than with the situation in Africa.

Ford waited as long as possible so as to minimize the opening that might be provided to Ronald Reagan in the contest for the racist vote in the Republican party presidential primaries. Reagan complained April 28 that Kissinger's pledge to support majority rule in Rhodesia might encourage more "violence" there.

"Going over there and encouraging the side that advocates bloodshed is a mistake," Reagan said. "I'm afraid we're going to have a massacre."

On April 30, Reagan returned to the subject. He urged Kissinger to "avoid impulsive reactions," arguing that the Rhodesians "have special problems which will require time to solve."

In appealing for the racist vote, Reagan also came out against the repeal of the Byrd Amendment.

Smith Scores 'Surrender'

While the capitalist politicians in the United States, jockeying for position in the primaries, were considering how best to

tailor their positions on the new policy in southern Africa, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith blasted Kissinger's move.

In an April 27 speech, Smith denounced his previous supporters in Washington, saying that "they are prepared to sacrifice the whites of Rhodesia—and if necessary of the whole of southern Africa. . . ."

Smith vowed that "we have no intention whatever of surrendering our country as part of a policy of appeasing the Communists."

The day before Smith's speech, the Rhodesian regime announced that it was setting up a "national security committee" charged with censoring the press, radio, and television. A government official said the censorship would cover "information relating to defense, public safety, public order, the economic interests of the state, or information that could cause alarm and despondency. . . ."

An April 26 Reuters dispatch from Salisbury reported that the new committee would have "power to authorize the police to enter any premises and seize anything containing information that the committee believes should not be published."

Smith followed this up by announcing in his April 27 speech the establishment of "special criminal courts to deal solely with trials arising from terrorist activities." He explained that "the orthodox courts are not, in the opinion of Government, adequately able under existing procedures to deal with such cases as quickly as we would like."

At the same time that his regime was adopting these repressive measures aimed at the Black majority, Smith tried to persuade the world how forward-looking his government was by swearing in four Black tribal chiefs as members of his cabinet. The tribal chiefs are paid by the government, which in the past has deposed those it found too militant.

The American imperialists, however, are not about to reverse their new policy for the sake of the Smith regime. South Africa, not Rhodesia, remains Washington's real concern, just as when the Nixon administration was following its "Tar Baby" plan.

Rally Scores Repression in Ireland

The Irish Republican Socialist party (IRSP) organized a united rally April 20 outside the General Post Office in Dublin, where the Irish Republic was proclaimed in 1916, to protest the arrest and torture early in the month of twenty of its members and their friends and relatives.

Speakers included Séamus Costello, IRSP chairman; Gerry Roche, a leading IRSP member and one of those arrested; Betty Purcell, member of the University College, Dublin, student government and of the Movement for a Socialist Republic, Irish section of the Fourth International; and a leader of the Gaelic League.

Rallies Mark End of Portuguese Election Campaign

By Bob Kissinger

LISBON, April 24—As the election campaign for the Legislative Assembly drew to a close, all the political parties held their final rallies and activities.

The final days of the campaign also saw renewed ultrarightist violence. A bomb exploded in the Cuban embassy April 22, killing two persons and injuring four others.

Besides the big rallies, educational sessions, and meetings at factories, schools, and neighborhoods, the parties regularly set up literature tables in some of the busiest shopping districts. On April 23, the Socialist party and the PPD (Partido Popular Democrático—Democratic People's party) distributed literature in Rossio Square.

The SP was giving away its big election posters that said, "We must and we can reconstruct the country." Few people could be seen refusing the posters. Down the street young people were distributing free copies of the newspaper of the Juventude Socialista (Socialist Youth). Persons would take the posters and carefully roll them up to take home. The SP sound truck regularly broadcast the "Internationale" and "Socialism and Liberty."

Small motorcades went through the squares, tossing leaflets to the assembled crowds. Later in the afternoon, young toughs, supporters of the right-wing CDS (Centro Democrático Social—Social Democratic Center), attempted a motorcade of cars and motorcycles through the Rossio area.

Usually by 5:00 or 6:00 p.m. Rossio Square is full of people. Apparently the CDS youth were shouting provocations at the crowd, and in particular at the SP sound truck. Coming on the heels of the bombing of the Cuban embassy, this was too much for many people to take. They streamed into the street, blocking the CDS motorcade. They gave the CDS cars a good thumping and sent them on their way.

The SP finished its election campaign with a big rally in the town of Moscavide, just northeast of Lisbon. The SP, which received about 38 percent of the vote in 1975 for the Constituent Assembly, claims that it will get 40 to 42 percent this time around.

The Communist party, which has been running its campaign on the slogan "For a left majority," held a large rally at the First of May Stadium in Lisbon on the night of April 20. A similar rally was held in Oporto earlier in the week.

Much of the CP propaganda has been aimed at the youth. The Communist party

has three youth groups, the UEC (União dos Estudantes Comunistas—Union of Communist Students), the UJC (União da Juventude Comunista—Union of Young Communists), and the Pioneers for the very young. There are CP banners throughout the city declaring, "Youth will make the future—vote PCP."

CP youth displays are set up at train stations showing the atrocities of the PIDE (Policia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado—State Security Police, the former secret police) and how the Communists fought against the Salazarist regime.

The main Maoist tendencies also held rallies during the final weeks. The UDP (União Democrática do Povo—People's Democratic Union), which elected one person to the Constituent Assembly in 1975, held a rally at Campo Pequeno, a small stadium in Lisbon, on the night of April 20. It took place at the same time as the CP rally, and it was reported that 15,000 to 20,000 persons attended. The UDP is calling for an "antifascist and patriotic government."

On April 22, also at Campo Pequeno, the MRPP (Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party) held its final election rally, proclaiming that it would be "the voice of the revolution in the legislature."

The MRPP was able to attract 8,000 to 10,000 persons. Its usual sectarian and opportunist slogans hung from the roof of the stadium—"Death to the imperialists and social imperialists" and "MRPP, the party of national independence." Entertainment was provided by four couples dancing to a guitar, the women in long flowing peasant dresses carrying sickles and the men carrying hammers.

The PCP(ml) (Partido Comunista Português [marxista-leninista]—Portuguese Communist party [Marxist-Leninist]) and the AOC (Aliança Operária Camponesa—Workers and Peasants Alliance) have shown very little activity in the Lisbon area, although they are on the ballot for the assembly elections. The literature these groups do distribute is entirely directed against the CP. Both the AOC and another Maoist sect that publishes the newspaper *O Proletaire* print in their literature pictures of Soviet tanks moving in to take over Portugal.

The PRP (Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado—Revolutionary party of the Proletariat), which was calling for "insur-

rection" last November, also issued a statement during the elections. They had previously explained in their newspaper why they were boycotting the bourgeois elections and why the elections would not solve anything.

But the latest declaration—carried on the front page of the April 21 *Diário Popular*—said the PRP would participate in a front for the presidential elections to be held in June. The PRP, along with the MES (Movimento de Esquerda Socialista—Movement of the Socialist Left), issued a statement calling on Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho to run for president.

Carvalho, a hero of the centrists, was head of Copcon, the former military security forces.

Having issued their statement supporting Carvalho, the MES called a rally at Campo Pequeno for April 23 at 9:00 p.m. Perhaps the MES leaders thought they would fill the stadium, which holds about 20,000 persons. At 9:45 no more than 500 were in attendance.

At that point, about 1,000 MES regulars marched into the stadium. Carvalho and the slogan "Pelo poder popular" (For people's power) were not the drawing cards the MES thought they would be.

Besides the proposed candidacy of Carvalho, the only declared candidate for president is Premier Pinheiro de Azevedo. The SP and CP have not made their positions on the presidential elections known. They are waiting for the results of the assembly elections to see how much bargaining power they will have.

Only the Portuguese Trotskyists have insisted on the necessity of the working class organizing independently of the capitalist government in order to fight for its basic interests. The candidates of both the LCI (Liga Comunista Internacionalista—Internationalist Communist League) and the PRT (Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores—Revolutionary Workers party) have put forward the need for a workers united front including the Communist and Socialist parties in order to defend the workers' gains and to struggle against unemployment and inflation.

On April 20, the LCI held its final election rally. Despite having to compete with the CP and UDP rallies on the same night, nearly 1,000 persons attended. The featured speaker was Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International. An interview with Mandel was featured on the front page of the April 21 *Diário Popular*. Mandel spoke on the explosive character of the combined Portuguese and Spanish revolutions. The LCI was on the ballot during the 1975 Constituent Assembly elections and received about 10,000 votes.

The PRT held a rally of almost 500 persons at the Teatro Adoque the following evening to support its slate of candidates for the assembly. □

Leftist Parties Hold Their Own in Portuguese Elections

By Gerry Foley

The result of the April 25 legislative elections in Portugal show that even after two years of disappointments and divisions created by the reformist mass workers parties and their satellites, an absolute majority of the Portuguese people and an overwhelming majority of the workers are still determined to have a socialist society.

Together the Communist and Socialist parties won 49.53% of the vote. This, added to the 4.7% won by the smaller leftist parties, brings the total vote for the workers parties to 54.23%. This compares with a combined vote of 54.37% in last year's Constituent Assembly elections.

The comparison, however, is complicated by the fact that last year a CP front party, the Movimento Democrático Português (MDP—Portuguese Democratic Movement), got 4.12% of the vote. The MDP did not run as a working-class party. Nonetheless, it is not likely that many people voted for it who did not support the CP. This year the party pulled out of the elections, calling on its supporters to vote for the CP.

If the MDP vote is counted as part of the left total, then the left vote actually declined by 4.26%. This is still far from the decisive setback the bourgeoisie was hoping for.

On the other hand, the most hidebound Maoist parties, which were not on the ballot last year, got 1.25% of the vote. One of these, the PCP(ml) (Partido Comunista Português [marxista-leninista]—Portuguese Communist party [Marxist-Leninist]), called for a vote for "bourgeois democracy." All these parties denounced the CP as the main danger. Nonetheless, it is not likely that many people opposed to socialism voted for them.

Last year the parties claiming to stand to the left of the SP and CP won 3.97% of the vote, as compared with 4.7% this year. However, it is hard to classify the hidebound Maoist parties as "far left." When their vote is subtracted, the total for the groups trying to occupy space to the left of the CP-SP actually dropped slightly. The two parties most identified with the "People's Power" line suffered severe losses. The Movimento de Esquerda Socialista (MES—Movement of the Socialist Left) saw its vote drop from 1.02% to .58%. The vote for the Frente Socialista Popular dropped from 1.17% to .78%.

The biggest gainer among the parties claiming to stand to the left of the CP was the União Democrática do Povo (UDP—

People's Democratic Union, a centrist Maoist grouping). It got 1.69% of the vote as opposed to .79% last year. However, this gain is almost equaled by last year's vote for the smaller centrist Maoist parties that did not run this time. The UDP, moreover, ran on a right-wing popular-front line, "self-criticizing" itself for previous "ultra-left deviations."

The vote for the Trotskyist parties doubled. The Liga Comunista Internacionalista, Portuguese sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, got .30% as opposed to .19% last time. Last year it ran in only four constituencies; this year it entered slates in twenty of the twenty-two.

The Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (Revolutionary Workers party), which has declared its adherence to the Fourth International, did not run in last year's elections. This year it ran slates in four districts, getting .1% of the vote.

Abstention was somewhat higher this time. Some 88.04% of the qualified voters cast a ballot, as opposed to 91.7% last year, a drop of 3.66%. This small drop was far from the up to 40% that had been predicted by some polls.

The Portuguese capitalists' hope that these elections would mark the political exhaustion of a major section of the masses was shattered.

The parties dependent on the working class and committed to improving the situation of the workers won a strong majority of 147 votes in a 259-seat legislature.

There are indications that the CP, which centered its campaign on the slogan of "For a left majority," made gains at the expense of the SP in the decisive industrial areas of Lisbon, Oporto, and Setúbal, as well as in the radical rural areas in Alentejo. This cannot be measured precisely, however, until there is a detailed breakdown of the vote and this is compared with the CP-MDP vote in every neighborhood.

Overall, the CP vote rose from 12.53% to 14.56%, a gain of 2.03%. However, this is a drop of 2.09% as compared with the 1975 total of 16.65% for the CP-MDP. As against this, the SP vote fell from 37.87% to 34.97%, a drop of 2.9%.

Thus, the CP did not win the famous victory that is being proclaimed in the world Stalinist press. However, the results indicate that the CP vote in the socially decisive sectors of the masses remained firm, and may even have increased.

Consequently, the SP remains under strong pressure from the CP, whose slogan of unity on the left seems to have been its most effective appeal.

As a result, the SP leadership is in a tight spot. It pledged to the capitalists in Portugal and internationally, especially in the United States, that it would not ally itself with the CP. This election was supposed to establish the SP as the party of capitalist "normalization."

But now, if Soares is to hold his base, he will have to depend on CP votes in parliament. This is distasteful to Wall Street. The *New York Times*, which speaks weightily for American finance capital, lost no time in advising Soares what to do. In an editorial April 27, it said:

"The Socialists won more votes than anyone else but only 35 percent of the total. . . . Given Portugal's gigantic problems of political and economic reconstruction, it would be disastrous if party chief Mário Soares tried to lead a minority Government, which would be forced on critical issues to bid for votes in Parliament from other parties, including the Communists."

The only solution, the *New York Times* said, was a coalition with the bourgeois forces. However, Soares explained quite openly following the elections that such a course would mean the "destruction" of the SP and would "facilitate a totalitarian revolution."

If the CP pushed for a united front with the SP in action instead of just in ambiguous electoral slogans, Soares's plans for a reconciliation with the bourgeoisie could easily be shattered. The Stalinists will not do this by choice. But the objective need for working-class unity has become very clear.

Furthermore, the workers will regard the election results as a victory and an encouragement to renew the struggles they were forced to call off so as not to "destabilize the elections."

The need for working-class unity is all the more pressing because the elections also revealed a sharpening class polarization, with a shift of 8% to the rightist Centro Democrático Social. Furthermore, the preelectoral polls showed a political wavering among the masses that may not have disappeared. The two months between now and the presidential elections will be a critical period for the Portuguese revolution. □

How Was Khadeeja Killed?

By Marcel Zohar

[The following article appeared in the April 13 issue of *Ha'olam Ha'zeh*, an Israeli weekly 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 translation from the Hebrew is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Thousands of words have been written about the events of the Day of Land* in Galilee.

The Israeli press became frenzied in its description of what was termed "the communist provocation." Whole articles and vivid descriptions were devoted to reporting—as one police inspector in the Saknin police force put it—"the brutality shown by the rioters toward the security forces."

Yet not one line was written about the circumstances surrounding the death of Khadeeja Kasim Shawhneh. She was twenty-three at the time of her death. She was from Saknin. She did not participate in the Day of Land strike, nor did she go out to protest in the streets of her village. Nonetheless, she was killed.

She was one of the six slain during the Day of Land. Only one newspaper—*Maariv*—saw fit to point out that one of the dead was a woman. The other newspapers and the rest of the media ignored the matter. Official spokesmen, too, hid the fact. It is not a pleasant one.

A Bullet in the Back

But there is more to it than confessing to the unpleasant fact that soldiers of the Israeli armed forces who went out to restore order in the village of Saknin shot to death a defenseless woman. The circumstances of Khadeeja's death are likely to spoil those false and manufactured descriptions with which the press sought to flood the minds of Israelis as to what really happened during the Day of Land.

The story of Khadeeja's death bears testimony to this fact.

In the early morning hours of March 30, Colonel Raphael Eitan, commanding officer of the Northern Command, declared a curfew in the villages of Arraba, Deir

Hanna, and Saknin. Riots had broken out the previous evening. Moreover, on that same morning protesters had gone out into the side streets and the main thoroughfare, built barricades, and shouted words of abuse at the policemen and the soldiers.

At 7:30 a.m. the echo of gunfire was already being heard throughout the village, following the arrival of a force of Israeli soldiers sent to restore order. Kasim Shawhneh, Khadeeja's father, heard the shots. At the time, both he, his wife, and several of his ten children were out on the veranda of their house, located in the village outskirts. At the sound of gunfire they reentered the house. Only then did they realize that one of their sons, Khalid, aged eight, was missing. The boy had gone out to play in the street.

Kasim Shawhneh recounts: "I was worried about the boy. But I was afraid to go out because they were saying that a curfew was on. I said to myself: For me it's forbidden to go out, but the soldiers wouldn't do anything to a woman. I knew that the Jewish soldiers show respect to women. They aren't likely to hit them because of their respect for them. So I said to Khadeeja: 'Khadeeja, go out into the street and look for the boy.'"

Khadeeja, who was twenty-three years old, did her father's bidding and went out into the street. Her mother, Samiah, looked out as she went. She saw Khadeeja near the house, and at that same moment her eyes caught sight of a detachment of soldiers entering a neighboring side street some forty meters away.

"Khadeeja, come back! Khadeeja, come back!" her mother shouted at the sight of the soldiers.

Khadeeja, who had taken only a few dozen steps away from the house, also spotted the soldiers. She became frightened. She was in the street all by herself facing a detachment of armed soldiers. The young woman, wearing a flowered skirt, turned her back on them and started running to her house. Her mother Samiah came running out of the house toward her daughter with the aim of protecting her. Both ran toward each other with outstretched arms. At a distance of five meters from her mother, Khadeeja fell down to the ground. She did not get up again. A bullet had hit her in the back.

Khadeeja Kasim Shawhneh was shot in the back while alone in the street, because she had violated the curfew.

Was this the insane act of a soldier gone crazy amidst the rioting in the village, the

throwing of stones and flaming cans at the soldiers?

It is doubtful if the answer to this question can be given in the affirmative. A whole series of incidents that occurred in the village that day point to the fact that Khadeeja's murder was no chance occurrence.

A Bullet Above the Baby's Bed

The house of Sharif Hamad Zwaidi stands at the southern edge of Saknin. After the curfew had gone into effect he had set out for a neighbor's house located several meters away. When he spotted soldiers approaching his house he crossed the distance separating the two houses in order to get back. The soldiers, apparently suspecting him of being one of the rioters, gave chase. They knocked on the door and forced Sharif Hamad to open up.

"They burst into the room. . .," Sharif recalls. "The family was in the room. Between them they had four babies. But the soldiers began smashing up the furniture. They started shooting in the air—inside the room. The bullets made holes in the ceiling. One of the babies, two and a half years old, panicked and hid under the bed in the next room.

"He went into shock. He didn't come out even after the soldiers had left. We searched for him, called out for him, but couldn't find him. Only after some time had lapsed did someone find him hiding under the bed afraid to come out. There is a bullet hole in the wall above his bed."

Nor was the Khalayli family spared a victim.

"We were in the house," Ahmed Khalayli said. "We heard gunfire outside. The bullets hit the walls of the house. Some of them punctured the water pipe leading to the sun-heated boiler on the roof. Those who were shooting were amusing themselves or else trying to frighten us.

"Suddenly we heard the screams of a woman coming from the direction of the road. My brother Khadir Abid Khalayli went out. Amnih Ahmed Amr, the teacher, was lying in the road some thirty meters away. She was covered with blood. A bullet fired by one of the soldiers had hit her in the stomach.

"I went out after my brother. I saw him bending down beside her in order to lift her up off the road and give her some help. At that moment I saw two soldiers taking aim at us. One of them fired. The bullet split open Khadir's head. He fell down dead beside me. The soldiers ran away."

Khadir, twenty-four years old, an agricultural worker, was the third person killed that day in Saknin.

Mahmoud Na'amni, council president in the neighboring village of Arraba, reports that when he arrived at Saknin that day to calm things down, "there was this officer there, either a lieutenant colonel or colonel. He told me: 'Any dog that dares to show his face in the village gets a bullet in the

*On March 30, the "Day of the Land," Palestinians in Israel and the occupied West Bank held massive strike actions to protest Zionist repression.—IP

head! Then, he rudely told me that I had no business being there and to clear off for home."

Mahmoud Na'amni, like his fellow council presidents in Saknin and Deir Hanna, supports the coalition government. At any rate, they used to be supporters up until the Day of Land.

"Why don't they tell Israelis what really

happened in Galilee during the Day of Land?" they ask in astonishment.

"Why don't the papers report on how the men were killed in the villages, on how Khadeeja was killed?"

The papers do not write about it, because it is not pleasant to read such stories. They are depressing stories. It is not pleasant to tell of a woman cut down in her prime of

life because she violated the curfew. It is not pleasant to report that as yet no one has been questioned, and that, no doubt, no one will be brought to justice.

Perhaps it is all unpleasant. But one is also duty bound to report these things, if only to prevent such terrible events ever happening again. □

Troops Crush Protests Against Israeli Settlements

Three Palestinians Gunned Down in West Bank

Three more Palestinians have been shot down by Israeli occupation forces in the West Bank. The latest victim, a twenty-two-year-old resident of Nablus, was killed May 1 by what the Israeli occupiers described as "warning shots."

Another Nablus resident, fifty-five-year-old Zayid Taher Ajba, was gunned down April 19. "The dead man was one of three shot in a clash with Israeli troops," according to an April 19 Reuters dispatch. In this incident also, the Israeli troops supposedly fired "warning shots."

However William J. Drummond, a correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times*, reported April 21 that "the dead man's personal physician, Hatem Abu Ghazaleh, said Tuesday that the shooting victim was an amputee who walked with crutches and had poor eyesight. It was implausible, the physician said, that the man would have been capable of rioting." (Emphasis added.)

Jamil Arafat Hamis el-Joum, a resident of Ramallah, was shot down by Israeli troops April 17. He was six years old, and Arab witnesses charged that he had been shot deliberately.

This is the nature of the Israeli occupation that the March 22 *New York Times* hailed in a lead editorial as "surely among the most benign military occupations of modern times!"

The immediate cause of the renewed demonstrations in the West Bank has been the issue of Israeli settlement there. A two-day march by the right-wing Gush Emunim (Faith Bloc) on April 18 and 19, called as an answer to the March 30 general strike by Palestinians in Israel and to demand the annexation of the West Bank, drew 20,000 persons according to the Israeli national radio.

The Zionist expansionists were characterized in an April 20 *New York Times* editorial as "short-sighted zealots" and "an extremist fringe of Israeli society." But the fact is that the annexationists have broad support within ruling circles in Israel.

Although the march was clearly a



RABIN: Calls for more Israeli settlements on Palestinian land.

provocation and an insult to the Palestinian population struggling for their freedom, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin dismissed it as "only a picnic." The participants in this picnic, however, carried rifles and sub-machine guns.

Rabin's coalition partners in the National Religious party threatened to pull out of the government if the march was not allowed, and Welfare Minister Zvulun Hammer took part in the rightist demonstration.

Outside the government, the support to Gush Emunim is even stronger. Likud, the main opposition bloc, has campaigned on the slogan of "Not an inch" (referring to proposals that occupied territory be returned).

On April 21, two days after the Gush Emunim march, Rabin toured Israeli

settlements in the Jordan Valley, which has been Israel's de facto border with Jordan since the 1967 war. "By settling the Jordan Valley we are strengthening the line of villages that will form the defensive line of the State of Israel," he told Israeli colonists there.

Rabin added: "No settlement was established in order to be evacuated. I see the need for special efforts in the coming year to strengthen and extend settlement of the Jordan Valley."

Officials accompanying Rabin said that the government would establish five new settlements in the Jordan Valley in the coming year.

But the Palestinians have showed that they are not about to sit by while their land is stolen. Demonstrators in Ramallah April 18 carried placards demanding, "No march—no settlement." Israeli troops attacked this protest and others that took place in Nablus and Jenin.

In the days that followed, Palestinians in Jericho, Hebron, Halhoul, Al Bira, Jerusalem, and other towns joined the protests. In Tulkarm, Israeli occupation authorities imposed five curfews in three days. An April 20 Reuters dispatch from Jerusalem reported that in one day in Tulkarm alone nineteen "demonstrators and curfew-violators were arrested and brought immediately to trial before military courts. The 19 were sentenced to prison terms of eight or nine months and fined up to \$720."

The May 3 issue of *Newsweek* reported that "the Israeli Army arrested 40 alleged members of the Fatah guerrilla group in Jenin and began welding iron barricades over half the entrances to the casbah in Nablus. Israeli officials described the barricades as 'hermetic gates' that would facilitate 'crowd control.'"

The answer of the Palestinians to these latest Israeli assaults was given by Karim Khalaf, the mayor of Ramallah. Eric Silver of the London *Observer* reported in an April 25 article that Khalaf told him, "All the weapons of the Israeli Army cannot silence our people." □

Angola—MPLA Stages Witch-hunt Against the Left

By Ernest Harsch

The biggest wave of political arrests in Luanda since Angola gained its independence is now under way. Faced with growing criticisms of its policies by students and workers in the capital, the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) began a crackdown against political opponents in early April.

Before the month was over, more than 100 persons had been arrested by the MPLA's political police, the Direcção de Informação e Segurança de Angola (DISA—Angola Directorate of Information and Security).

The official signal for the repression came from Interior Minister Nito Alves. According to the April 9 Lisbon daily *Jornal Novo*, he ordered all neighborhood, municipal, and provincial "people's commissions" to be "vigilant" and to turn in to the authorities all members of the Revolta Activa (Active Revolt, an opposition faction within the MPLA) and the Organização Comunista de Angola (OCA—Angola Communist Organization, a pro-Maoist group).

"Because they are the cornerstone of reaction," Alves declared, "this operation is vital for the defense of the revolution, for the consolidation of our political position, and for our advancement."

He continued, "All obviously reactionary individuals—those who individually are known to belong to the OCA, either as advisers, writers, or propagandists, or those who have up to now been passionately loyal to the Revolta Activa or have shown such an attitude—will have to be immediately arrested."

The crackdown began even before Alves's declaration. A report in the April 7 *Jornal Novo* said that the DISA was on the alert for persons distributing antigovernment literature: "Arbitrary searches and arrests are now a constant feature of life in the Angolan capital."

"As is generally known, all those suspected of fomenting relations, even purely personal ones, with the faction of the Pinto de Andrade brothers [the Revolta Activa] have been systematically arrested."

Father Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, who was seized on April 18, was the most well known of the political figures arrested by the MPLA. A former chancellor of the Archdiocese of Luanda, he is the brother of Mário Pinto de Andrade, one of the principal founders of the MPLA. According to René Pélissier, in his contribution to the book *Angola* (New York: Praeger Publish-



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MPLA LEADER NETO: His police have begun burning collections of revolutionary books.

ers, 1971), he played an important role in helping the MPLA establish some of its first cells in Luanda in the late 1950s.

Andrade was imprisoned by the Portuguese colonialists in June 1960 after protesting the arrest of Agostinho Neto, the present head of the MPLA and the president of the People's Republic of Angola. Andrade spent more than ten years in various Portuguese prisons. In 1962 he was elected honorary president of the MPLA.

After his release he became a leader of the Revolta Activa faction, which is opposed to Neto's leadership of the MPLA. On May 11, 1974, he signed the "Platform of the 19," which denounced the Neto leadership's "presidentialism" and raised charges of "tribalism and regionalism" in the MPLA's functioning.

A correspondent for the London *Economist*, reporting from Luanda in the April 3 issue, said that the Revolta Activa had not cooperated with the MPLA leadership since the government was formed. "It has a strong following in the university and among those who are loosely known as the movement's intellectuals," the correspondent reported.

Among the other Revolta Activa leaders who have been arrested by the MPLA are Gentil Viana, a former adviser to Neto; Rui

Castro Lopo, a former commander of the MPLA's second military region during the guerrilla war against the Portuguese; Manuel Videira, a doctor who served on the MPLA's eastern front during the guerrilla war; and Hugo de Menezes, a signer of the Platform of the 19 and a member of the MPLA's steering committee in 1962.

According to the report in the April 7 *Jornal Novo*, the MPLA has even begun to practice book burning. The police, it said, "burned the best library of revolutionary books in the country, just because it had been set up by Maria do Céu Carmo Reis, a former activist of the MPLA who is intellectually allied with the so-called Revolta Activa."

The repression has also hit members and leaders of other political groups opposed to the MPLA that have emerged in Luanda's *muceques*, the large slum areas that surround the city.

The April 20 *Jornal Novo* reported that "many young communists" have been detained and taken to the MPLA's prison camps outside the capital. A statement released by the OCA charged that "the MPLA has arrested dozens of outstanding revolutionary militants." (*Jornal Novo*, April 23.)

Among those seized, the OCA said, were members of the Secretariat of the Coordinating Body of the Neighborhood People's Commissions of Luanda, Sirgado, and Nogueira, as well as other OCA activists, such as Henrique Guerra, who spent many years in Portuguese prisons and who was a friend of Joaquim Pinto de Andrade.

The OCA was formed in early 1975 and held its first congress in October. Shortly after the congress, it began publishing *Jornal Comunista*, which labeled the MPLA a bourgeois party and denounced its repressive and anti-working-class policies.

The OCA was also opposed to the MPLA's rivals in the civil war, the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—Angolan National Liberation Front) and the UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

The OCA was clearly influenced by Maoism. It denounced Soviet "social imperialism" in Angola and called for the establishment of a "people's democracy." Its position on the civil war, however, was at variance with that of Peking. While the

Chinese Communist party—in the interests of its own narrow bureaucratic dispute with the Soviet Stalinists—directed most of its criticisms at Moscow's involvement in Angola, the OCA labeled U.S. imperialism and its allies as the main enemy of the Angolan peoples. (*Jornal Comunista*, October 1975, No. 2.)

A statement released by the OCA in late April called for the "withdrawal of the Cuban occupation army and all foreign forces from Angola."

Alves charged that OCA members may have "infiltrated" government ministries. Neto, according to the April 3 *Economist*, declared, "Consciously or not, there are agents of imperialism even within our movement. They praise a socialist country which never helped us during the war. They praise China. . . . Those who persist are traitors."

Members of the Comitês Amílcar Cabral (CAC—Amílcar Cabral Committees) have also been arrested in the recent crackdown. Most of its leaders are now in jail. The MPLA first began arresting members of the CAC, as well as other young activists, in October 1975. The arrests, as well as the banning of the CAC's newspaper *Poder Popular*, were carried out under the guise of a campaign against "the partisans of Trotsky and Bakunin."

Persons who worked on the popular radio program "Kudibenguela" (Our Struggle) have been detained as well. The MPLA suppressed the program three months ago, leading to a demonstration of about 600 dock workers and high-school students on February 6. The protesters demanded the reinstatement of the program and the ouster of all whites and *mestiços* (persons of mixed Portuguese and African ancestry) from the government.

The MPLA has tried to justify its repressive actions by claiming that its political opponents are "racists," "divisionists," and "agents of imperialism."

In the April 1 *Washington Post*, correspondent Caryle Murphy quoted Lucio Lara, the general secretary of the MPLA, as saying, "The enemy formed groups with fancy names like 'Communist' to make them appear more advanced than the program of the MPLA and then put these organizations, which are absolutely created by the CIA and which have crazy and incoherent language, to insulting the MPLA point by point."

"Insulting the MPLA" has now apparently become a capital offense.

In his call for the turning in of all members of the Revolta Activa and the OCA, Alves said that "reeducation camps will not be built. Of course, some can be saved through reeducation and persuasion. But the intransigent ones, the most hard-headed, the most obstinate, will have to be eliminated."

The MPLA's response to its political opponents is in keeping with its overall anti-working-class policies. Since coming

to power in Luanda it has sought to "discipline" the workers by breaking strikes, introducing speedup, and stifling any independent working-class leadership that has arisen.

The OCA statement cited in the April 23 *Jornal Novo* declared, "The imprisonment of well-known nationalists and democrats belonging to the Revolta Activa, who have been threatened with execution, such as Gentil Viana, Joaquim Pinto de Andrade (former honorary president of the MPLA), Liceu Vieira Dias, and Manuel Videira (among others), represents one more step in the wave of repression launched by the MPLA against revolutionists and against all Angolan democrats and patriots."

The OCA appealed to "all revolutionary and progressive political forces" to show their solidarity with the campaign for freedom for the political prisoners.

The MPLA's decision to resort to the use of repressive measures against political dissidents standing to the left indicates that it fears a socialist challenge to its course toward accommodation with imperialism. It also indicates the existence of

substantial dissatisfaction among the Angolan population.

According to a dispatch from Luanda by Caryle Murphy in the March 1 *Washington Post*, "The rising expectations of Angola's black population have been frustrated by the economic crisis created by months of civil war. The government's austerity measures and appeals for higher productivity have not been popular."

In the April 1 *Washington Post*, Murphy reported that an underground newspaper, *Jornal de Operário*, has charged the MPLA with making concessions to American imperialism by inviting the Gulf Oil Company to resume its operations in Cabinda. It also attacked the MPLA for having "sold out" to Moscow and for having allowed the Cubans to become "new colonizers" in Africa.

"The leftists," Murphy said, "have formed various clandestine groups and have demanded that the Popular Movement immediately form a government of 'workers and peasants.' In the last month they have accelerated propaganda activities among laborers and in the poorer neighborhoods of Luanda." □

Israeli Rightist Rebuts 'Slanders' of Zionism

Yediot Aharonot, a right-wing nationalist newspaper, is one of Israel's leading dailies. Its November 14, 1975, issue carried an article by Aharon Shamir on the United Nations vote condemning Zionism as a form of racism.

Speaking of those who "slander Zionism," Shamir said: "They have no reason to be ashamed of the fact that they have come down from the trees. On the contrary. But nations, like individuals, begin their development in the kindergarten, then in school and university. Just as it would be scandalous for the rector of a university to be appointed from among recent kindergarten graduates, it is even more scandalous when nations which have only just come down from the trees regard themselves as leaders of the world."

According to Shamir, "those who raised their hands [in favor of the UN resolution]—especially the African states—have shown their stupidity. . . ."

The vote, he argues, must have been "the result of pressure from the Muslim Arab states. For have primitives a mind of their own?"

Shamir concludes that Israel lost the UN vote on Zionism because "poor Israel tried to give the primitive Africans something better than money: help in acquiring knowledge so as to bring them nearer, if possible, to the civilized and progressive world."

This ultraright bigot even has a theory of the master race. "The blow we received in the UN," he said, "should not make us think again, about our Jewish-Zionist

essence. It should only increase our national pride and our absolute determination to establish our rule in our fatherland. It should also persuade us again that we are not at all similar to others and this is why our image suffers more than that of others."

Of course, Yitzhak Rabin and the other leaders of the Israeli regime would never openly make such racist declarations. They only roll out the red carpet for South African Prime Minister John Vorster. □

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An Instructive Leak on Kissinger's East European Worries

By David Frankel

One of the by-products of the electoral system in the United States is the occasional publication of material that the top ruling circles would prefer to keep secret. A recent example of this was the speech made by Helmut Sonnenfeldt at a meeting of American ambassadors in London last December. Sonnenfeldt, a State Department counselor, is one of Kissinger's top advisers.

Whoever leaked word of Sonnenfeldt's speech to the press clearly intended to give ammunition to the ultrarightists who are currently pushing the candidacy of Ronald Reagan, and they used it to create quite an uproar.

In a March 22 article, syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported that Sonnenfeldt had told the ambassadors that a permanent union between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe was necessary to avoid World War III. According to Evans and Novak, Sonnenfeldt said that Washington was seeking to promote evolution of the Soviet-Eastern European relationship from an "inorganic, unnatural" one based on Soviet military dominance to "a more viable, organic structure."

Denials from the State Department were generally taken with a grain of salt. "I have talked with persons who heard Mr. Sonnenfeldt's statements and who assured me the Evans and Novak account was correct," said columnist C.L. Sulzberger in the March 27 *New York Times*.

Ronald Reagan, who is challenging Ford for the Republican party presidential nomination on a program of "better dead than red," did not let this chance pass. In a nationally televised speech March 31, he accused Sonnenfeldt of saying that "the captive nations should give up any claim of national sovereignty and simply become a part of the Soviet Union. . . . In other words, slaves should accept their fate."

Reagan, of course, was making an electioneering pitch to the anti-Communist "ethnic" groups of East European origin in the United States, who think it would signify freedom for Poland, Hungary, and the other countries now under the Kremlin's domination to be drawn into Wall Street's orbit.

In response to the continuing controversy, the State Department issued "an official but nonverbatim summary" of Sonnenfeldt's remarks April 5. According to the State Department summary, Sonnenfeldt repeated many of Kissinger's arguments on détente. He said, for example:



TITO: State Department hopes to intervene after aging dictator dies.

It is often asked how détente is doing. The question itself evades the central issue we are trying to pose, that is, what do you do in the face of increasing Soviet power? We will be facing this increased power if our relationship with the Russians is sweet or our relationship is sour.

. . . the Soviets will be seen and heard on the world stage no matter what we do. Therefore, the question of whether or not détente is up or down at a particular moment is largely irrelevant. . . .

Our challenge is how to live in a world with another superpower, and anticipate the arrival of a third superpower, China, in 20 years or so.

The State Department version of Sonnenfeldt's remarks on how to "manage" Soviet power puts his statement on the need for an "organic" relationship between the USSR and Eastern Europe within the context of "a policy of responding to the clearly visible aspirations in Eastern Europe for a more autonomous existence. . . ."

Nevertheless, even the State Department's edited version, with its talk about the need "for the Soviet Union to establish roots of interest that go beyond sheer power," and its emphasis on the danger that Eastern Europe might "explode," indicates what the imperialists are really afraid of. They do not want to see another antibureaucratic revolution like the one in Hungary in 1956.

The capitalist rulers and their agents are just as much afraid of the outbreak of proletarian revolution in Eastern Europe as they are of its appearance in Western Europe. This came through clearly in Sonnenfeldt's statement.

"If anything," he said, "the last 30 years have intensified the urges in Eastern European countries for autonomy, for identity. There has been an intensification of the desire to break out of the Soviet straitjacket."

Sonnenfeldt went on to characterize "the Soviets' inability to acquire loyalty in Eastern Europe" as "an unfortunate historical failure."

From this point of view, the State Department's summary must have reinforced the impression of some Eastern Europeans described in an unsigned report in the March 26 *Washington Post*. It said:

While employing somewhat sharper anti-Soviet rhetoric and making displays of anger such as the publicized announcement last week of the postponement of several U.S.-Soviet meetings, the Ford administration is viewed as quietly signaling to Moscow its willingness to accommodate the Soviets in Eastern Europe, the area of their primary interest.

According to this line of thinking . . . Sonnenfeldt's remarks reflect the substance of an alleged understanding by the two superpowers on spheres of influence in Europe and other parts of the world.

However, the détente policy has two sides. While Washington is working together with the Stalinist bureaucracy to oppose the socialist revolution on a world scale, it is also attempting to improve its bargaining position vis-à-vis Moscow. As a result, the possibility of imperialist adventures in areas like the Middle East or southern Africa is not at all diminished by détente. On the contrary, Kissinger himself has insisted on the necessity of such adventures in order to maintain the bargaining power of American imperialism.

An example of precisely this approach in relation to Eastern Europe was given in Sonnenfeldt's speech. Speaking of Yugoslavia, he said "we and the Western Europeans . . . have an interest which borders on the vital for us in continuing the independence of Yugoslavia from Soviet domination."

Sonnenfeldt added that "any shift back by Yugoslavia into the Soviet orbit would represent a major strategic setback for the West. So we are concerned about what will happen when Tito disappears, and it is worrying us a good deal."

Kissinger also touched on this theme while testifying before the House International Relations Committee March 29. "We would consider it a very grave matter if outside forces were to intervene in Yugoslavia," Kissinger said.

Under the guise of opposing Soviet domination of Yugoslavia and protecting its independence, the imperialists are attempting to establish the basis for their

own intervention there. They hope that the death of Yugoslav dictator Tito, now eighty-four, will give them an opening.

"Although final agreement has not been reached," Evans and Novak reported in an April 15 column, "the Ford administration is now moving fast toward a new arms deal with Communist Yugoslavia laden with far more political than military significance."

According to them, "what the Ford administration is signaling Moscow by means of the current arms talks with Yugoslavia is to keep hands off, or risk counteraction by the West."

In any event, although Sonnenfeldt's remarks became an issue in the elections, they signaled a continuation of the same policy that the White House has been pursuing under Kissinger's management.

Torrijos Calls Foul Against Reagan

Ford and Reagan Play Football With Panama Canal

By Judy White

The Panama Canal has received some spectacular kicking around in the contest between Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan for the Republican party presidential nomination. Reagan has portrayed Ford as ready to sell the United States to the Panamanians.

At an Alabama campaign luncheon April 22, for example, Reagan said Ford would be yielding to "plain blackmail" from the Panamanian government if he did not hang on to the Big Ditch, whatever the cost.

Reagan's position on the negotiations Ford is carrying out with the Torrijos regime was summed up at a February 28 speech in Florida: "We bought it, we paid for it. It's ours and we should tell Torrijos that we are going to keep it."

In reply, Ford charged that those who call for the use of force to maintain control over the canal are "irresponsible." He had earlier warned that an attitude like Reagan's could trigger guerrilla warfare in the Canal Zone.

At the same time, Ford denied that he was planning to "give away" the canal and Canal Zone. At an April 10 news conference he said Washington "will never give up its defense rights to the Panama Canal and will never give up its operational rights as far as Panama is concerned."

Furthermore, as David Binder pointed out in an April 29 dispatch to the *New York Times*, "Mr. Ford has so far omitted the view that this country is not actually sovereign in the Canal Zone."

The negotiations between Washington and Panama began in June 1974. They concern the amount of Panamanian territory that will remain under Washington's jurisdiction, the number of U.S. military bases to remain in the Canal Zone during the treaty's expected thirty- to fifty-year duration, and the rent Washington will pay.

The White House expects that "the useful life of the canal" will be exhausted in thirty to fifty years because many new



TORRIJOS: Anti-imperialist rhetoric is for domestic consumption only.

ships are too large for its locks and because trade patterns are changing. Washington has had two central aims in the negotiations:

1. To give the appearance of respecting the Panamanian people's right to determine what happens in the Canal Zone, thus improving its international image.

2. To undermine resistance to its military presence.

State Department representative Robert Funseth indicated this at an April 15 news conference: "What is important is to try to

reach an agreement which will give us greater security for our operational and defense interests than we have now."

The Torrijos regime is also worried about Panamanian opposition to Washington's presence in the Canal Zone. In an April 16 interview on CBS television, Panamanian Foreign Minister Aquilino Boyd stated:

"I am afraid that this is a very explosive situation that we are having in Panama, and people like Ronald Reagan, in a very irresponsible manner, are inflaming patience in my country. I think that we have to defuse this explosive situation, but by negotiations—by negotiating within the next 12 months a new canal treaty that would be fair for both countries."

Although Torrijos has posed as an opponent of Yankee imperialism, he has made clear to Ford and Kissinger that this is primarily intended for domestic consumption. In recent months he has exiled three prominent left-wing critics, including Dr. Miguel Antonio Bernal. Bernal, a professor of law at the University of Panama, is well known for advocating return of the canal and removal of the network of U.S. military bases. □

'Thoughts' of Gov. Brown —a Slim Volume

Following the tradition of the Great Helmsman, California Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr. has had his "thoughts" collected in a seventy-nine-page little red book.

Among his more insightful philosophical observations is the following: "Life just is. You have to flow with it. Give yourself to the moment. Let it happen."

On his aims as governor:

"I don't have any goals; they will evolve as we go along."

"You don't have to do things. Maybe by avoiding doing things you accomplish a lot."

"We're going to move left and right at the same time."

AROUND THE WORLD



Italian Cabinet Resigns

The Italian government of Premier Aldo Moro resigned April 30, opening the way for general elections in June. The collapse of the Moro cabinet, the thirty-eighth in Italy since 1943, followed the Socialist party's withdrawal of its support to the Christian Democrats during a parliamentary dispute over an abortion reform bill.

The ruling Christian Democrats have been badly weakened during the past months by the country's deepening economic crisis and by revelations that some of its leading figures had accepted bribes from the American Lockheed Aircraft Corporation.

The Communist party, which trailed the Christian Democrats by only two percentage points in regional elections a year ago, is hoping to make enough gains in the upcoming elections to win posts in the government.

Gandhi's Supreme Court Approves Jailings Without Trial

On April 28 the Indian Supreme Court destroyed one of the last hopes of many thousands of Indian political prisoners that they would ever receive a trial. The court ruled 4 to 1 that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has the right to imprison

anyone she wants to without disclosing the charges against them or bringing them before a court.

Explaining the rationale for the suspension of the right of habeas corpus, Chief Justice A.N. Ray said, "Liberty is confined and controlled by law. It is not an absolute freedom."

The Gandhi regime brought the case before the Supreme Court after several judges in lower courts had ruled that the right of habeas corpus could not be suspended. Arguing the regime's case, Attorney General Niren De maintained, "A citizen is barred from agitating for any right during the emergency. There is no personal rights law for the time being."

In a dissenting opinion, Justice H.R. Khanna disputed the legality of Gandhi's abrogation of the right to trial. He said that "in a purely formal sense, even the organized mass murders of the Nazi regime qualify as law."

According to conservative estimates, more than 100,000 persons are confined to Gandhi's jails as a result of her state of emergency. The London-based Committee for Justice for Indian Political Prisoners estimates that 200,000 are being held.

Gandhi Outlines Policy of Forced Birth Control

A birth-control policy of "top national priority" was outlined by the Gandhi regime April 16. The plan calls for raising the minimum marriage age from eighteen to twenty-one for men and from fifteen to eighteen for women. It also offers material incentives for those who undergo sterilization.

Although the new program stops short of nationwide compulsory sterilization, the federal government made it clear in announcing the policy that it was not opposed to such legislation. The aim is to persuade the Indian masses that population growth, not capitalist misrule, is at the root of the country's poverty.

On March 25 the Punjab cabinet passed an ordinance providing for a fine of up to Rs. 5,000 (one rupee=US\$.11) and up to three years in jail for both members of a couple having more than two children.

In Maharashtra, a bill is pending providing maximum penalties of two years imprisonment, fines of about US\$57, and compulsory sterilization for couples who refuse to be sterilized after having three or more children.

In Haryana the government is considering a bill imposing a fine of Rs. 2,000 with compulsory sterilization of the parents if they have a third child. However, an exemption will be made for a third child in cases where the two earlier children were female.

The government of West Bengal is also readying a compulsory-sterilization bill.

In February the Indian government announced that government jobs, housing, medical care, schools, and drinking water would be denied to government employees and Delhi residents who did not limit their families to two children. No additional, criminal penalties were mentioned.

Blaming poverty on "overpopulation," the regime has initiated what Dr. Harish Mazumdar, dean of the Goa Medical College, called a "war" against the "population problem."

Referring to the opposition to mass forced sterilization, Mazumdar said, "In war, some personal rights have to be taken away from the average citizen for the common good."

Unemployment Rises in France

The French Ministry of Labor reported April 20 that seasonally adjusted unemployment had risen from 925,000 in February to 951,700 in March.

Spanish Police Arrest 160 Basques

Spanish police broke up a Basque nationalist demonstration in Pamplona April 19, using nightsticks and rubber bullets. They arrested 160 of the participants.

South African Police Club Protesting Workers

In South Africa, independent Black trade unions are not recognized. But in March, 480 Black workers at the Heine-mann electric factory, fifteen miles from Johannesburg, petitioned the bosses for recognition of their Metal and Allied Workers Union.

On March 26, the entire Black labor force was fired after they demanded the reinstatement of twenty workers who had been laid off. The dismissals led to a protest by several hundred Black workers two days later. They rallied outside the factory, demanding that the managing



GANDHI

director talk to them.

Police with dogs rushed to the factory and told the protesting workers to leave the area within a half hour. Before the half hour was over, however, the police charged, clubbing many Black workers. The police chased the workers more than a mile from the factory.

At least three Black workers were seriously injured, and Gavin Andersonn, the white general secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers Union, was arrested after he was clubbed to the ground and kicked.

The company later agreed to reinstate eighty of the workers.

Right-wing Violence in Mexico

One person was killed and eight were wounded April 27 when right-wing students occupied a building at the University of Puebla and took about seventeen hostages. The rightists demanded the resignation of the Communist rector of the university.

Right-wing groups have long been active in Puebla. On May 1, 1973, five students were killed when a May Day march was attacked. A few months earlier, two university professors who were members of the Mexican Communist party were murdered.

Soviet Citizens Back Dzhemilev

Mustafa Dzhemilev, the Crimean Tatar activist who was sentenced to two and a half years in a labor camp April 15, has received public support from other Soviet citizens. More than 380 persons have signed appeals on behalf of Dzhemilev, who has already spent nearly seven years in confinement because of his activities in defense of the rights of the Crimean Tatar people.

One of the appeals was signed by 268 Crimean Tatars, most of them from the Central Asian republic of Uzbekistan. In another appeal, Soviet historian Alexander Nekrich called on his colleagues to end their "shameful silence" and fight for an amnesty for political prisoners in the Soviet Union and in the rest of the world.

70,000 U.S Rubber Workers Strike

About 70,000 members of the United Rubber Workers (URW) walked off their jobs April 21, shutting down forty-seven rubber plants in twenty-one states. The nationwide strike was directed at the top four rubber companies, Firestone, Goodyear, B.F. Goodrich, and Uniroyal, which produce two-thirds of the tires manufactured in the United States.

It was the second nationwide strike in less than a month (the Teamsters won a 30 percent wage increase after a four-day strike in early April).

The rubber workers are demanding a \$1.65 an hour wage increase in order to catch up with the rising cost of living. Since the 1973 wage settlement, the Consumer Price Index has risen 27 percent, while wages in the rubber industry only rose 17 percent.

To ensure that new wage gains are not eaten away again by inflation, the union is also demanding an unlimited cost-of-living escalator clause in the new contract. In addition, the workers are seeking higher pension, health, and early retirement benefits.

While discussing the union's efforts to improve occupational health and safety conditions in the plants, URW International President Peter Bommarito declared that "our whole struggle is how do you relate technical progress to human progress. It's a struggle of human rights over property rights."

USSR Defense Minister Grechko Dies

Andrei A. Grechko, the Soviet minister of defense, died April 26 at the age of seventy-two. He had headed the Defense Ministry for nine years and was a member of the ruling Politburo of the Soviet Communist party.

Although Grechko rose to prominence as a defender of the Soviet workers state during World War II, his later record is notable for his role in suppressing dissent in Eastern Europe.

In 1953 he ordered Soviet tanks and troops into key East German cities, crushing the workers uprising against the bureaucracy. Soon afterward he was made a full general, and in March 1955 was raised to the rank of marshal.

In 1968, as defense minister, he helped prepare the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Fighting the Ravages of Inflation

A common ploy America's top capitalist administrators use when negotiating with unions is the claim that pay increases demanded to regain wages lost to inflation are themselves "inflationary."

They are not, of course, foolish enough to apply such faulty logic to their own paychecks, preferring instead to assure themselves a comfortable annual cushion against inflation.

A notable example was set by James McDonald, executive vice-president of General Motors, who last year increased his annual salary 152% to \$403,125.

Others who took steps to assure no cut in their living standards included:

- Gus Marusi, chairman of the Borden Company, who settled for an increase of 117.1% to \$491,767.

- Elliott Estes, president of General Motors, who accepted a 106.9% increase to \$488,750.



Laura Gray/Militant

- Charles G. Bluhdorn, chairman of Gulf and Western Industries, whose pay was raised 53% to \$588,560.

- And Harold S. Geneen, chairman of International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, who remained the highest-paid corporate official in the country, with an annual salary of \$766,085.

Lisbon Pledges Greater Autonomy for Azores and Madeira

In response to some of the right-wing separatist currents in the Azores and Madeira, the Portuguese government pledged April 30 to grant the islands a degree of autonomy.

Each island group is to have a local government appointed by a minister, who is to be named by the Portuguese president. The final statutes of the autonomy measures are to be drafted by new regional assemblies that will be elected by June. Those statutes are subject to approval by the Legislative Assembly in Lisbon.

Lisbon's announcement was not expected to affect the status of the American air base at Lajes in the Azores.

An Unfatal Flaw

The foreign mercenaries who were hired to fight in northern Angola against the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) were not only poorly armed and organized but were not even equipped to commit suicide properly. The "cyanide" capsules they were given to use if captured turned out to be duds.

Apparently, few of the mercenaries knew French very well (among those captured were ten Britons, two Americans, and one Argentine). One of them did notice that the label read "Boisson Instantanée" (Instant Drink) and not "Poison Instantané" (Instant Poison). When he pointed this discrepancy out to other mercenaries, he was told that it was simply a code to fool the enemy.

The Shah of Iran—Washington's Crowned Cannibal

[Reza Baraheni, Iran's most prominent modern poet and literary critic, spoke February 26 at a meeting in defense of Iranian political prisoners. The meeting, held at Columbia University in New York and attended by 300 persons, was sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).*

[Baraheni, who is currently living in exile, spent 102 days in the shah's prisons in 1973. He was released as a result of protests from groups such as Amnesty International; the international association of Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists and Novelists (PEN); and CAIFI.

[The following are major excerpts from Baraheni's speech.]

* * *

About 550 B.C., according to Herodotus, the father of all historians, a ritual took place at the court of the king of the Medes. No one knew anything about the nature of this ritual except the king himself.

A few hours before the ritual was to begin, the king ordered his favorite minister to send his son to the court. The minister's son was supposed to play with Cyrus, the king's grandson.

When the minister arrived, he was seated next to the king. He was surprised and honored when he was served before the king. He ate, and with great appetite.

The others, a few ministers and advisers, the young, sturdy grandson, and the king himself, did not eat anything. They watched until the minister had finished his meal. Then the king clapped his hands.

A gold pot was brought in, covered with a gold cap. The cap was raised. Lying there in the pot was the head of the minister's son. The body had been spiced and cooked according to the customs of the court and fed to the father.

The minister had been ordered to kill Cyrus at birth because it was prophesied that Cyrus would rule in place of his grandfather. The minister had not obeyed this order, so his son's body had to be fed to him.

Cyrus, the fruit of this ritual, lived to found the Persian monarchy, which is only a milder title for cannibalism.

About 1,400 years ago, an Iranian king, who was actually called "The Just," invited to his court 10,000 adherents of a new religion that advocated an anticaste law. The king told their leader that he was going to accept their progressive ideas and

that he would give a big feast to celebrate his conversion to this casteless ideology.

All 10,000 guests were buried alive by this king. This was the just king—there were others who could not afford to be that just.

About 500 years ago, a king who was called "Great" was actually flanked by two cannibals whenever he held open court. When the shah did not like a minister, a poet, or a writer, he would simply turn to his right or left and say: "Eat him!" The ritual would take place right then and there. The king's order could not be delayed.

About ninety years ago the shah of the time found out about a gathering of about two dozen intellectuals who advocated educating the people. The shah attacked the gathering personally, took these intellectuals prisoner, and ordered his men to throw them down a deep well. Then he took a rifle and shot them to make sure that they did not crawl out of the well or were not saved by others.

But the ritual of cannibalism had not yet come to its full cycle until our own time.

Reza Shah, the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty and the father of the present shah of Iran, was very tall and almost as illiterate as he was tall. He wore jackboots rising up to his knees. The British helped him gain power. He suffocated the Iranians in such a way that there isn't even one readable newspaper remaining from his reign of twenty years.

Around 1935, Reza Shah found better masters than the British—Hitler and Mussolini. The Iranians were declared pure Aryans and the Turks, Kurds, Arabs, and Jews—the whole non-Persian population of the country—were subjected to an unprecedented racism.

While the king surrounded himself with Aryanomaniacs and worked at purging the Persian spirit—which had supposedly been corrupted by non-Aryan elements—local, tribal, and provincial leaders were shot or beheaded. Intellectuals were killed or imprisoned. The tyrant wielded his sword against everyone.

When World War II came, Iran was invaded by the Soviets and the British. The army that had been created solely to shoot the people surrendered in less than two hours, and the shah went off to die on the coasts of Africa.

He was succeeded by the present shah, who was a minor when he took the throne. He preferred women's perfume to the stench of dirty politics, and buried himself in the bosoms of court women. The papers of those days are full of stories about his

affairs and those of his numerous brothers and sisters.

Brought up in a castle, an ivory tower of corruption with no connections with the real people of the country, educated in La Rosey in Switzerland, the young shah hardly knew how to pronounce the Persian words of his addresses to parliament. These were written for him by his prime minister, while the shah flirted with the women of his court in French and English.

Even now when he speaks Persian, almost every sentence is wrong in structure. After all, you don't have to learn Persian! Persian is obsolete. When you talk to American reporters and politicians, you can surprise them with your precise Oxford accent. And here in the United States, people think it entrancing to hear an oriental king speak with a British accent.

But whatever the world war may have brought to Iran, one thing is irrefutable. A fresh breeze blew across the country. Parties arose, meetings took place, and the reeducation of the people about the rights taken away during the Reza Shah era was initiated by the writers, lawyers, and progressive parties.

New genres in prose and poetry and new modes of writing in journalism and criticism reflected the dynamism of the time. Iran had seen only one such example of freedom in the past, during the constitutional period from 1906 to 1911.

Almost 60 percent of the Iranian population is not Persian, and for the first time the question of national rights for non-Persians was faced. The Kurds of Kurdistan and the Turks of Azerbaijan demanded their rights. Iran started to speak and write in most of its major languages.

For the first time in Iranian history, the women of Azerbaijan struggled for equal rights. They demanded and won the right to vote for and to serve on all the associations of the nation of Azerbaijan.

The frozen muscles of the Iranian working class thawed in the heat of this universal political awakening. Long suppressed in the oil fields, the mines, and the factories, the workers rose and carried out strikes, gathered in parties, and mobilized for their demands.

The demonstrations of this era were the biggest the Middle East had ever witnessed. Hundreds of thousands marched in the streets of Tehran, Tabriz, Isfahan, and Abadan.

Meanwhile, the politicians surrounding the shah replaced each other like sleepwalkers, bending now to this big power and now to that one. Their confusion

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contributed to the spread of new ideas among the people.

The most vigorous and hopeful period of the life of my own generation was from 1941 to 1953. I took part in all sorts of associations created for teen-agers, read all sorts of books in Persian and Turkish, and looked hopefully towards the future.

Having been born to a poor family, I didn't feel that I was poor. The whole wealth of the world could be mine if I wanted.

To write your first poem in your mother tongue, and to read it to a mother who understands no other language; to take that poem to school and read it to the kids and have it published in the school paper and hear your words being read by others in your own language; to recite it to the peasants in their huts, the workers in the factory, to the businessmen in the bazaars, and see that they don't need translators to understand the meaning of your simple syllables! What richness! What riches!

And then someone puts a bayonet at your throat and tells you to forget about your mother tongue, tells a whole people to forget about their language and speak in the language ordained by the bayonet. Someone appoints himself the patron of your throat and tells you your language is filthy, it is no good, speak in mine. Someone forces you to change the form of your throat, jaws, and lips, the rhythm of your teeth and cheeks, and tells you to imitate his jaws and cheeks and lips and teeth. Oh! Oppressors and tyrants and shahs, my curse on you!

Oh! Racists! I spit on you!

The defeat of the Democratic party of Azerbaijan and also the Kurdish Republic of Kurdistan at the hands of the Iranian government in 1946 was a great setback for the national liberation movements in the area. The Turkish and Kurdish languages were immediately prohibited, the land reform initiated in Azerbaijan was undone, and women were again deprived of their natural rights. Some twenty years later, however, the shah was to declare himself the liberator of women.

The reaction was checked during Dr. Mossadegh's premiership [1951-53], when the mass movement gained momentum once more around the issue of nationalizing the foreign oil monopolies. But the CIA moved in and mobilized all the reactionaries, the fascists of the Reza Shah era, and the coup of 1953 put an end to democracy.

Hundreds of people were arrested and shot right after the coup. Then there came months during which everyone in Tehran could actually hear in the morning the country's young men being shot. These were the country's most precious men. But even these shootings were not enough.

A system had to be created for the brutal suppression of dissent in the country. Suppression had to be systematic, otherwise it would not work. The CIA created



Le Monde Diplomatique

SHAH REZA PAHLAVI

Iran's secret police, the SAVAK, in 1956.

From 1958 to 1963, there were still demonstrations in the streets of Tehran reminiscent of the precoup period. Student strikes had to be crushed by commandos from the Iranian Army Special Forces, which were trained by American military men.

The year 1963 witnessed the mass murder of more than 6,000 men and women in the streets of Tehran and other cities in a single day. From then on, the country was submerged in a total blackout.

The royal family was in the center of the repressive forces. Right after the coup, one of the princesses lined up the journalists of the country in front of her, slapping and kicking them indiscriminately and shouting, "You bastards! The day is done when you could write dirty things about me and the court!"

And one day, she and one of the princes drove up to the prison where Karim-pour Shirazi was being held. They poured a bucket of gasoline over that brave journalist and burned him to ashes. Later this very princess became the head of the UN Human Rights Commission, one of the advocates of women's liberation elsewhere in the world, and a good friend of Betty Friedan. Now we are exporting our cannibalism.

SAVAK trains its agents on the assumption that everyone in Iran is a potential or active member of the opposition. There is only one way for people to prove their innocence. They have to be tracked down, blindfolded, and taken to one of the hundreds of SAVAK stations scattered around the country, or to one of the dozens and dozens of prisons in the major cities,

and interrogated under torture.

Torture chambers have been dug like tunnels under the peaceful façade of the cities.

One can be called to any one of the hundreds of stations located mysteriously in almost any corner of the city and questioned on almost anything.

No appointment can be made anywhere in the universities, in the ministries, or in the factories without the approval of SAVAK. Anybody who arrives in the country after finishing his studies abroad and applies for work in the universities is kept under complete surveillance for one year. He is considered an enemy of the shah until he proves through his actions that he is a nobody and that he doesn't really care what happens to the people of his country.

Standing on any crossroad leading to the center of the city of Tehran, one can see, almost by the hour, cars passing in which five persons are sitting—two in the front, three in the back. The one in the middle of the backseat has a black blindfold on his eyes. The cloth has been cut to the size of ordinary sunglasses. That man is a prisoner and he is being taken to the Joint Committee for Campaign Against Terrorism in Iran.

The man sitting in the middle of the backseat will be tortured within less than an hour. No one in the world knows where he is being taken, except his adversaries.

He has been picked up from the street, or from his office or factory job, or from his farm, or from his bed. Nothing has been shown to him that could tell him why he has been kidnapped. Someone may have mentioned his name at random under torture.

He may even be taken to prison, never to be let out. Qasr, one of the biggest prisons in the country, has political prisoners who were taken there on the eve of the 1953 coup. Hundreds of others have been brought there, only to be taken out and shot afterwards.

The prisoner knows nothing about his future, and when the questions are put to him he will find that he hardly knows anything about his past either. He will feel suspicious of his closest friends and relatives. He will suddenly wake up in the middle of the night and say: "I know, it was my fiancée who told them that I read Maxim Gorky's *Mother*."

You may think I am joking, but be sure to check it with others who have been in an Iranian prison. They will tell you that you get at least one year in prison if you possess a copy of Gorky's *Mother* or any one of Jack London's novels. Since Lenin read Jack London novels, no one in Iran should read them. They may suddenly decide to become Lenin, and that on the basis of reading three novels.

The prisoner searches in vain for the reasons for his arrest and torture. The more he thinks, the more suspicious he

becomes of his friends. When he comes out, he decides, he won't talk to anyone. He will live alone, speak about nothing. Later, he will even lose the habit of thinking. That is how you keep another nation an ally of the West.

Don't misunderstand me! You may think I suppose there is no surveillance in the Soviet Union. I think as you think that there is and the worst kind, otherwise the Soviets would not tolerate the kind of surveillance that goes on in Iran and elsewhere.

But the fact is that I see a relation between the surveillance in Iran and Watergate. A coup made in Iran by American agents to topple the legal and constitutional government is in no way different from efforts made by American agents to topple democracy in this country.

Once you get used to overthrowing other people's democracy, there is no reason why you shouldn't try to overthrow your own democracy for a change.

If you create terror in someone else's home, you will terrorize your own home as well. Frantz Fanon tells us in his great book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, that French torturers of Algerian militants would find themselves beating their own wives and children as well.

Slapping someone else, you slap your own face. In destroying my democracy, you took the first step towards the destruction of your own democracy.

I will quote two passages to show you the nature of the person who gained power as a result of American intervention. The first is from an interview given by the shah to the famous Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci. In this interview, published in the December 30, 1973, *New Republic*, the shah gave his view of women, saying:

I wouldn't be sincere if I asserted that I'd been influenced by any one of them. Nobody can influence me, nobody at all. And a woman, still less. In a man's life, women count if they are beautiful and graceful and know how to stay feminine. This women's lib business, for instance. What do they want? Equality, you say? Indeed, I don't want to be rude, but . . . you may be equal in the eyes of the law, but I beg your pardon for saying so, not in reality. You have never produced a Michelangelo, or a Bach. You never even produced a good cook.

The second passage I am going to quote is from a pro-shah book written by E.A. Bayne and called *Persian Kingship in Transition*. It reminds me of the theater of the absurd of Beckett, Ionesco, and Adamov:

"Well, yes," he said. "They call the king the Shadow of God. . . ."

"Wasn't that title abandoned some years ago?"

He nodded. "A long time ago. I never use it, but there are people who still do."

He considered the subject for a moment, and then asked: "Incidentally, what does it mean when the Pope washes and kisses the feet of the people?"

Briefly, I reported the origins of the ceremony. Christ had washed the feet of his disciples before his passion.

"Why did he do it?"

"To symbolize his humanity. The Pope now similarly dramatizes his equality with men when he holds power to the keys of the Kingdom."

"All right, could I not say that these people kiss my feet because they want to make me feel equal to them?"

I replied: "I think not. Theirs is an act of homage. However, if you were to wash their feet. . . ."

"Yes?"

" . . . then that could relate to the Pope's ceremony."

"But if they do it to me . . . ? . . ."

"Perhaps," I suggested half seriously, "such a symbolically humbling act might serve for the coronation. Your present image as a reforming king suggests that it might not be altogether out of character."

"Yes, perhaps." He hesitated almost imperceptibly and then continued. "Well, we could not copy the Christian formula."

He has written in his books and told reporters from the West that God spoke to him in private and told him how to run his country. He tells Bayne that whoever kisses his feet becomes free.

But he doesn't say what happens to those who decline to kiss his feet. God didn't tell me in private. I have seen with my own eyes what happens to them. The cannibal eats them up. Or he feeds them to us.

Let me give you an example.

We were given no meat in prison. The prison diet, cheap and cold rice with some obnoxious thing poured on top of it as sauce, gives you either constipation or diarrhea.

Then one day they brought in a young boy to our cell, thin and cadaverous. The next day he was taken out to the torture chamber. I never met him again. Two days later one of the guards whispered into my ear: "That thin boy died under torture."

The next day I was in my cell with a new man called Ali. When then gave us food, there were pieces of thin, colorless meat in it. Ali was surprised: "How come? I have been in this jail for the last two months and there has been no meat, and suddenly there is this meat."

Almost by instinct, another prisoner said, "Maybe this is the boy's flesh we are eating."

We could no longer eat the food.

I know that I may be quite wrong in supposing that it was that young man's flesh which was being fed to us. But I have a question: Where are the bodies of the 400 people who have been killed during the last three years?

They were either shot or died under torture. Where are they buried? How are these bodies going to be identified and handed to the relatives?

The number of people killed under torture or by firing squads during the last six years in Iran—this so-called island of

stability—is much higher than all the men and women killed in calamity-ridden Ireland. Where are the bodies of our young men and women?

You should ask the cannibal, the arch-cannibal, his imperial majesty, the shah of shahs, the Light of the Aryans. Or you should ask Kim Roosevelt, the former CIA agent who has now become a go-between in the sale of arms to the shah.

Ask General Harvey Joblonsky, former commander of the American military advisers in Iran, who is now an agent of Northrop. His job was taking bribes to Switzerland to be given to the Iranian authorities.

You could ask Shahram, Princess Ashraf's son, who received \$705,000 to find an architect for an American firm. Now that the agent for the architect gets \$705,000, what does the architect get? And who is the architect?

Nine people were shot by the shah three weeks ago. Where are their bodies?

Earlier, nine prisoners who had been tried years ago and given between eight and fifteen years in prison, were tortured to death or shot. Where are their bodies?

Earlier, two Iranian writers were shot. Where are their graves? And where are the bodies of those killed in Siyahkal, and those killed in the streets of Tehran and Tabriz and Qum? The cannibal has eaten them up.

The CIA crowned a cannibal as the king of kings for our country. Ask the head hidden under the crown. That divine head is nothing but a cannibal's head. The cannibal with a machine gun, the cannibal with a whip, the cannibal with an iron mesh heating your bottom and spine until you vomit your brains out—yes, this cannibal is here.

If, as *Nation* magazine suggests, "A covert Iranian contribution to Nixon's reelection campaign" was made by the shah, then the cannibal was here four years ago.

We know that he has been here for some time now. The cannibal has bought courses on atomic reactors at MIT. Wayne O'Neil, the head of the English department there, has called him the shah of MIT.

The cannibal is also the shah of UCLA and Harvard. He has also passed through Columbia; and Pahlavi Foundation, the center of Iranian espionage in this country, stands right here in New York. The cannibal tempts everybody in the name of free enterprise.

I cannot contribute to developing a guilty conscience in you, because the guilty conscience is already there. I can only say that your government created and supported the cannibal. Now, the cannibal thinks if he is good for the Iranians he must be good for the Americans too. In this bicentennial year, of all years in your history, you should be conscious of the existence of this U.S.-crowned cannibal. □

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

French Union Battles Polluters

[The following article appeared in the April 22 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

ROUEN—Last week the CFDT* regional chemical workers union in Upper Normandy issued a dossier on the question of unemployment and pollution. In Normandy this is a pressing issue. The fight by fishermen against pollution in the Seine estuary—first against the discharge of phosphogypsum (yellow sludge) by the APC trust and Rhône-Poulenc, then against the dumping of titanium dioxide (red sludge) by the Thann and Mulhouse corporation of Le Havre—has had an impact on the population. In Grand-Quevilly ecology forces have taken steps to inform the population, already upset over the visible aspects of this pollution (the odor, a greasy film on automobiles), by making good use of the antipollution committee and its newspaper, *Le Mouchard*.

In face of this response, the bosses have resorted to a weapon that threatens to be effective—blackmail over unemployment. "To be sure," they say, "we would like to halt the pollution, but this would require closing down the polluting plants and laying off the work force." It is this blackmail that the CFDT has sought to counter, with the following arguments:

- Blackmail about eliminating jobs is a maneuver aimed at dividing the workers. In point of fact, pollution of the Seine estuary has already threatened the jobs of 5,000 to 6,000 persons dependent in different ways on the fishing industry. It is the pollution that threatens jobs, not the workers who are fighting to halt it.

- A real fight against pollution would create new jobs.

- In any event, solving the problem of pollution in the Seine estuary does not require closing down the factories. In point of fact, it has been shown in a number of cases that technological solutions exist but the bosses have refused to put them into practice.

For example the Thann corporation, despite the cancellation of its discharge permit, continues to dump the red sludge on the pretext that it is impossible to neutralize the discharge. However, it took only eight days for Montedison (under pressure of the struggle by Italian fishermen) to neutralize discharges of the same sort.

The same is true for the discharges of the yellow sludge. It is technologically possible to recycle phosphogypsum. And it is all the more important to do so since at this very moment a wooded area in the Montmorency forest is being destroyed by excavations for gypsum quarries.

For the CFDT regional chemical workers union in Upper Normandy, the fight against pollution is part of a larger battle around conditions of work and of life outside the factory. It is part of a battle for the defense of the health of the surrounding population, for the preservation of the natural environment. □

Moving the Acropolis Indoors

Five of the giant stone statues, called caryatids, of the Acropolis in Athens are to be removed and placed in a museum to protect them from the damaging effects of the city's air pollution. A government official said they would be replaced with replicas.

Strike Against Pollution

Closes Ontario Asbestos Mine

In a victory for mine workers, the government of the Canadian province of Ontario on April 12 ordered the shutdown of the United Asbestos Inc. mine until pollution at its mill operation is cleaned up.

According to a report in the April 26 *Labor Challenge*, "The cleanup order was forced on the government by a wildcat

strike by 140 of the mine's 155 unionized workers, who were protesting unsafe working conditions."

Government tests showed that cancer-causing asbestos dust levels at the mine ran as high as twenty times above the "acceptable" level.

Goodyear Admits Benzene Fumes May Have Killed Six Workers

The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company has admitted that six workers at one of its plants in Akron, Ohio, died between 1954 and 1964 of leukemia, a blood disease that may have been caused by exposure to benzene fumes. Goodyear used benzene for its production of a transparent rubber-based wrapper. The factory has been closed for ten years.

Asbestos in Water of 5 U.S. Cities

The Environmental Protection Agency announced April 30 that it had found traces of asbestos in the drinking water supplies of the cities of Boston, Philadelphia, Atlanta, San Francisco, and Seattle.

Another 'No Appreciable Threat'

"The Los Angeles Harbor Department announced December 22 that liquid natural gas tankers would pose no appreciable threat to the city. The risk assessment was based on an independent contractor's study of a proposed terminal facility to receive liquified natural gas on Terminal Island in Los Angeles Harbor. The terminal would receive shipments of liquified natural gas sent by tanker from Alaska, and the study was paid for by the company which proposes to build the terminal. Spills of natural gas, liquified at near absolute zero, might cause enormous vapor explosions. . . ; even without a vapor explosion, a cloud of natural gas resulting from a tanker spill might drift over a populated area where it could be ignited by a stray spark. Edward Teller testified at a California legislative hearing earlier in the year that such accidents might result in explosions comparable to that of the bomb which destroyed Hiroshima in World War II."—*Environment*, April 1976.



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

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Notes on Healy's Role in Early Days of the British Trotskyist Movement

By Mary and John Archer

1. As far as we know, Gerry Healy first contributed to the Trotskyist movement in Britain in the summer of 1937, before he was admitted as a member. He worked with us in the industrial region of Yorkshire, where we were building the "Militant Group"¹ and penetrating the Labour Left. We understood that he had been put in touch with us by the comrades of our group in London.

He worked with energy, helping us to run open-air meetings and to sell our paper, the *Militant*. This paper was published as the organ of the Militant Group in the Labour Party and not as an openly Fourth Internationalist journal. Healy was not at this time as far as we knew, a member of the Labour Party. He had evidently read little or nothing of the writings of Trotsky. We did not know then, and still do not know, how he came to break with the Communist Party or the Young Communist League. We have a record, however, of his own statement that he had been in the Young Communist League, in the minutes of the London aggregate meeting of members of the Militant Group dated November 14, 1937. He did not tell us how he had got in touch with our movement, but we were told later by Jock Haston that there was a loose grouping in 1935 and 1936 of former members of the Communist Party who called themselves the "Hyde Park Group" and who were attracted by the pamphlets produced by Pioneer Publishers and the New York *Militant*. We do know that in the autumn of 1936 some of these comrades, including Haston himself, joined the Trotskyist group which shortly afterwards became the Militant Group. Haston said that at first Healy had been very hostile to the Hyde Park Group and was pro-Stalinist. However, we have very little information about his origins or earlier activities.

Healy joined the Militant Group in August 1937, and stayed with it for about five months. The minutes of its national conference show that he was accepted into probationary membership at the conference on the motion of the late Denzil Harber, seconded by John Archer. The

minutes of the London aggregate for November 1937 show him as formally a member of the Paddington branch in London. We recall, however, that he had some kind of publicity job which involved travelling round the country and staying only a short time in any one place. We cannot, therefore, say what his political work in Paddington amounted to. We do know, however, that the Paddington branch was joined in August 1937 by four comrades from South Africa whose arrival was to have a great influence on the subsequent history of our movement in Britain. The most politically developed of these four South African comrades was Ralph Lee; his companion, Millie Lee, had conspicuous administrative and secretarial talent.

2. The work of the Militant Group advanced in 1937, but in the course of that year it suffered two severe blows. The first was the success with which the Stalinists penetrated the Labour Left. The second, a consequence of the first, was the liquidation of the left-reformist organisation in the Labour Party, opposing the leadership, called the "Socialist League."

These blows meant that entry work would have been difficult for even a mature and experienced group, because the Left as a whole had been thrown back and disorganised. The group was not, indeed, mature enough to formulate with precision the political character of its problems and to overcome the difficulties of its day-to-day work. Its problems, therefore, became expressed in conflicts between individuals and groups tending to be based on personal associations.

Extreme bitterness was fortuitously injected into the situation when a Stalinist slander followed Ralph Lee from South Africa. This comrade blamed the leadership of the group for failing to protect his revolutionary honour and for manoeuvring to exclude him and Millie Lee, as he thought, from positions of responsibility for which their abilities might be thought to qualify them.

Afterwards, the International Secretariat concluded that the Stalinists' accusations were pure calumnies, and censured the leadership of the Militant Group for mishandling the situation. However, while the affair was being discussed in Britain, and before any of the underlying political causes of friction in the organisation had

been elucidated, let alone cleared up, a number of members headed by Ralph Lee and including Haston, Healy and Grant, walked out of the Militant Group and started a rival group, the "Workers' International League."

We have the minutes of the successive meetings of the London membership and of the leadership of the Militant Group in November and December 1937, together with a number of contributions from members to the internal discussion. These papers show that on December 19, 1937, Haston, Healy, Grant and seven others walked out of a London aggregate meeting, after a motion condemning a split had been passed by 25 votes to 6, with 9 abstentions.

The evidence suggests that the split was headed by Ralph Lee and that Healy played no prominent part in it. However, Healy had spoken at the preceding aggregate, that of November 14, in a vein which was in later years to become better known. The minutes read: H[ealy] (Paddington) said that he thought he had left slander and intrigue behind when he left the Y.C.L. The action taken by D.D. H[arber], E. S[tarkey] J[ackson] and Co. had shown that they had acted in a bureaucratic manner, their only excuse being that they had acted 'for the good of the group'. If rank and file comrades were arrested would these people still [be] acting for the good of the group [if they] give information to the police?"

The minutes of London aggregate meetings were circulated to the branches of the Militant Group, and this report raised something of a furore. We have a letter, in Healy's own handwriting, addressed to the Executive Committee of the Militant Group, as follows:

"Dear Comrades,

"I had intended to correct the minutes of the last GMM² at the next GMM but in view of the conclusions drawn by people who were not present at the meeting as a result of reading the circulated materials I now think it necessary to send in a statement for circulation. The minutes give the impression that I accused leading members of the group of being likely to give information to the police. I report my speech below and shall move the same as a correction at the next GMM.

"(For Circulation)

"I stated that when it became clear that many members of the Group not members of the E.C.³ knew about the rumours concerning R[alph] L[ee]: 'We are asked to believe that these people were acting for the good of the group. In the event of comrades being arrested by the police, and information concerning these comrades reaching the police.' Referring to the fact that these people were gossips 'Would we

2. General Members' Meeting.

3. Executive Committee.

1. The Labour Party entrust group recognised by the International Secretariat of what was to become the Fourth International.

be asked to accept the same excuse that they were acting in the interests of the group⁴.

"Yours fraternally,
"G. Healy."

This not entirely coherent statement is undated, but evidently it was written some time between the London aggregate of November 14 and that of December 19.

There has also survived a letter which suggests that the split may have been premeditated before December 19. This is signed with the name of J.R. Strachan, a political name which we believe Healy used in the early 1940s. Dated December 23, 1937, it is addressed to a certain Willie Watson, an old Glasgow syndicalist who had bought Trotskyist literature from time to time. The letter invites him to subscribe to the new journal which the Workers' International League promised shortly to produce. The new journal did indeed appear very soon afterwards, so soon that we might ask Healy today to tell us whether the preparations for it were not already in hand before the walkout of December 19.

The Militant Group noted at its next conference, at Easter 1938, that the split had cost it four branches and one-third of its members. The political damage to our movement was, however, more serious.

3. In 1938, of course, the leading members of the Workers' International League were Ralph Lee and Jock Haston. Healy played a quite subordinate role. However, we encountered him in Yorkshire in that year, trying to disrupt our work, hanging round our contacts and young members with slanders about the leadership of the Militant Group, building nothing and leaving nothing behind. One of the people whom he recruited to the Workers' International League out of the Labour Party League of Youth is today a prominent right-wing Member of Parliament! Healy's name is not, indeed, mentioned in any of the documents which passed between the Workers' International League and the International Secretariat in the summer and autumn of 1938 when the fusion of the British groups was being negotiated and the Workers' International League was invited to join in, in preparation for the Founding Conference of the Fourth International and in anticipation of the early outbreak of the war.

The Workers' International League rejected Cannon's invitation to join the fusion, and its leaders had, of course, to try to justify their separate existence, as against the International Secretariat and, in due course, the Founding Conference. The documents of the Workers' International League show how it set in circulation certain falsifications of the history and theory of our movement which were later to grow into a positive mythology. They were used to defend false political positions against "entrism" and have prevented—not only in Britain but

internationally—later generations even up to the present time from drawing fully on the results of our prewar discussions about and experience of entrism. Some of the sectarian nonsense which has subsequently plagued the British movement can, indeed, be traced back to the self-justificatory errors of the Workers' International League in 1938, to which Healy has given currency in later years.

The leaders of the Workers' International League inevitably cut themselves off from all the preceding experience of the British movement. In later years Healy has used their argument that nothing happened before they came on the scene, to pretend that nothing happened before the one and only Healy took charge, and that our experiences from 1931 to 1938 did not exist!

There is, however, no evidence that he had any direct hand in originating the falsifications. Comrade Joe Hansen has correctly pointed out in *Intercontinental Press*, November 24, 1975, that "Healy belonged to a clique that stood in opposition to Trotsky as long as Trotsky was alive. This did not prevent Trotsky from being concerned about them. In 1938 he asked James P. Cannon to stop in London, talk with them, and try to persuade them to send a delegation to the founding congress of the Fourth International. They said no to Cannon and Trotsky".

The Workers' International League did actually send a representative to ask to be seated in the Founding Conference. They wanted, however, to be seated on the condition that they would not have to join in the fusion of the British groups. The Founding Conference rejected this condition, and the representative of the Workers' International League was not admitted.

Fortunately we do know the political reasons which they gave at the time for "saying no to Cannon and Trotsky". To resurrect and state their arguments is not, of course, to imply that they were right. Nonetheless their arguments are of considerable interest, not merely to us in Britain, where "entrism" is a life and death question, but wherever in the world "entrism" is a necessary stage in the construction of the party. In addition, a look at the whole prewar discussion on "entrism" in the British movement strikes a deathblow at the pretentious nonsense of Healy's "Problems of the Fourth International".

The statement of the International Secretariat said that there was no justification for the existence of the Workers' International League. The statement reads: "The IS also considers it its duty to condemn energetically the action of Lee and his companions in this affair (his ultimatic manner of posing the question before the GMM of 11 November [sic] and which brought them to split the MG⁴ and

4. Militant Group.

create a new, minute, independent so-called 'Trotskyist' Group, on a basis devoid of all political meaning".

We have three documents produced by the Workers' International League leadership during the summer and autumn of 1938 which show how they tried to establish some political justification for their separate existence as well as the political atmosphere which Healy breathed in those early days.

The first document is entitled "Contribution by Workers' International League to the Discussion on the Tasks of Bolshevik-Leninists in Britain". This attempts to explain why the members of the Workers' International League, having split from an "entrism" organisation without apparently realising why it was an "entrism" organisation, were continuing to work as members of the Labour Party after the split. The document contains, to be sure, a few faint echoes of the earlier and richer discussions which had gone on before any of the members of the Workers' International League had come on to the scene. However, the document cannot be said, even with the utmost charity, to go to the heart of the matter. It ends by basing the tactic of the Workers' International League on the expectation that the Independent Labour Party would return to the Labour Party.

The record of the discussions between Fenner Brockway and Jimmie Maxton, the leaders of the Independent Labour Party, and the leaders of the Labour Party are now all available for study. The expectation that the Labour Party would readmit the Independent Labour Party was not fulfilled, and the negotiations broke down because the Labour Party would not permit the Parliamentary Group of the Independent Labour Party to vote against majority decisions of the Labour Parliamentary Group. The Independent Labour Party effectively broke up in 1946 and some of its members, including Fenner Brockway, joined the Labour Party as individuals, being denounced for doing so by Maxton almost from his deathbed.

The "Contribution by Workers' International League to the Discussion on the Tasks of Bolshevik-Leninists in Britain" accordingly contains the political basis for the sectarianism which flourished in the Workers' International League during the war, when some of the Labour Party organisations closed down after 1939, and which dominated the policies of the Revolutionary Communist Party⁵ from its foundation in 1944 to its collapse in 1949.

The second document is a statement issued by a meeting of the Workers'

5. The Revolutionary Communist Party was formed in Britain in spring 1944 by the fusion of the Revolutionary Socialist League, the official British section of the Fourth International, with the Workers' International League.

International League, dated June 27, 1938, attacking the International Secretariat.

After taking up a number of minor debating points, the document offers an explanation as to why those who walked out of the aggregate of December 19 did not appeal to the National Conference, the highest body of the Militant Group. First, says the statement, "the national membership of the 'Militant Group' is fictitious". The writers of this article have the best of reasons for knowing that this claim was untrue, since we had a group of some twelve comrades working actively in the Labour Party in Leeds and were in regular and frequent contact with other branches of the Militant Group in Hull, Liverpool, York, and Glasgow. Secondly, the minutes of the first annual conference of the "Militant Labour League", the cover organisation which the Trotskyists in the Labour Party promoted as the open expression of their work on a partial programme, record that in the autumn of 1938 it had 150 members, with six branches in London and seven in provincial cities.

The second document of the Workers' International League goes on to say that the expulsions⁶ were accepted because "the actions of the leadership after our expulsion re-inforced the conclusion we formed that both the leadership and the remaining membership were irresponsible". It concluded by rejecting totally the resolution of the International Secretariat on the "R. Lee" affair which denounced the split.

The third document states: "... the attempt to characterise our organisational separation from other groups as arising from 'purely personal grievances' is simple mis-representation". It goes on: "... to attribute the failure of the delegates [of the International Secretariat, i.e., Cannon, Shachtman, and Gould] to present a convincing case for organisational fusion to the resistance of leading members of our Group is sheer mis-representation". They also blame Harber [a delegate to the Founding Conference from the Militant Group] and Cannon for the fact that their statement was not presented to the Founding Conference. We do not know to what document they refer.

Healy went along with this, as far as we know, in 1938, but changed his mind about it later. He was to write in the summer of 1947: "An additional factor which aggravates the sectarian sickness of the Revolutionary Communist Party is the past history and evolution of the present

majority leadership [Haston, Grant]. Their unprincipled split from the Fourth International [in 1938], which they defend to this day, is a constant source of mis-education in the party. . ." Not a word about what he himself was doing and saying in 1938, but, more important, not a word about how the decision to stay out of the Fourth International was arrived at, and, therefore, no lessons drawn from the experience.

4. A page in the history of the European Trotskyist movement still remains obscure. It is said that a minority in the Workers' International League in 1939 and 1940 recognised that its attitude to the Fourth International was a bad one. This minority appears to have established some connection with elements of the French Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Frank-Molinier), on the basis that they all wanted somehow to reverse the judgement of the Founding Conference.

While Pierre Frank and Raymond Molinier took some positive steps at the time, members of the Workers' International League circulated disparaging remarks about the good faith of Cannon and his recommendations to the International Secretariat and the Founding Conference . . . even to the point of saying that Cannon was drunk when he was supposed to be negotiating between the British groups and trying to get the Workers' International League to come in.

These statements are still being circulated. It is historically important that they should be cleared up and any hitherto unpublished documents concerning the moves made at that time be made public. There are already more than enough little sectarian groups attacking the tradition of "Orthodox Trotskyism" and only too ready to pick up any bits of scandal to suggest that "there never really was a Fourth International" or "there never really was an international leadership".

5. The misguided efforts of the Workers' International League to justify its separate existence in 1938 were no more than the scratch which, in 1942 and 1943, developed into virulent sectarianism and finally into Healy's gross falsifications of history and theory.

In the period following the German imperialist invasion of Soviet Russia, the Workers' International League succeeded in establishing contact with certain layers of workers, especially in engineering, whose demands could find no expression through either the official trade union apparatus or through the Stalinist-controlled shop-stewards movement. This development surprised the official British section of the Fourth International, the Revolutionary Socialist League, which was the result of the fusion in the summer of 1938 of all the British groups except the Workers' International League.

At the outbreak of the war the majority of the leadership and some of the rank and

file of the Workers' International League departed from London to the neutrality of Southern Ireland, in the mistaken expectation that either London would be bombed to destruction from the air or that there would be immediate police action against those who opposed the war.

Healy went with the other leaders, and his relations with them in exile were far from harmonious. A document dated February 15, 1943, issued by the Political Bureau of the Workers' International League provides an almost ludicrous picture of his relations with the rest of the cadres. It is an explanation to the members as to why the Central Committee came to a unanimous decision at its February 7 meeting to expel him. (They took him back later.) The document provides a telling description of the capricious and unreliable temperament which made him impossible as a member of a team.

The emigration to Ireland has to be mentioned for another, more specific reason. There is in circulation in European Trotskyist circles a curious myth that the leadership of the Revolutionary Socialist League, the British section of the Fourth International, collapsed at the outbreak of the war in September 1939. Some kind of parallel is drawn between what is supposed to have happened in Britain and the alleged collapse of the Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste in France. If this myth is not corrected it will be used as further support for Healy's falsifications of the history of the British movement. It was the Workers' International League which collapsed at the outbreak of the war. We cannot allow Healy to score off those who are defending Hansen and Novack against him by posing—quite falsely—as one who stood up to the outbreak of the war, as did the leadership of the Revolutionary Socialist League. The work of the Revolutionary Socialist League is, in fact, mentioned in the report of the 1940 Emergency Conference of the Fourth International, which once again called upon the Workers' International League to join with it and spoke of the "substantial progress" achieved by our cover organisation, the Militant Labour League.

Towards the end of 1941, following the German imperialist invasion of Soviet Russia, the membership of the Workers' International League began to grow. It was soon in position to produce an attractive, printed paper, and to attract some notice. Its successes were, regrettably, transient, because practically everything which it gathered during these years disappeared after 1945. Nonetheless, at the time, its gains were more than the Revolutionary Socialist League, the official section, could claim. (We do not enter here into the political problems of the two groups during the war. They are of great theoretical interest and we hope that work will soon begin on the plentiful documents which have survived. It remains only to

6. The minutes of the General Members' Meeting of the "Militant Group" on December 19, 1937, show that a motion was carried, stating "... it will be the duty of all members loyally to accept the decision of the majority. No Bolshevik can consider splitting the Group on such an issue or at such a moment." Ten of those present, including Healy, then walked out of the meeting. Their expulsion was thereupon carried by 25 votes to 6.

record that in all the years since 1947, when Healy began to have control of "his own" group, hardly a word has been written on these problems. They were raised *once* in *Labour Review*⁷ at the end of the 1950s, and that was all.)

The majority of the new recruits to the Workers' International League during 1941-43 knew nothing about the prewar experience of the Trotskyist movement, whether nationally or internationally. They knew nothing about the peacetime Labour Party and were told nothing about the theoretical and historical foundations of "entrism" or the discussions before 1938 about it. The new recruits did, however, want to know why the Workers' International League, which claimed to be working for the Fourth International in Britain, was not recognised as the official section. Accordingly the leadership produced a document, sometime in 1942 or 1943—it is undated—which claims to "present a short factual summary of the early development of the Fourth International in this country. . ."

This document expands grossly on the claims which the Workers' International League had made in 1938 that the national membership of the Militant Group was fictitious and that the leadership and membership were irresponsible. It presents a much more fully developed mythology, which later research into the plentiful surviving documents of our movement is in process of destroying point by point.

One of its central arguments was: There never was a Trotskyist movement of any seriousness in Britain until the Workers' International League was formed. This claim involves obliterating and grossly slandering the original Groves-Wicks group, slurring over the lessons of the "entry" into the Independent Labour Party in 1934-36, and not saying a word about the work in the Labour League of Youth and the Labour Party which laid the basis for the development of the Militant Group in 1937.

Another central argument was to excuse the refusal of the Workers' International League to accept Cannon's suggestion to join in the fusion with the Militant Group which produced the Revolutionary Socialist League in 1938, on the ground that "there was no political discussion of tactics and perspectives for Britain".

We do not know who drafted this document, which has served Healy well in later years. We doubt that he had any hand in its authorship.

To close: A copy of a report found in

Cannon's papers has been made available to us. This is headed: "Brief Outline of the British Movement (very much subject to correction)". Internal evidence suggests that it was written by a Canadian comrade who was prominent in the British section, and dates from 1936. It mentions Harber as a possible secretary for Trotsky, and, in addition, refers to the role of Margaret

Johns and one of the present writers. It does not mention Healy, or, for that matter, anyone else later to become connected with the Workers' International League.

We have referred to a number of documents in this brief survey. We can locate them all and have copies of most of them.

February 27, 1976

Testimony of Reuben Hauwanga

SWAPO Leader Tortured in Vorster's Jails

[On August 17, 1975, the South African authorities in Namibia arrested Reuben Hauwanga, the secretary of information and publicity in the north of the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO). Hauwanga was only one of about 200 SWAPO leaders, members, and sympathizers picked up during a crackdown on the Namibian independence forces. Six other SWAPO leaders, including SWAPO National Organizer Aaron Muchimba, are currently facing trial in Swakopmund on charges under the Terrorism Act (see *Intercontinental Press*, April 12, p. 617).

[Many of those arrested have since been released after spending months in jail. Hauwanga was released in February. The following account of his imprisonment was published in the April 9 issue of the Paris weekly *Jeune Afrique*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

At first they took me to the regional prison at Ondangua. A white noncommissioned officer, Petrus Johannes Jordaan, and another man, Tweihala Kamhulu, kicked me and beat me with fists and clubs. I was then locked up with a certain Paaavo, who was mentally ill and kept on dancing, laughing, and crying all night.

The next morning, the same Jordaan—a former professional boxer—arrived with three white policemen. All three began to beat me again. My mouth and nose bled. Jordaan ordered me to go and wash myself. When the bleeding stopped, they made me return to the cell, and Jordaan got me in a karate hold. I lost my balance, and then, as I recall, I was kicked in the back and the buttocks. Afterward, I think I lost consciousness. I only remember finding myself alone, my face swollen, my legs shaking, and my jaw aching. . . . After a few weeks, they transferred me to Oshikango, a South African police station in northern Namibia, where I was subjected to interrogation under torture by Colonel Skoon.

At Oshikango, they suspended us from the ceiling so that we could touch the ground only with our toes. We were forbidden to sleep. Soldiers were ordered to

watch over us to make sure we did not fall asleep. Punches in the stomach, kicks, and slaps were standard fare. At the end of several days they untied my hands so that I could write answers to the questions they asked me. The sixth day, since my feet had become extremely swollen, Colonel Skoon ordered that I be allowed to rest. But his assistant, Lieutenant Dippenaar, who was not satisfied with my answers, ordered his men to suspend me by my feet. I was left hanging upside down for three or four hours.

I then underwent other interrogations at Ogongo, again with Colonel Skoon. It was at Ogongo that I learned that many of my comrades had also been arrested. One morning, while I was locked up in a police van, I heard screams coming from one of the buildings. It was obvious that the victim was suffering greatly. The voice was that of our national leader, Aaron Muchimba. The next day they took me to the room where he was tortured. I saw a piece of Aaron's shirt. It was stained with blood.

Later, when they tortured me with electricity, I understood why my comrade had screamed. I also saw the police grab my comrade and friend, Sam Shivute, and swing him by the hair and feet before throwing him on a table. □

Occupational Hazard

"Madrid, April 11—The struggle between Basque separatists and the Spanish Government claimed another victim today when a policeman was electrocuted while trying to cut down a Basque flag.

"The flag fluttered throughout last night from high tension wires in Baracaldo. In the morning firemen were called but they passed on the task of removing the flag to the police, since it was clearly a political issue and not a fireman's task. When special crews of the Guardia Civil tried to remove the flag, one of the men was electrocuted as he tried to cut through one of the wires with a pair of metal shears."—*London Times*, April 12.

7. *Labour Review* was a theoretical journal published by the Healyite organisation in the 1950s. It began as a very modest mimeographed affair, but from January 1957 until 1963 it was attractively printed. Its earlier issues after the shake-up of Stalinism in 1956-57 gave promise of distinguished theoretical development.

Help Us in the Struggle for Democratic Rights in Brazil!

[The following statement was issued April 5 by the Liga Operária (Workers League) and the Partido Operário Comunista (Communist Workers party), two Trotskyist organizations in Brazil. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

After making a detailed analysis of the national situation and the events leading up to the expulsion from parliament of Nadir Rosseti, Amauri Muller, and Lisân-eas Maciel, three deputies from the Grupo Autentico wing of the Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (MDB—Brazilian Democratic Movement, the only permitted opposition party), the Liga Operária and the Partido Operário Comunista, the Fourth International organizations in Brazil, decided to issue a joint statement to the workers, students, and other sectors of the masses in this country, and to international democratic public opinion.

1. The recent expulsions from parliament of three deputies from the "Autentico" wing of the MDB fit into the context of a clear shift to the right by the bonapartist Geisel government. This turn began in the first three months of 1975, with the repression against workers, students, trade-union leaders, and members and leaders of the Brazilian Communist party.

These actions once again reflect the vacillations, zigzags, and indecisiveness of the ruling classes, the imperialists, the industrial and landowning big bourgeoisie and their defenders, the military, over how best to repress the workers and the Brazilian people, how to keep the present dictatorial regime intact and overcome the economic crisis.

The manifestations of the economic crisis hitting the country are a fabulous external debt, continual deficits in the balance of payments and the trade balance, the resurgence of inflation, falling investments, unemployment, and a decline in the buying power of broad strata of the population.

These expulsions from parliament affect the mass movement as a whole, and in particular representative sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, which in the November 15, 1974, elections saw the MDB as the only alternative to the military dictatorship and the only channel for expressing their discontent. These impeachments represent a counteroffensive by the most ultrarightist sectors of the government, which were momentarily neutralized after the mobilizations that followed the murder of the journalist Vladimir Herzog and the death of the worker Manuel Fiel Filho in the dungeons of the dictatorship.

These sectors see repressing any organized form of opposition and smashing the mobilizations of the mass movement as

the only way to maintain the present system. So, in the eyes of the civilian and military ultraright, any liberalization, even the "relaxation" plans of Geisel and his team, is synonymous with social chaos, with unrest, and with a threat to their domination.

2. However, the rightist turn the government began in February and March 1975 and made official in August—when the dictator himself took on the job of making it clear to those sectors that had illusions about the "relaxation" what distinct limits any political liberalization would have—also ran up against limitations imposed by the situation.

Unable to solve the most immediate problems of the broad masses, to make any concessions even to the purely economic demands of the masses; incapable of allowing the workers and the petty bourgeoisie the least room for representation in government, or the right to organize and demonstrate; unable to let parliament and the bourgeois parties function as anything but window dressing; unable even to come up with effective and coherent solutions that could meet the demands of the ruling classes themselves, which are in the grip of the economic crisis—the military government stands more and more isolated, with scarcely any significant support among the exploited sectors of society, in particular among the urban petty bourgeoisie and the workers.

Any attempt to deepen the repression and to develop the regime in a fascist direction will run up against this isolation and lack of support. It will run up against the impossibility of mitigating the social contradictions and of preventing the masses from more and more expressing their discontent. So, besides the economic crisis, the possibility in the near future of popular explosions and mass demonstrations sparked by dissatisfaction with, and opposition to, the dictatorial regime will become another specter haunting the dictatorship, the imperialists, and the big bourgeoisie.

3. The present economic and political impasse the ruling classes have gotten themselves into has an eminently political solution. This will depend entirely on the capacity of the masses, the workers and their allies, to wage a militant and organized struggle against the dictatorship, to provide a focus for the popular discontent, and to mobilize to block any plan for economic recovery that the technocrats and capitalists may dream up based on increasing the rate of exploitation of the workers and applying a "wage freeze." The solution will depend on the masses winning the right to organize independently of state tutelage and on them winning democratic freedoms to demonstrate and express themselves.

4. The country is still in the counterrevolutionary stage that opened in 1964 and deepened in 1969. This stage has been marked by severe repression against workers, peasants, students, and progressive intellectuals under Institutional Act No. 5 and Decree-Law No. 477, by the imposition of the death penalty, and by the cancerous growth of military and police repressive bodies. This phase has also gone hand in hand with relative economic growth and cohesion on the part of the ruling classes.

However, the trend has begun to turn in favor of the exploited classes. Although still scattered and isolated, the struggles of the working class have begun to multiply. The most common actions have been strikes and slowdowns, and sabotage of factories and trains in protest against starvation wages and miserable living and working conditions. In the struggle against the bosses and union bureaucrats, important trade-union opposition movements are starting to develop in the country's key centers.

On the other hand, the discontent of the middle layers has been finding more and more outlets. One form of expression was a massive antigovernment vote in the parliamentary elections. Another is the reactivation of the student movement. The struggles of this sector against the dictatorship are achieving a greater national impact today. Another way discontent has been expressed is in actions by professional groups, as when the journalists mobilized to protest the murder of Vladimir Herzog and the imprisonment of a large number of their colleagues.

Moreover, the small and middle business sectors that for years fed to their fill on the crumbs of the "economic miracle" are now hard pressed by the recession and find their survival threatened by the imperialists and the big bourgeoisie. Although timidly, they are beginning to experiment with protests through their associations and institutions as well as through the MDB.

5. In this situation, the task of revolutionists, especially those who adhere to the Fourth International, is to build, organize, encourage, and offer political orientation to the embryonic struggles of the mass movement. By helping the workers, students, and peasants create their own independent bodies, by helping to strengthen and consolidate militant leaderships in all the mass organizations, revolutionists will be fulfilling their vanguard role. At the same time, they will be laying the bases for building the revolutionary party of the working class in Brazil.

It is particularly important in this process for the revolutionary vanguard to be able to give a focus to all the popular discontent by combining even the most

purely economic struggles of the masses with the fight for democratic freedoms. This means mobilizing the workers, students, peasants, and intellectuals in struggle to wrest from the dictatorship the freedom to organize, freedom of expression, and freedom to demonstrate, freedom to set up their own political parties and independent trade unions. These struggles for democratic freedoms must not, however, be conducted or seen as reformist or liberal sentimental appeals for humanizing the regime of generals and bosses. They must be indissolubly bound up with overthrowing the military dictatorship, with the struggle to create embryonic organs of workers and people's power and to install a workers and peasants government in Brazil. Revolutionists must link the democratic demands of the exploited masses with slogans that can mobilize them in a process leading uninterruptedly toward socialism.

6. However, all revolutionary action starts from the concrete demands of the class struggle. And the concrete demand at the moment is, starting from a clear analysis of what the MDB represents, to wage a national struggle in defense of popular sovereignty.

The new expulsions of deputies from parliament—five in the last three months alone—once again mark the failure of the official opposition party to constitute an alternative to the military regime. This has also helped to destroy the illusions of all those who saw the MDB as a channel through which a people's party could be built, those who believed that it would be possible to reform it from the inside, to put pressure on and push out its bourgeois leaders.

In the last parliamentary elections, the MDB attracted fifteen million votes. At first it loomed up as the only apparent alternative. It was a party through which the discontent of broad layers of the population would be expressed.

However, following the precedents set even before the November 15 elections, the MDB's course was marked by continual betrayals of the masses who had placed their hopes in it. At no time was the MDB able or willing to uphold consistently the banners of struggle that it raised in the electoral campaign. Its course consisted of constant and continual capitulations to the government, to "moderation," to conciliationism, to collaboration with the military government, as well as of suppression of the more militant voices that spoke out inside the party.

In these five recent cases in which deputies have been deprived of their seats, the bourgeois leadership of the MDB showed by its inertia, its false prudence, and its accommodationism how determined it is to get the military government's seal of approval as an acceptable party, one that does not challenge the "revolution," that is, in fact, a party of the

"revolution," as its leaders never tire of proclaiming.

Since the MDB leadership wants to isolate its radicals, that is, the most active members in its workers and women's sections, in the Juventude Democrática [Democratic Youth, the MDB youth organization], and in the parliament itself, these



GEISEL

leaders were relieved at seeing some of their most combative deputies removed by impeachment.

7. In view of this, the Partido Operário Comunista and the Liga Operária issue an appeal to the militant forces working today in the MDB, to the party youth, its workers, women, and intellectuals, to make a clean break from this bourgeois party. We call on them to withdraw the support on which this conciliatorist and traitor leadership bases itself. We call on them to unite with all those forces on the side of the people that are committed to an independent struggle by the workers and their allies, to winning a revolutionary struggle for democratic freedoms.

Confronted with the farce of the bourgeois parliament and the caricature of elections the bourgeoisie allows, we must be clear about the need to overthrow the dictatorship and all its repressive legislation. Likewise, we have to have a clear understanding of the importance of a revolutionary struggle for a constituent assembly to which the Brazilian people, the workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals, could freely elect their political representatives in a vote where they would have all the conditions for a free choice

and where their real parties could participate.

8. So, since we see these impeachments as part of a broader process of the regime moving to the right and of deepening exploitation and repression of the working masses, and since we understand the need to link up struggles in defense of living standards and working conditions with the more general struggles of society, the Liga Operária and the Partido Operário Comunista call on the other organizations that speak in the name of the workers and on the militant forces in the MDB to organize a national campaign to defend popular sovereignty. We call on them to organize a campaign for the repeal of Institutional Act No. 5, for the legalization of all workers and people's parties, and for free and direct elections.

9. Finally, the Liga Operária and the Partido Operário Comunista call on our sister parties in the Fourth International, particularly the Revolutionary Communist League in France, and the International Marxist Group in England, as well as the other working-class parties, unions, and union federations there, to show active solidarity with the Brazilian workers and people during the upcoming visit of the dictator Ernesto Geisel to these countries.

By denouncing the superexploitation of the Brazilian workers, the lack of the most elementary democratic freedoms for the broad masses, the torture and murder of hundreds of revolutionists and democrats in the jails of the dictatorship, by making France and England too hot for the dictator, the workers in these countries can make a decisive contribution to wearing out and isolating the dictatorship, along with showing real proletarian internationalism.

Down with the impeachments, Institutional Act No. 5, and all the repressive legislation!

Independent organization and freedom to demonstrate for the workers, students, peasants, and intellectuals!

Overthrow of the military dictatorship, legalization of all the workers and people's parties, genuinely free, direct elections!

For the calling of a Revolutionary Constituent Assembly!

International solidarity with the Brazilian workers and people! □

Kaunda Recognizes Angolan Regime

The Kaunda government in Zambia has officially recognized the People's Republic of Angola of the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), the *Christian Science Monitor* reported April 16. The Kaunda regime, which had backed the MPLA's rivals during the civil war, was one of the few African governments that had not yet recognized the MPLA regime.

Ford, Reagan, Torrijos y el Canal de Panamá

[La siguiente entrevista fue concedida a *Intercontinental Press* por dos revolucionarios panameños el pasado 11 de abril. El primero de éstos, Arturo Alegría, se encuentra entre los jóvenes que han sido atraídos al trotskismo; el segundo, Pedro Bermúdez, representa la corriente de revolucionarios que rechaza toda posición de compromiso con el régimen de Torrijos al que, por ejemplo, el estalinismo panameño brinda un apoyo total.]

* * *

Pregunta. Hace unos cuantos días, Omar Torrijos atacó las declaraciones de Reagan sobre la política que deben mantener los EUA en torno al Canal de Panamá. El ex gobernador de California y aspirante a la presidencia de los EUA rechaza, entre otras concesiones que actualmente se están negociando, el regresar la mayor parte de la Zona del Canal a Panamá, como parte de un nuevo tratado. Torrijos dice que las declaraciones como ésta benefician a la extrema izquierda panameña; que de adoptar los EUA una política en ese sentido van a surgir las guerrillas y el terrorismo.

¿Cuál es su opinión sobre estas declaraciones?

Alegría. El gobierno de Torrijos quiere aparecer ante el actual gobierno de los EUA como un régimen dispuesto a conceder en lo referente al Canal de Panamá, siempre y cuando los EUA lo ayuden a mantenerse en el poder.

Las declaraciones de Reagan van en contra de la actual política de Torrijos. Este último, al contestar a Reagan, declaró que estaba listo para reprimir a la izquierda. Ha sido ésta la que ha convocado a manifestaciones como la del pasado 23 de septiembre frente a la embajada de los EUA, a la cual asistieron más de 5,000 estudiantes.

Desde nuestro punto de vista, el régimen de Torrijos está dispuesto a negociar con el gobierno de los EUA y está dando un apoyo a la precandidatura de Ford. Kissinger, por ejemplo, se ha declarado a favor de una política distinta a la que sostiene Reagan, el contrincante de Ford por la nominación republicana.

Al contestar a Reagan, Torrijos pretende ayudar a Kissinger y a Ford en las elecciones primarias.

Su política proimperialista está corroborada por el hecho de que no ha movido un sólo dedo para movilizar a las masas contra la dominación imperialista.

Bermúdez. Básicamente, yo creo que hay

que enmarcar cualquier declaración de Torrijos caracterizando lo que significa su gobierno. En este sentido, los grupos de izquierda revolucionaria lo han caracterizado como un gobierno bonapartista, que tiene una clara connotación de clase que no creo necesario reafirmar.

No obstante, lo fundamental sería que el gobierno de Torrijos ha vivido siete años, y un poco más, a base de alimentar en una forma claramente demagógica el interés que tiene el pueblo por liberar el enclave que hay en la Zona de Canal.

Nuestra burguesía, por sus intereses propios, y por sus ligas con el imperialismo, no está en condiciones de plantearse liberar la Zona del Canal de manera total. Más bien, tiende a provocar una especie de liquidación de ciertas expresiones del enclave, las más groseras, sin ir a fondo y sin recoger lo más profundo de las consignas del movimiento popular.

En este sentido, a Torrijos no le interesa liquidar las bases militares en la Zona del Canal, para mencionar sólo un ejemplo. La presencia de un enclave colonial y de bases militares en la Zona del Canal sirve a sus múltiples propósitos. De una forma u otra, la Guardia Nacional, una Guardia al servicio de la burguesía panameña, se ve tremendamente fortalecida por la presencia militar, por la insuflación, que le proporciona la presencia de bases norteamericanas en la Zona del Canal.

Desde este punto de vista, la capacidad reivindicativa de Torrijos es totalmente parcial. A lo anterior aunamos el hecho de que nuestro país es un país tremendamente dependiente—y dependiente fundamentalmente del imperialismo norteamericano—, y que el gobierno ha definido claramente su incapacidad para liberarse de esa dependencia.

El programa de reformas por parte del gobierno tiende fundamentalmente a implementar ilusiones en un gobierno de carácter capitalista. Con todo lo anterior, tendremos una visión panorámica del carácter real de ese gobierno y el contenido, por ende, objetivo de las declaraciones de Torrijos. En este sentido, las declaraciones y los ataques directos a la izquierda revolucionaria solamente reflejan el hecho de que esta izquierda está evocando lo más puro del movimiento popular. O sea, está evocando lo que el movimiento popular históricamente ha plasmado y que sintetiza sus intereses, como la expulsión de las bases militares norteamericanas, la liquidación del enclave colonial y la nacionalización del Canal.

Esos son los propósitos históricos patentizados por el movimiento popular. Y en la medida en que Torrijos no puede tomar esa

bandera de manera objetiva tendrá que atacar a la izquierda revolucionaria, que sí la está recogiendo y que sí está comenzando a canalizar al movimiento de masas en función de esas mismas reivindicaciones.

En lo que concierne a Reagan yo creo que hay una cosa clara. Hay una tendencia en los Estados Unidos que no refleja sino la bancarrota que está sufriendo el aparato imperialista como tal. O sea, que cada vez está presenciando un ascenso del movimiento revolucionario como conjunto, amén de sus luchas internas, pero que claramente delinea un ascenso del movimiento y un descenso de la capacidad del imperialismo para imponer su dominación.

Desde este punto de vista, en cuanto a las declaraciones de Torrijos, su planteamiento es totalmente estúpido: que hay una coincidencia entre Reagan y la izquierda revolucionaria. Tradicionalmente, los demagogos han planteado una consigna trivial, la de identificar lo que ellos llaman la extrema izquierda con lo que llaman la extrema derecha. Ese es realmente un planteamiento que poco interesa y que nunca ha tenido contenido alguno.

La coincidencia entre Reagan y nosotros, la que Torrijos puede tener en mente, es que planteamos el derrocamiento de su régimen. Pero aquí mismo termina la coincidencia, ya que nosotros planteamos la sustitución del gobierno de Torrijos con un gobierno de carácter revolucionario y la implementación del socialismo en nuestro país.

Alegría. Torrijos dice que Reagan ayuda a la extrema izquierda; pero, más que eso, Torrijos está ayudando a Reagan y a lo más reaccionario del gobierno de los EUA con sus declaraciones de que van a surgir en Panamá las guerrillas y el terrorismo.

P. ¿Cómo encaja todo esto en los ataques y agresiones de Torrijos contra la izquierda?

Alegría. Torrijos quiere eliminar todo tipo de oposiciones, llegando a hacer una amalgama entre elementos de izquierda y de derecha en el supuesto "complot" por el cual fueron expulsadas 13 personas.* Al mismo tiempo, quiere acallar a los que mantienen una oposición a la política que su gobierno sostiene sobre el Canal. Quiere limpiar el terreno, con el objetivo de

*En el número del 3 de mayo de *Intercontinental Press*, una declaración del United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners trata sobre el caso del Dr. Miguel Antonio Bernal, que fue exilado por el gobierno de Torrijos el pasado mes de febrero.

negociar un nuevo tratado con Ford sin sufrir presiones domésticas.

P. ¿Cuál es la diferencia entre la política de Torrijos y el contenido del viejo tratado sobre la Zona del Canal?

Alegría. El viejo tratado estipula que el Canal pertenece a los EUA a perpetuidad. Torrijos dice que esto debe ser cambiado . . . para que sólo pertenezca hasta el año 2,000!

La política de los revolucionarios consiste en que exigimos el retiro inmediato de las bases militares y la dominación del imperialismo. No queremos ni un sólo soldado, ni una sola base. Pedimos que el traspaso del canal mismo de los EUA a Panamá sea efectuado en el plazo más corto posible.

Bermúdez. Yo diría que sí hay cambios de carácter cuantitativo entre el tratado Hay-Bunau-Varilla [de 1903] y un eventual tratado que está negociando el actual gobierno panameño de Omar Torrijos. Yo veo cambios en función de que la situación ha cambiado con el tiempo y que de hecho hay una efervescencia en el seno del movimiento popular, misma que, de una manera u otra, le impone a Torrijos por lo menos un cambio en la formulación de las condiciones de dominación.

O sea, los cambios que puedan operarse no son de manera alguna cambios de carácter cualitativo. Sí hay cambios, por ejemplo, que tienden de disfrazar, a cambiar la fachada externa de la dominación.

Eso de liquidar la gran cantidad de territorio panameño, actualmente en manos del imperialismo, y reducirlo a una mínima parte es un cambio totalmente en cantidad, mas no en el contenido.

Si bien cambia la cantidad de tierra que ha de dominar el imperialismo norteamericano, también es cierto que ha cambiado la capacidad bélica de los Estados Unidos. Esta capacidad bélica se ha superado y ya no hacen falta fuerzas convencionales de tanta magnitud para ejercer un dominio de carácter colonial en la Zona del Canal.

Eso por una parte. Por la otra, hay un cambio en cuanto a la forma de negociar. ¿Por qué? Porque de una forma u otra Torrijos se está aprovechando de una debilidad que hay, que adolecen los sectores de izquierda: se está aprovechando de que todavía no podemos implementar una salida en Panamá y de la poca politización de la mayoría del pueblo, incluso de amplios sectores de la clase obrera.

P. ¿Qué tipo de bases militares hay en la Zona del Canal de Panamá?

Alegría. Hay 14 bases conocidas, con todo tipo de instalaciones militares y hay quienes suponen que una de éstas está equipada con cohetes nucleares tipo Polaris. En total, hay más de 15,000 soldados en estas bases, sin contar a los 30,000 "civiles."

El 70 por ciento del territorio controlado por los norteamericanos está ocupado por bases militares. Entre las más importantes están las siguientes: la United States Army School of the Americas, en Fort Gulick, donde han sido entrenados cerca de 30,000 elementos de las fuerzas armadas de los países de América Latina y donde fueron entrenados Pinochet y Leigh, entre otros; también en Fort Gulick están estacionados mil elementos de la Eighth Special Action Forces, más conocidos como "Boinas Verdes"; en Quarry Heights está la sede del US Army Southern Command, que tiene a su cargo la coordinación de toda la actividad militar, de los servicios secretos y la supervisión de todos los programas de asistencia militar norteamericana para América Latina; en la base aérea de Albrook se encuentra la Academia Interamericana de la Fuerza Aérea; en Fort Sherman está la US Army Jungle Warfare School y en Fort Clayton la Cartographic School of the Interamerican Geodetic Survey, especializadas estas dos últimas en la contrainsurgencia.

P. ¿Así es que la Zona del Canal es una base de operaciones del imperialismo hacia toda América Latina?

Alegría. La embajada más importante de los Estados Unidos para toda América Central está en Panamá.

Panamá, por ejemplo, no tiene su propia moneda. La diferencia con Puerto Rico es que no es oficialmente una colonia. El gobierno de Torrijos, con su fachada nacionalista, está siendo utilizado actualmente para distraer a las movilizaciones de masas.

Torrijos es la mejor carta del gobierno de Ford. Los Estados Unidos necesitan un nuevo tratado para presentar una imagen nueva ante los gobiernos de América Latina, un nuevo tratado que favorezca a los EUA y a Torrijos, ya que se necesitan mutuamente.

Bermúdez. Los revolucionarios, propiamente tales, sostenemos la eliminación total de cualquier imperiación que signifique presencia militar norteamericana en la Zona del Canal de Panamá; la liquidación absoluta de cualquier rastro de carácter bélico en la Zona del Canal.

Hay muchos testimonios, yo diría que suficientes testimonios que patentizan el papel que ha jugado este enclave en manos de los EUA, para propósitos militares en toda América Latina, e incluso extracontinentalmente. Para mencionar un caso, la invasión a la República Dominicana en 1965: las fuerzas de ocupación que aplastaron las ansias de liberación del pueblo dominicano fueron lanzadas en su mayor parte desde la Zona del Canal.

Se entrenan en la Zona del Canal bastantes fuerzas, mercenarias incluso, que se encargan de hacerle incursiones a la revolución cubana.

Por la forma tan absoluta del dominio

ejercido por los Estados Unidos en la Zona del Canal, este territorio es utilizado para la formación y capacitación reaccionarias más grande que tienen los Estados Unidos en América Latina. La Zona del Canal, de hecho, juega un papel de trampolín militar del imperialismo para lograr sus propósitos belicistas y guerreros en el continente americano, para frustrar las ansias de liberación de los pueblos de nuestro continente.

P. ¿Quisieran agregar algo más a esta entrevista?

Alegría. No podemos aceptar negociaciones como las que está llevando a cabo Torrijos con los EUA. Las masas tienen que estar al tanto de las negociaciones y éstas deben ser conducidas abiertamente.

Las masas no se han beneficiado en absoluto durante siete años de gobierno de Torrijos. Aún así, éste es apoyado por el Kremlin, por el Partido Comunista de Panamá y por la dirección cubana.

Finalmente, es muy importante lo que los revolucionarios norteamericanos puedan hacer respecto a la dominación de la Zona del Canal. El mejor ejemplo que tengo son las declaraciones de Peter Camejo [candidato presidencial por el Socialist Workers Party para 1976] el 18 de marzo, donde exigió que las tropas y la dominación norteamericana se retiren inmediatamente.

Bermúdez. Yo quisiera agregar algo, para clarificar un poco a la audiencia, a las personas que tengan contacto con esta entrevista, de que en Panamá existen fuerzas que estamos luchando claramente por la liberación de nuestro país y que nosotros no vemos el problema del Canal simplemente como el problema de un canal. Nosotros tenemos un problema que, junto al del Canal, no es ni secundario ni terciario. Es primario y es fundamental. Este es el de la liberación nacional y la implementación de una revolución socialista en nuestro país. □

158 Activistas Negros Arrestados en Zimbabue

La policía de Rodesia arrestó a 158 activistas de Zimbabue por haber participado en una reunión ilegal que tuvo lugar el 4 de abril en el poblado de Sinoia, unas sesenta millas al Noroeste de la capital, Salisbury. Entre los arrestados estaban Moton Malianga, Presidente Nacional, y E.F. Chitamate, Vice Secretario para Asuntos Juveniles, del ala del African National Council que encabeza Abel Muzorewa y Ndabaningi Sithole.

Las autoridades de Rodesia también anunciaron el 5 de abril que habían dado muerte a ocho guerrilleros en los últimos cuatro días.

¡Ayúdenos a Luchar por Derechos Democráticos en Brasil!

[La siguiente declaración conjunta fue emitida por la Liga Operaria y por el Partido Operario Comunista, grupos simpatizantes de la Cuarta Internacional en Brasil, el pasado 5 de abril.

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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La Liga Operaria y el Partido Operario Comunista, organizaciones de la Cuarta Internacional en Brasil, han resuelto dirigirse conjuntamente a los trabajadores, estudiantes, a los demás sectores populares del país y a la opinión pública internacional. Emitimos esta declaración después de haber analizado detalladamente la coyuntura política nacional y los hechos que culminaron con el desafuero de los diputados Nadir Rosseti, Amauri Muller y Lisâneas Maciel, pertenecientes al grupo "auténtico" del Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (MDB), partido de oposición que es tolerado.

1. Los recientes desafueros de tres diputados del ala "auténtica" del MDB se inscriben dentro de un marco de evidente derechización del gobierno bonapartista de Geisel. Esta derechización fue iniciada en el primer trimestre de 1975 con la represión a trabajadores, estudiantes, dirigentes sindicales, militantes y dirigentes del Partido Comunista Brasileiro.

Estos hechos evidencian una vez más la lucha interna, las vacilaciones, los vaivenes e indefiniciones existentes entre las clases dominantes; entre el imperialismo y la gran burguesía industrial y latifundista y sus sustentadores, los militares. El problema para éstos consiste en cuál es la mejor forma de reprimir a los trabajadores y al pueblo brasileño, cómo mantener intacto el actual régimen dictatorial y cómo superar la crisis económica.

Esta crisis se manifiesta en un fabuloso endeudamiento externo, constantes déficits de la balanza de pagos y de la balanza comercial, recrudescimiento de la inflación, estancamiento de las inversiones, desempleo y deterioro del poder adquisitivo de amplias capas de la población.

Los desafueros afectan al conjunto del movimiento de masas; pero principalmente a los sectores representativos de la pequeña burguesía, que vio al MDB en las elecciones del 15 de noviembre de 1974 como única alternativa contrapuesta a la dictadura militar y como único canal para expresar su descontento.

Los desafueros muestran también la contraofensiva de los sectores ultraderechistas. Estos últimos estuvieron momentáneamente neutralizados después de las movilizaciones que siguieron al asesinato del periodista Vladimir Herzog y a la muerte del obrero Manoel Fiel Filho en las cárceles de la dictadura. La ultraderecha ve a la represión contra cualquier forma

organizada de oposición y contra las movilizaciones de las masas como única forma de lograr la continuidad del actual régimen militar.

Para la ultraderecha militar o civil cualquier apertura es sinónimo de caos social, de intranquilidad y de amenaza a su dominación: incluso las aperturas que están bajo su control, como las que fueron preconizadas por los planes "distencionistas" de Geisel y de su equipo.

2. Al mismo tiempo, el brusco giro derechista del gobierno que fue iniciado en febrero-marzo de 1975 también se topa con factores que la realidad le impone. Este giro fue formalizado en agosto, cuando el propio dictador se encargó de mostrar a los sectores que estaban ilusionados con la llamada "distención" los claros límites de cualquier apertura política.

El gobierno militar es incapaz de solucionar los problemas más inmediatos de las amplias masas: de cumplir sus reivindicaciones, aunque éstas sean puramente económicas; de aceptar las mínimas condiciones de representatividad, organización y manifestación de los trabajadores y de la pequeña burguesía; de otorgar cualquier función que no sea puramente decorativa al parlamento y a los partidos burgueses; de encontrar soluciones eficaces y coherentes, capaces de satisfacer las demandas de las mismas clases dominantes, inmersas en la crisis económica.

Es así como el gobierno aparece cada vez más aislado, casi sin apoyo significativo entre los sectores oprimidos de la sociedad, particularmente entre la pequeña burguesía urbana y entre los trabajadores.

Cualquier intento por profundizar la represión o la fascistización del régimen se encontrará aislado o carente de apoyo. Estos intentos no tienen posibilidades de atenuar las contradicciones sociales o de impedir la manifestación creciente del descontento de las masas.

Así, más allá de la crisis económica, la inminencia de explosiones populares y manifestaciones de masas pasa a ser otro espectro que atemoriza a la dictadura, al imperialismo y a la gran burguesía. Este espectro es estimulado por la insatisfacción y por la oposición al régimen dictatorial.

3. El actual *impasse* económico y político en el que se encuentran las clases dominantes tendrá una solución eminentemente política. Dependerá, sobre todo, de la capacidad del movimiento de masas de los trabajadores y sus aliados por imponerse organizada y combativamente a la dictadura. Dependerá también de su capacidad de canalizar en su favor el descontento popular y de impedir, por medio de sus movilizaciones, la aplicación de cualquier plan de recuperación económica tendiente a la superexplotación de los trabajadores y al "apretón salarial," como

los planes ideados por la tecnocracia y la burguesía.

Los trabajadores y sus aliados deberán conquistar su derecho a organizarse independientemente de la tutela estatal y sus libertades democráticas de manifestación y de expresión.

4. El país vive todavía una etapa de contrarrevolución abierta en 1964. Esta fue recrudescida a partir de 1969 con una intensa represión desencadenada contra obreros, campesinos, estudiantes e intelectuales progresistas. Para este fin emitieron el Acta Institucional número 5, el Decreto Ley 477, la instauración de la pena de muerte y la creación e hipertrofia de los organismos policiaco-militares destinados a la represión. Todo esto se combinó en un marco de relativo crecimiento económico y de cohesión de las clases dominantes.

Pero ahora la curva de descenso comienza a remontarse en favor de las clases explotadas. Todavía atomizadas, las luchas de la clase obrera comienzan a multiplicarse. Sus medios principales son la huelga, el tortuguismo, las depredaciones de las instalaciones fabriles y de los trenes, en protesta contra el hambre y las pésimas condiciones de vida y de trabajo.

En la lucha contra los patronos y contra la burocracia sindical, importantes movimientos de oposición sindical comienzan a desarrollarse en los centros más importantes del país.

Por otra parte, el descontento de los sectores medios encuentra cada vez las más diversas formas de expresión. Ya sea por medio del voto masivamente antigobiernista en las elecciones parlamentarias; ya sea con la reactivación del movimiento estudiantil, que es el sector que ha logrado actualmente la mayor repercusión nacional en su lucha contra la dictadura militar; o por medio de la movilización de algunas categorías de profesionistas, como la de los periodistas que se movilizaron en gran número cuando su colega Vladimir Herzog fue asesinado en prisión.

Los sectores de medianos y pequeños empresarios, aunque tímidamente, realizan sus protestas por medio de las asociaciones y personalidades de su clase, o incluso por medio del MDB. Estos sectores se alimentaron de las migajas del "milagro económico" durante años, pero ahora están presionados por la crisis económica y su supervivencia está amenazada por el imperialismo y por la gran burguesía.

5. En esta coyuntura, la tarea de los revolucionarios, principalmente aquéllos que se reclaman de la Cuarta Internacional, es la de movilizar, por medio de organizar, estimular y orientar políticamente las luchas embrionarias del movimiento de masas. Tienen que llevar a los trabajadores, estudiantes y campesinos a la creación de sus organizaciones independientes; tienen que estimular el fortalecimiento de las oposiciones sindicales y la

consolidación de direcciones combativas en todas las organizaciones de masas.

Los revolucionarios estarán así cumpliendo su papel de vanguardia, al mismo tiempo en que sientan las bases para la creación del partido revolucionario de la clase obrera en Brasil.

La capacidad de canalizar todo el descontento popular por parte de la vanguardia adquiere particular importancia en este proceso. Se deben combinar las luchas, aun las más puramente económicas, con la lucha por las libertades democráticas.

Esto debe ser entendido como una movilización activa de obreros, estudiantes, campesinos e intelectuales en la lucha por arrancar a la dictadura el derecho de organización, expresión y libre manifestación, así como la libertad de sus partidos políticos y la existencia de sus sindicatos.

Las luchas por las libertades democráticas, sin embargo, no deben ser desarrolladas y comprendidas como una súplica reformista o liberal para mendigar la humanización del régimen de los generales y de los patronos. Estas luchas deben estar indisolublemente ligadas al derrocamiento de la dictadura militar, a la lucha por la creación de organizaciones embrionarias de poder obrero y popular y a la instauración de un gobierno de los trabajadores y campesinos en Brasil.

A las reivindicaciones democráticas de las masas explotadas, los revolucionarios deberán vincular aquellas consignas capaces de movilizar a las masas en un proceso ininterrumpido en dirección al socialismo.

6. Pero toda acción revolucionaria parte de lo concreto de la lucha de clases. Lo concreto en estos momentos es, partiendo de un análisis claro acerca de qué es el MDB, luchar nacionalmente por la defensa del voto popular.

El retorno de los desafueros—cinco durante los últimos tres meses solamente—demuestra una vez más la quiebra de la oposición tolerada para constituirse como alternativa al régimen militar. Pero por otra parte contribuye a destruir las ilusiones de todos aquéllos que veían al MDB como un canal por medio del cual surgiría un partido popular, que creían en la posibilidad de reformarlo desde adentro y de presionar o eliminar a sus direcciones burguesas.

El MDB, que recibió 15 millones de votos en las últimas elecciones parlamentarias, aparece en un primer momento como la única opción visible; aparece como el partido por donde se expresaría el descontento de amplios sectores de la población.

No obstante, como ya se vislumbraba desde antes del 15 de noviembre, la trayectoria del MDB fue caracterizada por sus continuas traiciones a las masas, que habían sido atraídas a depositar esperanzas en sus promesas. En ningún momento el MDB fue capaz de implementar—o quiso ser coherente con—las banderas que agitó durante su campaña electoral. Su práctica

fue la de constantes traiciones y continuas capitulaciones al gobierno, la de la moderación, la conciliación y la colaboración con la dictadura militar.

El MDB ha tratado de acallar las voces más combativas en su seno. Los cinco desafueros, la inercia, la falsa prudencia y su adaptación mostraron el empeño de la dirección del MDB por acreditarse como un partido viable para el gobierno militar. No es un partido que está en contra de la "revolución" [como le llaman los militares al golpe de 1964]. Es un partido que pertenece a esta "revolución," como no se cansan de proclamarlo sus dirigentes.

Empeñada en aislar a sus elementos radicales—sus miembros más activos en sus departamentos laborales, femeninos, en su juventud democrática y en el mismo parlamento—la dirección del MDB ve con beneplácito el alejamiento de algunos de sus diputados más combativos, logrado con los desafueros.

7. En vista de todo lo anterior, hacemos un llamado a los sectores combativos del MDB. A su juventud, a sus obreros, a su sector femenino y a los intelectuales los llamamos a romper definitivamente con este partido burgués.

Los llamamos a retirar la base sobre la que se sustenta su dirección conciliadora y traidora; a que se unan todos en el campo popular, comprometiéndose con la lucha independiente de los trabajadores y de sus aliados, por la conquista revolucionaria de las libertades democráticas.

Más allá de la farsa del parlamento burgués, de la caricatura de elecciones permitidas por la burguesía, debemos tener clara la necesidad de derrocar a la dictadura y a toda su legislación represiva.

También debemos tener clara la importancia de conquistar revolucionariamente una Asamblea Constituyente. El pueblo brasileño, los trabajadores, campesinos, estudiantes e intelectuales elegirían libremente a sus representantes políticos. Contarían con amplias garantías de libertad y de participación de sus auténticos partidos políticos.

8. Así, tenemos que comprender los desafueros como parte de un proceso más amplio de derechización del régimen. Son parte de la explotación y la represión a las que están sujetas las masas trabajadoras.

De ahí partimos para plantear la necesidad de vincular las luchas por la defensa de las condiciones de vida y de trabajo con las luchas políticas más generales.

Llamamos a las demás organizaciones que se reclaman de la clase obrera y a los sectores combativos del MDB a organizar una campaña nacional en defensa del voto popular. Esta campaña incluye la revocación del Acta Institucional número 5, la legalización de todos los partidos obreros y populares y por elecciones libres y directas.

9. Finalmente, nos dirigimos a los partidos hermanos de la Cuarta Internacional, en particular a la Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire de Francia y al Interna-

tional Marxist Group de la Gran Bretaña. También nos dirigimos a los demás partidos políticos, sindicatos y centrales obreras de esos países. Los llamamos a manifestar su solidaridad combativa con los trabajadores y el pueblo brasileños durante la próxima visita del dictador Ernesto Geisel a sus países.

Es necesario denunciar la superexplotación de los trabajadores; la inexistencia de las más elementales libertades democráticas para las amplias masas; la tortura y el asesinato de centenas de revolucionarios y demócratas en las cárceles de la dictadura.

Deben hacerle imposible su permanencia a este dictador en Francia y en la Gran Bretaña. Así estarán contribuyendo decisivamente al desgaste y al aislamiento de la dictadura brasileña y darán una muestra de auténtico internacionalismo proletario.

¡Abajo los desafueros, el Acta Institucional número 5 y toda la legislación represiva!

¡Por la organización independiente y por la libertad de manifestación de los trabajadores, estudiantes, campesinos e intelectuales!

¡Por el derrocamiento de la dictadura militar, por la legalización de todos los partidos obreros y populares y por elecciones verdaderamente libres y directas!

¡Por la convocación a una Asamblea Constituyente Revolucionaria!

¡Por la solidaridad internacionalista con los trabajadores y el pueblo brasileños!

5 de abril de 1976

Capitalismo de Estado en Brasil

Mientras que la dictadura brasileña continúa proclamando públicamente su compromiso hacia la "iniciativa privada," las estadísticas muestran un giro de corto alcance en su curso.

Debido a la renuencia por parte de los empresarios brasileños a invertir en proyectos de largo alcance que no aseguran réditos rápidos, el gobierno ha incrementado su porcentaje en la inversión total en la economía: desde un 15% a fines de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, hasta un 40 o 60% el día de hoy.

Según un informe de Jonathan Kandell en el *New York Times* del 11 de abril: "De acuerdo a algunas estimaciones, la participación del Estado en la economía brasileña ha igualado los niveles alcanzados en Chile bajo el fallecido Salvador Allende Gossens, en Argentina bajo los peronistas o en Perú bajo su gobierno militar de izquierda."

Un ejemplo sorprendente es la Companhia Vale do Rio Doce, una corporación estatal gigante. Emplea a 21,500 personas y es el más grande exportador de mineral de hierro en el mundo. Controla a diez subsidiarias que posee totalmente y sus ventas de 611 millones de dólares durante 1975 sumaban el 10% del total de las exportaciones de Brasil.

¿Callarán los PCs. Europeos?

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 26 de abril bajo el título "Will the European CPs Remain Silent?" La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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El 15 de abril el activista tártaro, de Crimea, Mustafá Dzhemilev fue sentenciado a dos y medio años en un campo de trabajos forzados, acusado de "calumnias antisoviéticas." Dzhemilev fue encontrado culpable a pesar del hecho de que uno de los testigos claves que había atestiguado en su contra dijo en la corte que había sido amenazado por las autoridades y que su testimonio en contra de Dzhemilev era falso.

El hermano y la hermana de Dzhemilev fueron vedados de la sala del juzgado durante este juicio que se suponía público, así como también fueron vedados el ganador del Premio Nobel Andrei Sájarov y su esposa, Elena. La prensa soviética acusó a los Sájarov de atacar a la policía.

El mismo día en que fue dictada la sentencia contra Dzhemilev, Andrei Tverdojlebov, secretario de la rama de Amnesty International en la Unión Soviética, fue sentenciado a cinco años de exilio interno. La agencia de prensa soviética ni siquiera se molestó en esperar al veredicto antes de publicar que "Tverdojlebov ha venido esparciendo sistemáticamente . . . deliberadas fabricaciones que calumnian al sistema social y político soviético."

Estos acontecimientos siguieron al anuncio el 12 de abril de que Andrei Amalrik, el escritor soviético disidente, había cedido a la presión oficial y había solicitado permiso para emigrar a Israel.

"Esta no es una decisión adoptada libremente," declaró el escritor de treinta y siete años. "Yo no quería emigrar a Israel o a cualquier otra parte: nunca."

Amalrik fue arrestado por primera vez en mayo de 1965, cuando fue acusado como "parásito social," a pesar del hecho de que

estaba trabajando como escritor de obras teatrales. Si esto es considerado como "parasitismo social" ¿cómo se les llama a las actividades de los cuatro o cinco agentes de la policía secreta soviética que seguían a Amalrik a cada lugar que iba durante el mes pasado?

Cuando pueden mostrar ejemplos como éstos, los anticomunistas reaccionarios no tienen necesidad de recurrir a las calumnias. Los simples hechos han podido hacer más que cualquier calumnia, para desacreditar al régimen soviético ante los ojos de la clase obrera mundial.

Recientemente, varios partidos comunistas de Europa Occidental han tratado de asentar el hecho de que están disociados de los aspectos más represivos del dominio estalinista en la URSS y en Europa Oriental, especialmente en torno al caso de Leonid Plyushch. ¿Acaso esta última ola represiva es la respuesta de los burócratas del Kremlin?

¿Acaso los partidos comunistas francés, italiano y británico van a callarse la boca como lo hace el PC norteamericano? ¿Acaso apoyan esta última ola de represión? Nadie va a tomar seriamente sus reproches si en esta ocasión dejan de denunciar la persistente violación a los derechos democráticos en la URSS. □

Forzado a Revelarlo Ocho Años más Tarde

FBI Admite Retención de Objetos Robados a Candidato SWP

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 3 de mayo bajo el título "FBI Admits Receiving Goods Stolen from SWP Candidate." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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"Encontrarán adjuntos, para la Oficina de Nueva York, dos sobres que contienen documentos personales de HALSTEAD y literatura relacionada con el Socialist Workers Party. Este material fue obtenido de [cuatro renglones borrados]."

El memorándum del FBI del 3 de diciembre de 1968 que comenzaba con estas líneas fue sólo una de entre 600 páginas de documentos recientemente entregadas a Fred Halstead por el Federal Bureau of Investigation. Halstead, un veterano dirigente del SWP y candidato presidencial de este partido para las elecciones de 1968, había exigido, bajo la Freedom of Information Act [Acta sobre la Libertad de Información, aprobada por el Congreso de los EUA], que le fueran remitidas copias de todos los expedientes que el FBI guardaba sobre su persona.

Este memorándum en particular proporcionaba la versión del mismo gobierno, censurada, sobre cómo el contenido de un

portafolios que le había sido robado a Halstead resultó un mes más tarde estar en manos del FBI. Como lo demuestran cuatro renglones borrados más adelante, el FBI está interesado en ocultar algo más que el nombre del agente involucrado.

La sensacional revelación fue informada por los medios de difusión norteamericanos, incluyendo reportajes en el *New York Times* del 25 de abril. Un despacho cablegrafiado de la Associated Press fue circulado a los periódicos por todo el país, y la red radiodifusora del CBS informó sobre este relato los días 24 y 25 de abril. La red de televisión de la NBC transmitió una entrevista con Halstead el 24 de abril.

Halstead llevaba a cabo su campaña en San Francisco los días 2 y 3 de octubre cuando el portafolios fue robado de su automóvil. En esas fechas Halstead dijo que "había supuesto simplemente que se trataba de un robo común."

Sin embargo, los nuevos documentos del FBI sugerían que lo que estaba de hecho involucrado era un caso más de "black bag job" [trabajos de ratero], perpetrados por la policía política norteamericana. Según la inverosímil versión proporcionada por el fragmento no censurado del memorándum del FBI, el portafolios fue "encontrado,"

por una persona no identificada, "en el baño de hombres" de la terminal de United Airlines en San Francisco el 28 de octubre de 1968, casi un mes después de haber sido robado a Halstead. La persona no identificada "que se lo encontró" entregó el portafolios al FBI.

Puede ser que el FBI haya pensado que sonaría más bonito el decir que el portafolios fue "encontrado," en vez de decir que fue robado. Si es así, esta agencia ha incurrido en un error de cálculo. Herbert Jordan, uno de los abogados que representan al SWP en su lucha legal en contra de la supervisión y hostigamiento gubernamentales,* explicó la situación en una carta a la oficina del fiscal de los EUA el 22 de abril. Jordan escribió:

El portafolios fue robado del automóvil del Sr. Halstead. El portafolios contenía documentos personales del Sr. Halstead y material relacionado con el SWP. El FBI sabía que estos artículos eran propiedad del Sr. Halstead y, por supuesto, el FBI sabía como localizar al Sr. Halstead. El FBI no realizó esfuerzo alguno por contactar al

* Una versión en español de los desarrollos más recientes de este caso puede encontrarse en el número del 3 de mayo de *Intercontinental Press*.

Sr. Halstead con respecto a que tenía en sus manos el portafolios y su contenido, así como tampoco realizó intento alguno por regresarle parte alguna de la susodicha propiedad. . . . La conducta del FBI en este caso, como estoy seguro que se habrán dando cuenta, constituye un delito de robo . . . aunque el FBI no estuviese involucrado en retirar el portafolios del automóvil del Sr. Halstead.

Según las leyes del Estado de California, quienquiera que encuentre y retenga en su poder propiedad extraviada, sin haber "primero hecho esfuerzos razonables y justos para encontrar al dueño y reintegrarle su propiedad, es culpable de robo."

Las pruebas subsiguientes sobre la actividad ilegal del FBI que nos proveen estos nuevos documentos son particularmente

importantes por varias razones. Primero que nada, el gobierno pretende que sus allanamientos en contra del SWP fueron suspendidos a mediados de 1966. Esto es claramente falaz, y la nueva información constituye una prueba contundente.

Además, las 600 páginas de documentos del FBI que fueron obtenidas por Halstead prueban que el FBI violó la orden de la corte en el sentido de que debería entregar al SWP todos los documentos relacionados con ese partido. Los 600 documentos regresados a Halstead nunca fueron entregados a los abogados del SWP por el FBI.

Finalmente, el *memorandum* sobre el robo del portafolios de Halstead muestra que el FBI actuó en violación del estatuto federal que califica como delito el que

cualquier empleado federal utilice su autoridad "con el propósito de interferir con, o afectar a, la nominación o la elección de cualquier candidato para el puesto de Presidente."

Los abogados del SWP han exigido que el FBI regrese todos los artículos que ilegalmente fueron obtenidos del SWP o de sus miembros, sea que hayan sido robados, copiados o "encontrados." Se está buscando una declaración por escrito del director del FBI certificando que esto ha sido hecho.

Los abogados del SWP también están exigiendo una orden judicial que force al gobierno a regresar todos los expedientes, de cualquier tipo, que mantenga sobre dirigentes del SWP. □

Amenazas de Kissinger, Luz Verde a Bandas Contrarrevolucionarias

Castro Prende a Ford por Actos de Piratería

Por David Frankel

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 3 de mayo bajo el título "Castro Pins Ford on Acts of Piracy." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Contrarrevolucionarios cubanos, con base en Florida, ametrallaron dos botes pesqueros cubanos el 6 de abril, hundiendo al *Ferro 123* y al *Ferro 119*. Este acto de piratería en contra de pescadores desarmados tuvo lugar en aguas internacionales, a medio camino entre Cuba y Florida. Tuvo como resultado la muerte de un marino y otros tres resultaron lesionados.

Se responsabilizaron por el ataque el "Frente por la Liberación Nacional de Cuba," formado por exilados cubanos, y otra organización terrorista de derecha, la "Brigada 2506."

En una carta de protesta al gobierno de los EUA que fue publicada el 10 de abril, los cubanos le prendieron la responsabilidad por este ataque a la administración de Ford. Tomando debida nota de que este ataque fue similar a otros "perpetrados por bandas contrarrevolucionarias con base en el territorio de los Estados Unidos, que están empeñadas en vengarse con simples trabajadores cubanos," la carta proseguía:

Es notorio que en el pasado este tipo de ataques fueron inspirados, organizados y protegidos por la CIA y esto ha sido reconocido por los comités de investigación del Congreso de los EUA y admitido en varios libros y entrevistas por ex funcionarios y ex agentes de la CIA.

El gobierno revolucionario de Cuba no puede sino relacionar estos acontecimientos con la atmósfera creada por los ataques y amenazas en contra de Cuba por parte de las más altas

autoridades del gobierno de los Estados Unidos. Es seguro que quienes perpetraron estos ataques fueron envalentonados por esta atmósfera y actúan con la creencia de que han regresado los días cuando podían confiar en la indulgencia y aún la complicidad de las autoridades norteamericanas en sus atentados criminales.

Los cubanos se refirieron en particular a los intentos por parte de Ford en echarle la culpa del ascenso de la lucha de clases en el Sur de Africa a las tropas cubanas que tomaron parte en la guerra civil en Angola. El 28 de febrero Ford denunció a Cuba como "delincuente internacional" debido a su papel en Angola; y amenazó con adoptar "las medidas apropiadas."

El Pentágono señaló en qué consistirían tales medidas, cuando anunció el 25 de marzo que estaba revisando planes para una posible acción militar contra Cuba. Kissinger se rehusó a descartar este tipo de acciones. (Ver *Intercontinental Press*, 12 de abril, pág. 621.)

Como dice la protesta cubana, los contrarrevolucionarios evidentemente entendieron estas amenazas como si se les hubiera dado luz verde para emprender nuevas correrías.

Fidel Castro volvió a referirse al hundimiento de las naves cubanas el día 19 de abril, durante una ceremonia en conmemoración de un anterior ataque contra Cuba, que fue dirigido y financiado desde la Casa Blanca: la invasión a la Bahía de Cochinos en 1961. Castro apuntaba que los ataques más recientes constituían una "flagrante violación del acuerdo contra los secuestros" firmado por La Habana y Washington en 1973.

El Primer Ministro Cubano agregó que "si no cesan estos actos y si sus autores no

son seriamente castigados, esto significa el fin del acuerdo."

También se refirió a las amenazas contra Cuba que fueron lanzadas por la administración de Ford: "Uno sabe cómo y cuándo comenzará una guerra contra Cuba, pero nadie sabe cuándo y cómo terminará."

Castro agregó que Ford era un "vulgar mentiroso" por la forma en que se refirió al papel jugado por Africa del Sur en Angola y que Kissinger mentía cuando dijo que el régimen soviético era responsable por la presencia de tropas cubanas en Angola. "La Unión Soviética nunca solicitó que un sólo soldado cubano fuera enviado a Angola," dijo Castro.

Sólo unas horas después de que Castro había pronunciado su discurso, el representante del Departamento de Estado John H. Trattner emitió una declaración conciliadora. Insistió en que la administración de Ford se estaba "apegando a su cometido, contenido en el *memorandum* de comprensión sobre secuestros, por inhibir todos los actos punibles de violencia."

Trattner dijo que el gobierno estaba adoptando medidas "para prevenir subsiguientes ataques de este tipo," y un vocero del FBI dijo que su agencia estaba llevando a cabo "una extensiva investigación."

¿Cuál es la explicación para esta tibia respuesta, comparada con las amenazas estridentes de hace sólo unas semanas? Quizás Ford fue influido por el fracaso de su retórica belicosa, que no obtuvo una respuesta favorable entre el electorado. Posiblemente pensó en los efectos que una súbita aparición de secuestros aéreos en los Estados Unidos pudiera tener sobre su campaña electoral. □

FROM OUR READERS

J.H., Berkeley, California, sent a note to explain that his check bounced because of a slipup in the bank. (A burned-out resistor in the computer?) He added:

"Anyway, I love the IP. I read it thoroughly every week. I especially like features by Novack, Frankel, Harsch, Mandel, etc.

"I've shown the IP to some friends here who are working on the Nuclear Power Safeguard initiative in California. They liked and intend to use the articles on that subject. These articles are very good for contact work.

"I am with the Oakland branch of the SWP and we intend to use the Spanish-language section of the IP extensively. One thing you might try, if you have the resources, is to print short pieces such as the stories in 'Capitalism Fouls Things Up' or world news briefs in Spanish periodically as a section of the magazine."

The need for more Spanish-language material is also felt by the *Librería Militante*, 221 East 2nd Street, New York City.

"Por favor envíenos cinco ejemplares del número 11 [Intercontinental Press of March 22]," they write.

"La gente que viene a nuestra librería quisiera ver más artículos en español."

In the same day's mail the *Militant Bookstore*, 1519 Mission Street, San Francisco, sent this suggestion:

"One thing we would find useful here, since a number of people in our area can only read Spanish, would be to always have something on the front page in Spanish, or telling of the Spanish-language section."

T.B. of East Orange, New Jersey, is especially interested in material on the struggle in Lebanon:

"We need news on Lebanon—not just death counts as you find in the *New York Times*—but analysis of what the civil war means to the world revolution and to the fight against Zionism. You know Israel is open about supporting the Phalangists. The current cease-fire cannot last; it doesn't solve the basic causes of the fighting—similar in many ways to Ireland's situation."

R.R. of Cambridge, Massachusetts, is taking a rain check on renewing at this time and wants us to know why.

"Your publication is amazing and very excellent but my problem is I don't have the time to read them all. I finished about 30% of my copies and I intend to read the other 70%, time permitting. . . ."

"I hope by next year you can come out

with a condensed version of the IP on a monthly basis."

J.H., Atlanta, Georgia, sent this comment with his subscription renewal:

"I have been a member of the Trotskyist movement for almost eight years now. The longer I am in the more appreciative I become of Intercontinental Press. I am amazed at its accuracy and tremendous wealth of information."

Responding to an expiration notice included in his copy of Intercontinental Press, C.R. of Philadelphia wrote:

"Only five issues to go? Well, I don't need to be told twice, or thrice, or six times that I have to renew! My money order in swiftly depreciating USofA currency is enclosed.

"I've enjoyed reading about the continuing disintegration of Gerry Healy's WRP [Workers Revolutionary party] and his (and I do mean his!) Int'l. Committee of the 4th International. Now if only the Social Democrats, Stalinists & Maoists would follow suit!

"By the way, has Healy or any of his remaining sycophants explained why he collaborated with 'GPU collaborators' Hansen & Novack from c. 1953-63? without saying one word about their 'complicity' with Trotsky's assassination?"

A reader in Vancouver, Canada, recently received the year-end issue of Intercontinental Press which contains the index for 1975. He sent an order for eight numbers, explaining:

"I would like to add certain issues to my files. In particular they contain certain documents."

If, for any reason at all, you would like to add to your files any particular category printed last year in Intercontinental Press, the comprehensive index for 1975 is a quick way to select the copies you want. We can send you the index for 75¢.

A public broadcasting station in Australia asked if we could send a complimentary subscription to Intercontinental Press from which material would be selected and broadcast.

"The station is a non-commercial, non-profit station," the letter explains, "providing music, news, access and information.

"Although we are a non-commercial station it will be possible for us to mention the source of our information. . . . We are attempting to make [our station] a real alternative to the standard news and information current in the major media outlets. The only way this is possible is with your help and cooperation."

We continue to receive information from our subscribers about the Postal Service and its activities or lack of activities in their area.

D.A., Cincinnati, Ohio, sent in a "FIRST CLASS MAIL" subscription, stating: "I emphasize FIRST CLASS MAIL, again, because my sub has been coming Third Class since the beginning of the year, and I would appreciate more regular arrival of IP. The irregularity is quite striking in the Third Class mode of delivery."

B.D., Vancouver, Canada, wrote: "I did not receive my I.P. this week and I'm very unhappy about such a bad state of affairs. Do you think the Pony Express is slowing down? Please check. . . ."

On checking this out, we discovered that the old reliable Pony Express was liquidated. Most of the ponies, it seems, have been sent to the racetrack, where speed is highly prized.

However, some senators and congressmen have recently felt prodded enough to take their feet off their desks and cry alarm. According to an editorial in the April 3 *New York Times*, the Senate Post Office Committee is thinking of proposing doubling the government's subsidy to the Postal Service "in an effort to prevent further erosion in the quality of its performance." Besides doubling the subsidy, the Postal Service is considering "drastic reductions in a service that is already appalling in many ways."

The editors think there are several alternatives "short of acquiescing in the Service's swift descent to a level of effectiveness barely acceptable in Albania or Bhutan. . . ." We won't go into these, since they amount to putting band-aids on the Service.

We can't say what the mail delivery is like in Bhutan. But as to Albania, we can quote from Jack Shulman's letter printed in the April 15 *New York Times*:

"Your April 3 editorial 'To Save the Mails' makes a slurring reference to Albania. May I enlighten you about the mail service in that little mountainous country in the Balkans. . . ."

"An ordinary first-class letter costs only 6 cents (in U.S. equivalent) and is delivered from one corner of the country to the other in never more than 48 hours, even to remote villages. For a country that is about 80 percent mountains, with few roads and railroads, that is no mean achievement.

"Deliveries are made twice a day, sometimes three times, as before New Year's Day and other holidays. The mail is delivered every day, including Saturday and Sunday. . . ."

"Since the present Government (which is Socialist) took power in 1944, there has never been an increase in postal rates. . . ." □