

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 14, No. 19

© 1976 by Intercontinental Press

May 17, 1976

75¢



William Nkosi/Agence Gamma

SOUTH AFRICA. Workers demonstrate at Heinemann electric factory near Johannesburg March 28, protesting dismissal of entire

work force for demanding recognition of Black union. For report on mounting signs of unrest in South Africa, see page 790.

Growing Ferment Against Apartheid Regime

Italian CP Still Hoping for 'Compromise'

Soviet Embassy Bombed in Peking

Spain: Interview With Leader of Liga Comunista

The Student Demonstrations in France

When Deutscher Showed Healy to the Door

International Protests Free Cuentas

Police Brutality Against IRSP Stirs Wide Protests

By Gerry Foley

The arbitrary arrest and beating of a number of members and supporters of the Irish Republican Socialist party in early April is sending widening shock waves through public opinion in Ireland.

In the Dublin *Sunday Independent* of April 18, Vincent Browne wrote:

"A row is brewing in Fianna Fail¹ on the issue of civil liberties. We learn that Michael O'Kennedy and Brian Lenihan have become increasingly apprehensive at the steady erosion of civil liberties, especially in the treatment of prisoners and the protracted delays in bringing accused people to trial. Des O'Malley and Gerry Collins are staunch upholders of what they understand to be the institutions of the state and are unsympathetic to any professions of anxiety about the treatment of individuals who might have even peripheral association with illegal or subversive organisations.

"The issue has not yet come to a head in Fianna Fail but Lenihan and O'Kennedy have been saying privately that they won't tolerate for long the collusion of Collins and O'Malley in the Government's² over-reaction to the threat of terrorism. Indeed it is not only within Fianna Fail that such anxieties are felt nowadays. There is a growing, if minority, feeling that civil liberties are in real danger under this present government."

In its April 23 issue, the liberal Dublin weekly *Hibernia* said in an editorial: "If only a fraction of the allegations made by the Irish Republican Socialist Party concerning serious abuse of their members while detained was true . . . it would still be deserving of a judicial enquiry. The IRSP has alleged that 15 of their members arrested under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act between April 5th and April 9th were denied sustenance and sleep while in custody; that they were physically beaten, kicked and assaulted over long periods; and in general that they were subjected to degrading and brutal treatment. Some of them have signed statements which allegedly implicate them in the recent train robbery in Co. Kildare, and as these cases are now sub-judice, it is not permissible to comment on them or on the conditions under which the statements

were made, in particular. But the majority of the IRSP members have been released without any charges being brought against them. Their injuries have been examined by doctors, photographed and recorded, and they intend to bring civil actions for wrongful arrest and assault. The significance of this experience goes far beyond the particular people involved, because it seems to indicate a concerted attack on the membership of a registered political party as well as a deplorable departure in standards by a certain section of the Garda Siochana [Civil Guard, the police]."

The press is forbidden to comment on the criminal charges under the sub-judice rule, in accordance with British traditions that are supposed to guarantee a fair trial. But in Ireland most of the other guarantees are gone, that is, the ones that really protect the rights of the accused.

Under the special powers legislation adopted after the outbreak of the Northern Ireland crisis in 1969, trial by jury was eliminated in cases related to politics. So, it is simply up to a three-judge tribunal whether they want to believe "confessions" extorted by torture.

Since the decline of the mass anti-imperialist movement began in late 1972, the authorities in the formally independent part of Ireland have collaborated more and

more closely with British authorities in suppressing nationalist activity.

A teen-age member of the IRSP from Northern Ireland was singled out for especially brutal treatment, according to the statement on the arrests issued by the party executive: "One man was told that his grandmother had a heart attack as a result of a raid by the British Army on his home in South Derry and that if he did not confess before 5 p.m. his home would be raided again and his grandmother would die as a result of it."

The youth told reporters, including Jack Holland of *Hibernia*, that he had been beaten in repeated sessions and was informed he had no legal rights because he was "scum" from Northern Ireland.

Dublin apparently unleashed the police against the IRSP because it is the smallest and most left-wing of the militant nationalist organizations. However, this kind of rampage was bound to come at some point in the escalating repression.

The government is nervous, even though the anti-imperialist movement is at a low ebb. The economic crisis has undermined the basis of stability in Ireland, that is, the idea that prosperity is possible through cooperation with imperialism. Furthermore, the traditional outlet for "surplus labor," emigration, has been virtually closed. If an effective focus developed for mass discontent, there could be a powerful upsurge.

All socialists and Irish nationalists have a strong stake in a successful defense of the victimized IRSP members. And this small, young organization needs all the help it can get to win.

The IRSP has called for international protests to support their defense. Statements can be sent to the party headquarters at 34 Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin 1.

The FBI Campaign to 'Destroy' the Black Panthers

In late 1968, it has now been admitted in a U.S. Senate report, the American government began a nationwide campaign to "destroy" the Black Panther party (BPP). J. Edgar Hoover, the chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) at that time, ordered his political police to develop "imaginative and hard hitting counter-intelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP."

Local police agencies were eager to cooperate in the extermination of the Black Panthers. Murderous police raids were carried out against Panther offices in cities across the country. Cleveland, Philadelphia, Toledo, New Orleans, Indianapolis, Denver, Des Moines, New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles are only some of the cities where police attacks occurred.

Some police departments, as in New York, set up special "Panther Squads"

whose sole purpose was to carry out the vendetta against the Black Panther party. More than twenty members of the BPP were shot down or jailed on frame-up charges in just one four-week period during September and October 1970. Altogether, hundreds were victimized.

In its recently released study on the FBI's domestic "Cointelpro" (counterintelligence program) operations, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities documented part of the FBI's role in the witch-hunt against the Panthers. A committee report noted that although the claimed purpose of the FBI Cointelpro plots was to prevent violence, some of the tactics "were clearly intended to foster violence, and many others could reasonably have been expected to cause violence."

FBI agents did their best to provoke

1. The historically somewhat more anti-imperialist bourgeois party.

2. A coalition of the historically more proimperialist bourgeois party (Fine Gael) and the Labour party is in power.

quarrels and violence between the BPP and other Black groups. In California, this tactic led to the murder of at least four members of the BPP.

One FBI memorandum boasted: "Shootings, beatings and a high degree of unrest continues to prevail in the ghetto area of southeast San Diego. Although no specific counterintelligence action can be credited with contributing to this overall situation, it is felt that a substantial amount of the unrest is directly attributable to this program."

The relations between the FBI and local police agencies are also indicated by material in the Senate report. For example, the report noted that an FBI informer was the sole source of information that led to the December 1969 police raid in which Panther leader Fred Hampton was shot to death while sleeping in his bed.

The FBI plant—who later received a \$300 bonus for this particular job—supplied a list of those who stayed in Hampton's apartment and a detailed floor plan that pointed out where Hampton slept.

Most of the information in the Senate report dealing with the campaign to destroy the BPP was already known as a result of earlier inquiries and various legal suits by the victims. But the fact that an arm of the government itself has confirmed the criminal tactics used to hound the Panthers will have considerable impact.

However, while the study by the Senate committee was useful, it was by no means complete. The committee noted that it had not been able to determine "the extent to which Cointelpro may be continuing," although it found indications that the program was indeed still going on.

The FBI refused to turn over many documents, including those on the Hampton case, to the Senate committee. The committee was able to obtain those only through survivors of the raid, who are pursuing a civil-damage suit against government officials. The committee's report suggested that a search of the bureau's 500,000 case files might be "productive."

Such a search is long overdue. To this day the FBI spends more than twice the amount for domestic "intelligence" informers—\$7.4 million—as it does for those supposedly engaged in fighting organized crime.

It is known that the FBI helped organize the murder of Fred Hampton, and that it took credit for helping to provoke at least four other murders. It is known that the FBI urged Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to commit suicide, and continued maligning his reputation after he was assassinated. What other crimes has the FBI committed?

The only way to find out is to open up all the secret files so that the American people can see and judge for themselves. □

In This Issue

Closing News Date: May 10, 1976

FEATURES	816	<i>Out Now!</i> —Chapter 18: Stop the Draft Week —by Fred Halstead
ITALY	788	Stalinists Still Hold Out Hope for "Historic Compromise"—by Gerry Foley
SOUTH AFRICA	790	Fifty Black Activists Arrested —by Ernest Harsch
PERU	791	Lima Newsweekly "Marka" Under Attack
CHINA	792	International Protests Free Cuentas Soviet Embassy Bombed in Peking —by Michael Baumann
	793	William Hinton Discusses Mao's Foreign Policy
FRANCE	794	The Student Protests—by Rebecca Finch
U.S.A.	797	Liam Cotter, 1921-1976—by Jean Vertheim
SPAIN	798	Interview With Leader of Liga Comunista
PORTUGAL	802	The Student Movement Under the Dictatorship and Today
BRITAIN	804	National Union of Students Debates Issues —by Skip Ball
	805	Women Answer Attacks on Right to Abortion —by Phyllis Hamilton
	805	Women Plan Campaign for Rights —by Jo O'Brien
CHILE	806	UN Commission Scores Violations of Human Rights—by Judy White
	811	187 Political Prisoners "Disappear"
PARAGUAY	807	Anthropologists Tortured
ICELAND	808	The Avalanche of Price Increases
SOVIET UNION	809	The Stalinist Suppression of Lithuanian Catholics—by Marilyn Vogt
ANGOLA	810	Behind Moscow's Lies—by Dick Roberts
ISRAEL	812	"Any People Would Revolt Against This"
NEWS ANALYSIS	786	Police Brutality Against IRSP Stirs Wide Protest—by Gerry Foley
	786	FBI Campaign to "Destroy" Black Panthers
CAPITALISM FOULS THINGS UP AROUND THE WORLD	813 814 821	When Isaac Deutscher Showed Healy to the Door—by Ernest Tate
DOCUMENTS	823	LCI and PRT Discuss Failure to Field Joint Electoral Slate
	824	Election Manifesto Issued by Former Members of PRT
	826	Finnish Social Democrats Discuss Attitude Toward CPs—by Jukka Paastela
	827	Liga Socialista Counters "Fifth Plan" for Venezuela
DRAWINGS	793	Mao Tsetung; 799, Carlos Arias Navarro; 815, Benjamin Bailar; 830, Ronald Reagan—by Copain
EN ESPAÑOL: PORTUGAL	829	La Izquierda Mantiene su Terreno en Elecciones—por Gerry Foley
PANAMA	830	Ford y Reagan Juegan al Fútbol con el Canal—por Judy White
ANGOLA	831	El MPLA Monta Cacería Contra la Izquierda—por Ernest Harsch

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

Editor: Joseph Hansen.

Contributing Editors: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

Editorial Staff: Michael Baumann, Gerry Foley, David Frankel, Ernest Harsch, Judy White.

Business Manager: Steven Warshell.

Copy Editor: Mary Roche.

Technical Staff: Paul Deveze, Larry Ingram, James M. Morgan, Bill Razukas, Earl Williams.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

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

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

Intercontinental Press is published by the Intercontinental Press Publishing Association.

Copyright © 1976 by Intercontinental Press.

Stalinists Still Hold Out Hope for 'Historic Compromise'

By Gerry Foley

Almost all commentators expect the Italian general election set for June 20 to mark a new rise in the strength of the workers parties and a new stage in the disintegration of the Christian Democrats, the bourgeois party that has ruled since the end of World War II.

Italy may thus be the second country in Western Europe, after Portugal, where the workers parties win an absolute majority. The prospect seems to frighten both the capitalists and the CP leaders.

The Communist party did not want new elections at this time. It was seeking a deal with the Christian Democrats. To this end, it tried to avoid a direct confrontation with them over the right of abortion, the issue that triggered the crisis that brought down the government, just as it tried to avoid a clash over the right of divorce in 1974.

In its April 11 issue, the Rome weekly *L'Espresso*, which sponsored the petition campaign for a referendum on abortion, speculated about why the CP had been unable to reach an agreement with the Christian Democrats.

The understanding on abortion for which the Communists appealed, and which a large part of the Christian Democrats desperately sought in order to avoid elections that will certainly end badly for them, proved difficult to achieve.

While 50,000 women marched through the streets of Rome shouting the most heated feminist slogans, which were sometimes picked up by the "comrades" of the UDI [Unione Donne Italiane—Italian Women's Union, the CP female auxiliary], the Vatican secretary of state, Monsignor Benelli, stepped up his pressure on [Premier] Moro to get the government to declare itself "neutral" on abortion. [Christian Democratic party leader] Zaccagnini and his team worked hard all Saturday and Sunday to come up with a compromise.

But Monday afternoon all they could offer the secular parties was another attempt to confuse the issue, proposing again to let doctors authorize abortion for social and economic reasons.

The women's vote has assumed new importance for the CP, Cristina Mariotti and Franco Giustolisi pointed out in the April 25 *L'Espresso*. In the June 1975 local and regional elections that brought the CP within two points of the Christian Democrats, the party ran twice as many women candidates as in the previous vote.

They noted that a CP campaign manager, Celso Ghini, told them that the shift of the women's vote to the left is "a tendency that became clear in the divorce referendum."

The divorce referendum also marked the

start of the disintegration of the Christian Democratic party, a conglomeration held together only by the church.

Catholicism provided the only ideology that could unite a broad bloc of voters under bourgeois direction. Thus, it made it possible to restabilize bourgeois parliamentary rule following the wartime crisis.

As the dreary round of bourgeois politics continued and Italian society modernized, it was inevitable that the church would lose its political hold. This process was accelerated by the rise of the women's movement. It is hard to measure how much. But clearly the feminist challenge to the Catholic "moral code" written into Italian law has served as a key catalyst in the deepening political crisis. The political role of the church has ceased to be a bulwark of bourgeois rule and become a grave weakness.

After the Christian Democratic leadership failed to exorcise the abortion issue by a "decent" compromise, Giancesare Flesca lamented in the April 11 *L'Espresso*: "The Christian Democrats have their backs to the wall, victims of their inability to become a secular party. For the second time in five years, they have forced the country to undergo an electoral trauma to avoid a referendum on a civil right.* For Zaccagnini, hard times are only beginning."

After the Christian Democrats blocked with the neofascists April 1 to pass a vote limiting abortions to cases of rape or danger to health, the Socialist party made it known that it was considering withdrawing its support for the government and allowing it to fall.

The SP had begun earlier to disengage from the government. It obviously had to build some bridges to the discontented workers and radicalized strata to survive as a reformist party. Since the CP has been concentrating on improving its relations with the church, the abortion issue gave the SP a golden opportunity to outflank its Stalinist rival from the left. This policy has evidently been a profitable one. In its April 25 issue, *L'Espresso* reported:

According to a recent poll, the SP, along with the Radical party [a sponsor of the campaign for an abortion referendum], will gain the most female votes. (In Rome, for example, the prediction is that as against 13.1% of the male vote, the SP will get 24.5% of the female vote.)

*Under Italian law a referendum cannot be held in the same year as a national election.—IP

The Italian CP has moved so far to the right to convince the capitalists that it can be trusted in the government that the Social Democrats think they can move to the left of the Stalinists to regain credibility as a workers party.

Thus, a member of the Executive of the French SP, Georges Sarre, could write in the April 23 *Le Monde*:

The background to Italian politics is an economic crisis graver than in other countries, which is eroding profits. Facing this situation, the big bourgeoisie is divided over what strategy to follow. It is thus in a relatively weak position. The working class, on the contrary, is showing strength and dynamism. . . .

The Italian Communists think socialism is not on the agenda. Is this the path of prudence or timidity?

The Social Democratic leaders can be sure the CP will not call their bluff by proposing a CP-SP government on a working-class program. But the pressure released by the breakdown of the bourgeois political machine cannot be so easily judged.

"Enrico Berlinguer, the Communist leader, has often said that a popular front [meaning here a coalition dominated by the CP-SP] would merely serve to polarize the nation because the Government would not be representative of the vast majority of the people," Alvin Shuster noted in a May 3 dispatch from Rome to the *New York Times*. "He has cited the case of Chile as an example of the disaster that follows when Christian Democrats and other non-leftist forces are excluded from government councils.

"That's fine for Berlinguer to say and to pledge now,' one diplomat said. 'But he would have a real problem selling the idea to many in the ranks of the party. They would want to know why they have to wait and sit down with Christian Democrats whom they believe have failed the country.'"

The CP also needs the participation of non-working-class parties, Shuster indicated, to avoid taking its responsibilities to the workers who support it:

In no time, several Communists said privately, the party would find itself a target of public rage for failing to transform the bureaucracy, modernize the hospitals and schools and generally bring about basic reforms quickly.

In a government with non-Communist forces, the Communists would be able to share the blame for the absence of sudden solutions.

Unfortunately for the Italian Stalinists, the Christian Democratic party is becom-

ing so discredited that it is going to be harder and harder to sell the idea of a grand coalition with them, and not just to their own ranks.

The Lockheed payoff scandals hit the corrupt Catholic party hard. In particular, the disclosure that the highest officials in the country sold out the Italian taxpayers to an American trust deeply compromised not just the Christian Democrats but bourgeois parliamentary institutions themselves.

"On that Wednesday [April 21] began the most dramatic days in the history of the republic," Franco Giustolisi said in the May 2 *L'Espresso*, "the days of the Antelope." He continued:

"Antelope Cobbler refers to the Italian premier," said the dossier sent from America to the Commission of Inquiry. But which premier? The Lockheed case goes back to 1965. The Hercules transport plane swindle started at the end of 1968 and came to fruition in the following years. So, it had to be Moro, or Leone, or Rumor. In one stroke this implicated the incumbent president, the head of government, and the minister of foreign affairs . . . one of these three is Antelope, under whom all of us paid tens of billions of lira . . . to buy fourteen useless transport planes, bringing ministers, generals, and subordinates \$2,018,000. But Moro was suddenly put out of the running by the circumstances. Rumor and Leone remain in the race. Which one is Antelope?

The scandal tended to spread like Watergate because of a notable lack of solidarity among capitalist politicians and officials. At first Rumor tried to pass off the charge with a joke. "Me, Antelope? Everybody knows I'm 'Raymond' (the minister of foreign affairs mentioned in connection with oil-deal bribes)." The witticism went sour.

Rumor was infuriated by the note from the Quirinale [presidential] palace, clearly pointing to him as the only possible Antelope. He made it known that he did not intend to be a scapegoat. Mancini telephoned him: "Don't take it personally. In these cases, they pick on the politically weakest, even if they are respectable people."

The finger of suspicion, however, began to turn more to Leone. Linguists noted that "Cobbler" sounds like "gobbler," and what gobbles antelopes is a lion, "leone" in Italian. Some politicians reached the same conclusions from other data: "Everybody knows there is a store in New York that sells antelope-skin shoes, and that Leone bought some there."

Implication of the president in the Lockheed affair raised a constitutional problem with the prospect of elections:

"How can the head of state," said the Liberal Quilleri, "dissolve the assembly of his own judges, that is, parliament, since he is under accusation?"

The CP was reluctant to go after Leone, *L'Espresso* noted, since it thought the accusations against him were part of an

operation by the Christian Democratic right:

In private, Communists say the right is blackmailing Leone. According to this version, the friends of Forlani, Andreotti, and Piccoli



GIOVANNI LEONE: Claims he never took any bribes from Lockheed.

[leaders of the right] asked the head of state to help them dump Moro and put one of their own wing in his place.

The CP offered a deal to prevent the crisis from sharpening: "The left wing of the Christian Democracy insists on an agreement with the CP, now the only possible road."

However, the Catholics could not agree to any compromise program of reforms that would have enabled the CP and SP to justify tacit or open support to the government. CP General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer was quoted in a May 1 dispatch to the *New York Times* as expressing his disappointment:

"The legislature could have been saved," Mr. Berlinguer said.

"The Christian Democrats did not have the courage. It is now time for the electorate to topple these prejudices once and for all and open the way for convergences and agreements that are essential if Italy is to find its feet."

Bourgeois commentators have responded favorably to the "moderate" program offered by the CP. Joseph Kraft, a columnist close to U.S. State Department circles, said in the April 24 *New York Post* that he was particularly impressed with Bruno Trentin, CP leader of the metalworkers union, who told him:

The solution is a government of national austerity. It would reform the public services, returning some to private industry and squeezing out excess employment in bureaucracy.

Moreover, Trentin thought the CP could help hold down wages:

We do not make concessions just because our friends happen to be in power. But I think we could negotiate with them an austerity policy in

which there would be a hold on wages in return for a larger say in management.

The authoritative British capitalist weekly *Economist* pointed out in its May 8 issue that the CP program amounts to the hope that a government with more working-class support can carry out the measures the Christian Democrats have failed to:

The Communists believe that Italy can buy its way out of recession by more government spending on housing, public transport and public services. The money for this would come from cutting down the bureaucracy and from a tough tax-gathering reform which would end Italy's endemic tax evasion. The Christian Democrats have been following much the same policies, with only limited success. Tax receipts have almost doubled since a major tax reform in 1972, but little of the money has filtered through the bureaucracy into social spending. Whether the Communists can make a better job depends on their ability to reform the administration: which in a "historic compromise" coalition with the Christian Democrats seems doubtful.

After thoughtful consideration, the *Economist* concluded that the time was not ripe for the CP's solution. Since the magazine held out no hope for the Christian Democrats, it thought the best way out for the time being would be a big increase in the vote of the small capitalist parties, the Liberals and Republicans.

Five more years of having to demonstrate that they really have become democrats could move the Communists further across the shadow-line that separates a democratic from a revolutionary party.

Obviously the capitalist experts think that however willing the CP may be to collaborate in bourgeois rule, it cannot be relied on to be able to keep the necessary balance between the needs of maintaining its working-class support and the demands of administering a decaying capitalist system.

Furthermore, even the advocates of a "flexible" approach to the CP do not think that the Italian party has reached the point where it can cut its underlying ties with the Kremlin: The Communists "should be kept out of the government," Kraft wrote in the April 24 *New York Post*, "so that all of us can test, over a period of years, their responses during the international crises, not yet totally previsible, but bound to develop in the Mediterranean." At best, a Communist party cannot be relied on to support the international aims of the capitalists, as a Social Democratic one could.

Actually the capitalist commentators' fears of seeing the CP in the government reflect the weakness of the system they defend. Since 1974, the decay of the capitalist economy and the contradictions of capitalist politics have defeated the attempts of the bourgeois and reformist parties to get together to restore the credibility of the bourgeois government for the working masses. □

Fifty Black Activists Arrested in South Africa

By Ernest Harsch

Faced with new signs of unrest among South Africa's more than twenty million Blacks, the racist Vorster regime is stepping up its repressive actions.

Since March, more than fifty Black activists have been arrested, most of them under the Terrorism Act, in connection with an alleged guerrilla network that has supposedly been operating in South Africa for six years. Many were former members of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC). Five of them were detained in eastern Cape Province on April 29, after their homes were searched.

According to a report from Cape Town by Humphrey Tyler in the May 5 *Christian Science Monitor*, security police said they arrested four other Blacks in Soweto after allegedly finding high explosives hidden in toothpaste tubes. The four were thought to have been former members of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress.

Besides those charged with guerrilla activities, many other former members of the ANC and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (which is linked to the ANC), as well as a number of young Blacks and whites, have been detained. Some have been charged with carrying out activities of the ANC and the South African Communist party.

Jarus Kogong, a former leader of the South African Students Organisation (SASO), was arrested by security police in Johannesburg in late March. Sixteen other leaders of the SASO and the Black People's Convention (BPC) are currently facing trial under the Terrorism Act. The only "evidence" being brought against them are their writings and speeches denouncing the apartheid system.

According to the March 29 issue of the American weekly *Africa News*, Kogong was arrested immediately after giving testimony in the trial of seven of the young Black activists. Kogong told the judge that he was tortured and forced to sign a false statement under threat of death from the security police.

The apartheid regime already has a large array of repressive laws that it can use against political dissidents, including the Suppression of Communism Act, the Terrorism Act, the Sabotage Act, the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Criminal Procedures Act, the Unlawful Organisations Act, and the Defence Act. But Vorster apparently considers these insufficient.

In February, Vorster proposed the establishment of a Parliamentary Internal Security Commission (Priscom), which is

The Case of Masobiya Mdluli

One of the Black activists arrested by the South African police was Masobiya Mdluli, who had previously served two years in prison on charges of furthering the aims of the ANC. The authorities claimed he was the main guerrilla recruiter in the Durban area. Mdluli was arrested on the night of March 18 and the next day the police told his wife he was dead.

After seeing his body, Lydia Mdluli said, "A severe swelling stretched across his forehead, his lower lip was bruised and cut, and his stomach was dilated to twice its normal size. I lifted his head and saw two criss-cross cuts at the base of the skull near the back of his left ear."

Mdluli was the twenty-third political prisoner known to have died so far under interrogation.

to investigate cases brought before it by the government. The purposes of the Priscom investigations will remain secret and witnesses will not be allowed to have lawyers. Refusal to testify is to be punishable by renewable six-month jail terms.

On May 4, the regime introduced another new bill, the Promotion of State Security Bill. Under it anyone suspected of "endangering state security or the maintenance of public order" could be detained without trial, bail, or legal counsel for up to a year. Publications could also be banned under the proposed law.

The stepped-up repression in South Africa comes at a time when the Black masses are showing signs of greater unrest. Pretoria's setback in Angola and the rising class struggle in the rest of southern Africa have been an inspiration to them.

One indication of the increased militancy among Blacks was a March 14 rally in Soweto, the all-Black township outside Johannesburg inhabited by a million persons. Drawing a crowd of 16,000, it was organized by the Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe (National Cultural Liberation Movement) and addressed by Chief Gatscha Buthelezi of the Zulus.

Buthelezi had previously supported the government's "separate development" pro-

gram of granting "independence" to the various Black Bantustans scattered throughout South Africa. But at the rally he denounced the program, stating, "Those who are attempting to divide the land of our birth are attempting to stem the tide of history. . . ."

"The majority of black people do not want to abandon their birthright. They have toiled for generations to create the wealth of South Africa. They intend to participate in the wealth of the land."

Buthelezi said that instead the entire country "must move towards majority rule."

He also noted that "a new mood is emerging. The events in Mocambique and Angola and similar impending events in Zimbabwe [Rhodesia] and Namibia have brought a new sense of National awareness into the hearts and minds of South Africa's Blacks."

Buthelezi called for the convening of a series of "Black National Conventions" beginning in August to discuss questions relating to the regime's economic, Bantustan, and foreign policies.

Within several days of the Soweto rally, a protest was staged in Johannesburg against the trial of the SASO and BPC leaders. According to the May issue of the London monthly *Africa* magazine, the protest "developed into a four-hour battle with police and a White mob when Black workers going to catch trains after work joined the demonstration outside a Johannesburg station, swelling the crowd to at least 2,000."

On March 21, several thousand persons attended a memorial service in Soweto to commemorate the sixteenth anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, in which sixty-nine Blacks were gunned down by police in 1960 after staging an anti-pass-law demonstration. The crowd heard militant speeches and sang freedom songs that have been banned by the regime.

A week later, on March 28, several hundred Black workers rallied outside the Heinemann electric factory in Germiston to protest the firing of the company's entire Black work force after they had demanded that the bosses recognize their Metal and Allied Workers Union. Although Black unions are not illegal in South Africa, they are not recognized and cannot negotiate Black workers' demands.

Police with dogs attacked the protesting workers, clubbing many of them. At least three Blacks were seriously injured, and Gavin Andersonn, the white general secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers Union, was arrested.

In an article on the South African economy in the April 12 *Christian Science Monitor*, Tyler pointed to "the possibility of unrest among black workers whose lower wages are likely to become increasingly inadequate in the face of all-round rising prices. . . . Already there have been two or three small wildcat strikes by black workers in Johannesburg." □

Lima Newsweekly 'Marka' Under Attack

"Insulting the armed forces" and "treason" were the charges made March 23 by the Peruvian junta against two leading members of the editorial board of the Lima newsweekly *Marka*. Warrants were issued for the arrest of the magazine's director, Carlos Urrutia, and its editor, Luis García. If captured, they will be brought before a naval court-martial.

The charges allegedly stem from *Marka's* publication of a letter dealing with resolutions passed by the Consejo Superior de Almirantes (High Council of Admirals). The same letter had been mailed to other periodicals and was in fact published by some of them. However, none of the other publications have been subjected to the police disruption *Marka* has experienced in recent weeks.

The Peruvian political police have made furtive visits at dawn to the offices of the magazine and to ITAL PERU, the printshop that produces the journal. *Marka* staff members have been followed and interrogated. In addition, the homes of Urrutia and one other member of the editorial board—Manuel Manrique—have been raided, and one issue of the magazine was held up at ITAL PERU on orders from the police.

In the raid on Manrique's house, carried out April 6, police armed with machine guns forcibly entered the premises without a warrant, claiming they were in pursuit of the "extremely dangerous" Carlos Urrutia, who was probably "armed with a machine gun."

An editorial by Ismael Frías in the Peruvian magazine *Equis* accused *Marka* of advocating terrorism. Frías was for many years a leading Peruvian Trotskyist. After Velasco Alvarado came to power in 1968, however, Frías capitulated and has since become one of the junta's most servile supporters. He specializes in red-baiting attacks on workers, peasants, and students who engage in political struggles.

Marka has been in the forefront of efforts to defend political prisoners in Peru. It has given weekly coverage to their cases, focusing especially on the case of imprisoned miners leaders Hernán Cuentas and Víctor Cuadros. *Marka* has also played an active role in aiding the work of Copapol (Comité por la Amnistía Político-Laboral—Committee for Labor-Political Amnesty), a group raising funds to defend political prisoners and aid their families.

The magazine has also consistently criticized the Morales Bermúdez regime's policies on other issues and has polemicized against the use of terrorism to bring about social change.

The editors of *Marka* view the attack on

them as an attempt to force the journal to close down. They have called for protests against the continuing harassment.

Their appeal has obtained an impressive response inside Peru. Trade unions, along with student, community, and peasant organizations, have expressed solidarity with *Marka's* fight to continue publishing without interference.

The revolutionary-socialist newspaper *Palabra Socialista*, in its April 6 issue, stated:

International Protests Free Hernán Cuentas



Informations Ouvrières

HERNAN CUENTAS

Peruvian mine workers leaders Hernán Cuentas and Víctor Cuadros were released from prison at the end of April.

Also freed were four attorneys for the Federación Nacional de Trabajadores Mineros y Metalúrgicos (National Federation of Miners and Metalworkers)—Ricardo Díaz Chávez, José Oña Meoño, Genaro Ledesma, and Arturo Salas Rodríguez.

Cuentas, Cuadros, and the lawyers were arrested in December 1975. Although none of them were ever brought to trial, the International League for Human Rights verified through the Peruvian Foreign Affairs Ministry that Cuentas and Cua-

dro were imprisoned for being "intellectually responsible for strikes."

... now more than ever the fullest defense of democratic rights is required. The dynamic of the political situation and the strengthening of rightist tendencies inside and outside the government require that all organizations on the left unify in action to defend our political and democratic rights.

"Concretely, we call on all trade-union and left organizations to show their solidarity with the magazine *Marka*. Despite the differences we have, what is involved now is the defense of the unrestricted right of any organization or publication to freely exercise freedom of the press. If we let it pass, the attack against *Marka* can escalate, ending up by liquidating already grudgingly respected democratic rights and freedom of the press." □

dro were imprisoned for being "intellectually responsible for strikes."

Mine workers have been in the forefront of struggles to improve living and working conditions in Peru over the past year.

In addition to arresting leaders of their union and their attorneys, the Morales Bermúdez regime in mid-April suspended regulations preventing mining bosses from arbitrarily reducing the size of the labor force.

This provided the mining bosses with a free hand to fire militants who have been leading economic struggles and protests against the arrest of their leaders and attorneys.

Díaz Chávez, Oña Meoño, Ledesma, and Salas Rodríguez were never charged with any crime. In fact, the Morales Bermúdez regime refused to admit publicly that they were being detained.

During part of their imprisonment, all six prisoners were held in the notorious jungle prison El Sepa.

The release of Cuadros, Cuentas, and the lawyers is a victory for the vigorous campaign of protest waged on their behalf inside Peru and around the world.

Unofficially, government sources admitted that one reason for their release was the protests from the labor movement, especially the miners, in Peru.

Internationally, dozens of labor, political, and human-rights organizations throughout Europe, the United States, and Latin America participated in the campaign.

A high point of the defense effort was an April 15 meeting held in Paris at the Mutualité. Speakers included representatives of the Socialist party, Amnesty International, the International League for Human Rights, and the 550,000-member Fédération de l'Éducation Nationale (National Education Federation), among others. □

Soviet Embassy Bombed in Peking

By Michael Baumann

A powerful explosion occurred at the Soviet embassy in Peking April 29, reportedly killing at least two persons and possibly more. The blast occurred one day after the appearance in *Pravda* of a lengthy article in which Soviet officials urged Peking to return to the negotiating table to discuss disputed border territory.

There are conflicting reports on the facts of the incident. All agreed, however, that no Soviet casualties occurred and that major damage was confined to the sentry box outside the Soviet diplomatic compound.

The brief Tass account of the bombing said:

"An explosion occurred today at the gates of the USSR Embassy in the PRC [People's Republic of China]. Two Chinese guards were killed. The embassy building suffered damages. It was only by chance that there were no casualties among embassy staff."

Tanyug, the official Yugoslav news agency, also reported the explosion but said that two Chinese guards stationed outside the compound had been "seriously injured," not killed.

The Peking correspondent for *Asahi*, a leading Japanese daily, said the explosion had been caused by five or six Chinese youths, who tried to carry a bomb into the diplomatic compound and struggled with three Chinese soldiers at the gates.

According to the *Asahi* account, which was attributed to Soviet embassy officials, two of the three soldiers and most of the youths were killed in the blast.

The *Asahi* report said the explosion blew pieces of bodies and fragments of the bomb into the embassy compound and shattered all windows in the consulate building on the left side of the compound. It said a bomb fragment destroyed a wall in the embassy hall about sixty-five yards away.

An April 30 Reuters dispatch gave a slightly different account. "Two Western diplomats," Reuters reported, "... said they were informed by Soviet envoys that yesterday afternoon's blast was caused by a bomb and occurred when a group of Chinese here [were] stopped by guards as they tried to enter the embassy compound.

"According to this account," Reuters continued, "two sentries died and another Chinese was injured or killed near the gates of the imposing, stone-walled embassy in Anti-Revisionist Street."

In a statement issued the evening of April 30, Peking officials blamed the incident on a "counterrevolutionary" sa-

boteur, omitting any comment on the reported deaths and injuries.

The bombing came in the wake of the massive April 5 demonstration in Peking's Tien An Men Square. In that demonstration, tens of thousands of persons protested the Mao regime's removal of wreaths and placards honoring the late Chou En-lai. According to the official Hsinhua account, a popular chant among the demonstrators was the demand for "genuine Marxism-Leninism."

Shock waves from that demonstration are still reverberating in China. As we reported in the April 19 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, the protest showed the existence of an opposition to Mao, "whatever its political coloration, that is sufficiently organized to begin appealing directly to the masses with good chances for a favorable response."

The bombing of the Soviet embassy suggests that one of the issues under dispute is Mao's openly counterrevolutionary policy of seeking to form a bloc with imperialism against the Soviet workers state.

Whoever it was that set off the explosion, the intent was clearly to make it more difficult to restore cordial relations with Moscow, an aim completely in accordance with Mao's foreign policy.

This fact has led the editors of the *New York Times* to speculate that the bombing was a provocation, carried out by Maoist forces.

"The explosion at the gates of the Soviet Embassy in Peking is being denounced as counterrevolutionary sabotage by Chinese authorities," the *Times* editors said May 1. "But why should dissident Chinese forces feel it necessary to stage such a demonstration?"

"The official Peking line is that of implacable hostility toward Moscow, and Prime Minister Hua Kuo-feng recently referred to the Soviet Union as a 'wicked and ruthless superpower.' One would expect genuine Chinese counterrevolutionaries [i.e., anti-Maoists] to be pro-Soviet, as in Albania—where Communist Party boss Enver Hoxha has just announced the crushing of a dissident faction allegedly seeking to break Tirana's ties with Peking and to move closer to Moscow."

These considerations, the *Times* editors said, "suggest a somewhat different explanation" for the bombing of the Soviet embassy.

"Could it be that a factional battle in the Chinese leadership rages over the issue of

whether or not to improve relations with Moscow, and that the anti-Soviet faction was sufficiently alarmed by the strength of its opponents to conclude that an act of violence against the Soviet Embassy might be useful to halt progress toward better Soviet-Chinese relations?" □

Second Thoughts About Operation Angola

South Africa's "direct involvement in Angola was a serious military and diplomatic miscalculation," according to a May 6 report by the London "think tank" International Institute for Strategic Studies.

According to a summary of the report in the May 7 *New York Times*, Pretoria's involvement was not only a "setback for South African efforts to ease tension with its African neighbor, but its direct intervention on the side of the two groups opposing the Soviet-backed Popular Movement also undermined United States and Chinese efforts to support those groups. . . ."

Bribe a Candidate?

In face of predictions of record abstention, America's Roman Catholic bishops have appealed to churchgoers to become involved in the 1976 presidential campaign.

Meeting in Chicago May 6, they expressed "deep concern" over the increasing number of voters who seemed to be choosing not to participate in the election "out of distrust, apathy or indifference."

**Moving?
Let us know...
before you go.**

To be sure you don't miss any copies, please notify us of your new address five weeks before you move.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS
P.O. Box 116, Village Station
New York, NY 10014

Peking Prefers 'Heath to Wilson, Strauss to Brandt'

An instructive exposition of Peking's openly counterrevolutionary foreign policy was provided recently by William Hinton, national chairman of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association.

Hinton, who has lived and worked in China and has written several adulatory books about his experiences there, visited Peking in the latter part of last year, along with nine other members of the friendship association's steering committee.

In a subsequent interview,* Hinton reported the substance of discussions on foreign policy he participated in while visiting Peking.

His credentials as a reliable conduit for the thinking of top-level Maoist bureaucrats are vouched for by the *Guardian* editors, who state in their introduction to the interview that "few Americans are as well equipped" as Hinton to describe "China's view of the world."

The basic premise of Peking's foreign policy, Hinton explained, is that a third world war is inevitable within the next thirty years and that the Soviet Union, which "embarked on a capitalist road" at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU (1956), is "the most likely to launch" it.

Consequently, Hinton said, the "two superpowers [Washington and Moscow]" are no longer "equal enemies" of China. Instead, in the official Maoist view, "... as between the two superpowers, one—the Soviet Union—is more dangerous than the other. It is in fact the *main danger* confronting the whole world today." (Emphasis in original.)

The logical consequence of such a view would be to seek alliances with the most extreme anti-Sovieters. According to Hinton, this is precisely the conclusion drawn in Peking.

"China," he said, "judges world leaders by how well they understand this new relationship of forces. Thus they prefer



MAO: Finds Kissinger soft on Soviet "social imperialism."

Heath to Wilson, Strauss to Brandt and Schlesinger to Kissinger."

Great changes have taken place since the Korean War, Hinton explained, and "unity" between Washington and Peking is now "possible on certain specific issues and has in fact developed." Among the examples he cited are the following:

- Remilitarization of Japan. "Due to policies that originated with the occupation," he said, "Japan does not have adequate defense forces today" and is "dangerously vulnerable to Soviet attack." "Until Japan is able to build up adequate defense forces, it is necessary for the Japanese people to continue to rely on the alliance with the United States."

- Full support for NATO. "There is no European country that can stand alone against overt and covert pressure from the Soviet Union," Hinton said. "Even if the European countries united, their collective strength would not today be sufficient to hold off a Russian attack. Therefore it is necessary for them to maintain their NATO alliance with the United States."

- Strengthening of Philippine dictator Marcos. "The Philippines are demanding that the U.S. vacate its bases one by one," Hinton said. "This is a prudent policy. Complete withdrawal would leave the islands vulnerable to Soviet incursion. The

Philippines also need time to develop an adequate defense."

Some wrinkles, however, apparently remain to be worked out. The interviewer asked:

"If the Soviet Union is the main danger, isn't there some basis for a worldwide united front, even including the United States, against the Soviet Union?"

Hinton answered: "We discussed this at some length while in China. . . . The conclusion was that while a united front of all forces against the *main danger* is not ruled out in the future, the conditions for it do not exist at present."

"What about Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America?" the interviewer asked at one point. "Is China expecting continued U.S. intervention in these areas in order to block Russian expansion?"

"No," Hinton replied. "What China says is: 'While driving the wolf from the front door, one should not allow the tiger to enter through the back door.'"

In this case, he said, "the wolf is the U.S. and the tiger is the USSR. The symbols have not been picked at random." Both animals are "vicious beasts but the tiger is the more dangerous of the two."

Mao's view, he explained, "is that people of the third world should conduct their liberation struggles in such a way as to free themselves from all imperialism, not put themselves under the heels of the Russians in their effort to break loose from the Americans."

That does not mean the "end of national liberation struggles," he assured, "but only a new context in which the struggles will be played out." □

'Flexible Accounting Procedures' Hide Rise in Oil Profits

The largest American oil companies have juggled their books to hide the full extent of the rise in oil profits since the "energy crisis" of 1973-74. That is the conclusion of a study of corporate financial reports conducted by Congressman William Hughes.

Fourteen of the top twenty oil companies, he said, quietly "changed accounting policies, created reserves and split stock, with the effects of reported earnings ranging from reductions of .5 to 100 per cent."

Other cover-up measures were also taken, Hughes reported. Every one of "the 20 largest oil companies took steps that would ease public outcry about windfall profits and reserve some portion of these profits for later years."

*The interview originally appeared in the March-April issue of *China and Us*, publication of the New York chapter of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association. It was reprinted in the May 5 issue of the *Guardian*, a Maoist-leaning American weekly.

In an editorial in the same issue, the *Guardian* polemicalizes against several of the views expressed by Hinton, particularly the notion that Moscow, not Washington, is the main enemy of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The *Guardian* editors have previously stated their differences with Peking over Angola, and in an article on the page facing the Hinton interview, *Guardian* correspondent Wilfred Burdett assesses several "errors" in Chinese foreign policy, especially in regard to Angola.

The Student Protests in France

By Rebecca Finch

PARIS—A major campaign of student strikes and demonstrations is taking place in France against the latest in a series of changes in university education undertaken by the government since 1968.

The struggle began in February in some universities outside of Paris. It has spread to include a majority of the universities in France and many high schools and technical schools as well.

In a demonstration that took place on April 23 in Paris, 35,000 students marched in defiance of threats of police repression and an increasing campaign of government intimidation. Another high point was reached on April 15, when 100,000 university, high-school and technical-school students, and some teachers, marched in more than thirty cities.

The duration of the strike campaign and the number of schools affected are the greatest since 1968, although the mobilizations have not yet reached the size of those in the 1973 struggles against the Debré law and the Fontanet decree reforming the first cycle¹ of university education.

The protests began when the Ministry of Education published the guidelines for the Soisson reform (named after the former minister of education who wrote the guidelines) of the second cycle of university education. In effect, the reforms will introduce a complicated system of tracking and selection for the second cycle students, especially those seeking to study literature and the arts, through the establishment of a system of autonomous, competing universities.

Standards for admission and graduation will be determined separately for each school by commissions that will include representatives of big industry. The course of the student's study will be determined not by choice, but by a series of competitive exams and grades received during the last years of high school and in the first cycle of university study.

These are important changes from today's system, where there is no entry selection for second cycle studies, most diplomas from the university are nationally recognized on an equal basis, and students are free to choose their programs

on the basis of their own interests and needs.

In fact, the changes will result in a system of education that closely resembles those in the United States, West Germany, and Great Britain, where similar "reforms" were carried through some time ago.

In essence, what is involved is the changing function of the university under advanced capitalism. Once an elite institution devoted to educating the sons—and less frequently the daughters—of the ruling class to administer the nation, the colonies, the army, and industry, the university is now becoming an institution that meets the demands of the capitalist class for masses of semieducated, technically specialized labor in industry and the swelling state apparatus.

France has been behind other countries in completing such changes, and thus the problem has become especially acute for the government now. There are 800,000 students in the universities, about 50 percent more than in West Germany and Great Britain, and the government estimates that only about 4 percent are registered in courses related to engineering. The Soisson reform will cut the number of places available in arts and letters programs, and at the same time reduce the total number of university students.

Beyond the immediate impact of the reform is the broader problem of the French economic and social crisis, which has hit young people in an especially brutal way. Youth represent 40 percent of all unemployed, and this does not take account of those who have given up registering with national unemployment agencies. Nor does it take account of the thousands of university graduates who have prepared for teaching careers or work in the social sciences, but have had to take jobs that do not correspond to the educations they have completed. This has contributed to the deepening radicalization of French youth that was set off by the May-June 1968 events.

The government claims that the Soisson reform provides an answer by better preparing students for available jobs and cutting back on the number of graduates into fields where there are no openings, particularly in teaching.

In fact, however, the reform is aimed only at better preparing the students for tedious work in industry at the expense of individual, human educational needs. The

reform is also part of the French government's efforts to generally discipline the masses of radical students.

The universities outside Paris will be the most affected by the new changes, and it was here that the strikes began. In February, strikes were voted for in general assemblies at campuses in Amiens, Rennes, Clermont-Ferrand, Dijon, Grenoble, and Toulouse. Many of these meetings were attended by up to 1,000 students.

In the democratic traditions established in the student movement since 1968, the general assemblies elected strike committees that included not only students from all political tendencies but many independent students as well. The local strike committee delegates constitute a loosely organized national coordinating committee, which meets regularly to call actions and issue statements.

By March 6, the strike had spread to twelve universities, and the movement was continuing to grow steadily. On that day, delegates from the strike committees met in Paris and issued a call for mobilizations on March 10. Five thousand university students, joined by some high-school students, marched in Paris, with smaller demonstrations in at least eleven other cities.

On March 17, again in response to a call from the national strike committee, several thousand students participated in a national demonstration in Paris, and 5,000 came to a national meeting at Nanterre on March 18. There the students voted to continue the struggle after the two-week spring vacation and called for another meeting of the national strike committee at Amiens on April 10.

When school reopened April 5, the strike continued in one form or another at most schools previously affected and began to spread to new universities. On April 7, the UNEF (Renouveau)² and the SNESup³ teachers union called for two days of national action on April 14 and 15.

The meeting of the strike committee delegates at Amiens on April 10 endorsed this proposal. It also voted to elect a committee of students to meet with the CGT⁴ and the CFDT⁵ unions to ask for

2. Union National des Etudiants Français (Renouveau) (National Union of French Students [Renewal], heavily influenced by Communist party youth).

3. Syndicat National de l'Enseignement Supérieur (National Union of University Teachers). SNESup is affiliated with the Fédération de l'Éducation Nationale (National Education Federation).

4. Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor, heavily influenced by the Communist party).

5. Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail (French Democratic Confederation of Labor, influenced by the Socialist party).

1. There are three cycles in university education in France. The first corresponds roughly to undergraduate education in the German and American university systems. The second and third correspond to initial and advanced graduate study.



Informations Ouvrières

Part of demonstration in Paris April 15.

support for the demonstrations, and called for a general strike of students and teachers in the universities beginning April 12. Another strike committee meeting was scheduled for Toulouse on April 21.

By April 14, a number of high schools and technical schools had joined the strike and were organizing their own strike committees and contingents for the following day's demonstration. The CGT and CFDT claimed they were opposed to the reform but refused to call on their ranks to join the demonstration. In spite of this, the April 15 demonstrations were large and included contingents from the SNESup and the SGEN.⁶ In a few universities, some locals of these unions had already been on strike for some time.

The third national student strike coordinating meeting took place at Toulouse on April 17, and representatives of ninety-six university centers were present. The meeting issued a call for the April 23 national

action, further extension of the strike, and a renewed appeal to the unions to join the strikes and mobilizations.

The government has tried to contain the movement by claiming that the students on strike are a minority dominated by the left, and French Secretary for the Universities Alice Saunier-Seïté has issued repeated calls for the "silent majority" to organize to break the struggle. Some "back to studies" committees and demonstrations have occurred, mostly under the influence of fascist and right-wing student groups, but these have largely failed.

More important is the coercion and outright repression being used by the government. There have been threats to cancel examinations and not to issue diplomas at the end of the year. More serious, the use of direct repression against the demonstrations has been escalated.

Virtually every demonstration has been attacked by the police. A pretext for these attacks has often been provided by the actions of small bands of young people who attach themselves to the front of the demonstration and take advantage of the crowds to break windows and carry out attacks on police, escaping afterward into

the crowds of people. The police then move in and try to arrest and tear-gas broader numbers of demonstrators.

The strike committees established marshal services for the demonstrations early in the campaign, for the students rightly suspected that both the fascists and the police were involved in these provocations. These marshals, completely supported by the mass of students, have been effective in stopping the *casseurs* (wreckers), so much so that at the April 15 demonstrations, the marshals themselves and some demonstrators were also attacked. In the days leading up to the April 23 demonstration, rumors circulated that a meeting had been held at the University of Jussieu by these elements, to organize further attacks on the marshal service, as well as the police.

To counter this, the students organized a strong marshal team, headed by students from the University of Tolbiac, including a number who are members of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International).

In addition to the regular marshals at the front of the main contingent, a mobile

6. Syndicat Général de l'Éducation Nationale (General Union of National Education, affiliated to the CFDT).

group of 500 students moved ahead of the main contingent by successive quick runs, followed by the big front contingent of students, which had its own line of marshals. This created some confusion among the *casseurs*, and some of them were caught with iron bars and other concealed weapons.

One of these was identified as a student from the right-wing law school Assass and admitted to having led the April 15 attack against the student demonstration. He was disarmed and escorted to the nearest metro station.

When the first incidents finally took place between these uncontrolled elements and the police, near the end of the demonstration, the students and marshals held the main contingents of the demonstration further back and forced those trying to escape into the crowds away from the mass of students. In this way, the police were unable to attack the main part of the demonstration.

One student later told me that this was the first time the marshal service had been so effectively organized for a student demonstration. He attributed this to the deep sentiment among the mass of students for isolating and defeating the police provocateurs and fascists who were using the ultralefts' activity as cover to try to destroy the movement.

In addition to government repression, a further obstacle to the spread of the strike and the successful conclusion of the struggle is the policies of the Communist and Socialist parties. The CP dominates the UNEF (Renouveau) and has considerable influence in the SNESup teachers union.

UNEF (Renouveau) at first opposed the call for the general strike in the schools and called for the April 15 demonstration along with the SNESup to try to counter the growing strike. Moreover, this was done outside the framework of the democratically elected strike committees and without consulting them, even though the UNEF (Renouveau) is represented in them.

The aim is to undermine the committee's authority and to make UNEF (Renouveau) appear as the real leader of the struggle. This is in line with the Stalinists' sectarian policy of insisting that UNEF (Renouveau) is the only organization that really represents the students.

The strike committee countered by endorsing the proposal of the two groups so as to keep the coalition from splitting, but it also passed a motion calling on the UNEF (Renouveau) to observe the democratic functioning of the movement, and to build the strike.

To maintain some credibility in the student struggle, the UNEF (Renouveau) has now halfheartedly voted for the national strike, but the SNESup teachers union has refused to call its members out on strike. This, along with the continued refusal of the CFDT and the CGT to join in

the demonstrations, is a formidable obstacle for the students.

Both these large trade-union federations and all the teachers unions are dominated by the CP or SP, which counterpose support for the Union of the Left electoral front to mass actions by students and workers. They are seeking to head off another May 1968 explosion, even at the cost of losing this battle.

In contrast, the LCR has fought to extend the strike and build the biggest possible mobilizations. It has called for broadening the elected strike committees to include all political tendencies and the many unorganized students who are participating in the struggle.

At the same time, it has led the fight against those, like the Stalinists, who have refused to observe the democratic functioning of the strike committees, or those ultraleft groups like *Revolution!* and various Maoist formations that have presented schemes for taking the focus off the fight against the reforms and putting it on other, localized struggles outside the universities.

In an effort to promote a broad, united coalition of both organized and unorganized students, the LCR has in recent weeks worked closely with members of the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (AJS)⁷ and the left Social Democratic Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU).⁸ Both these groups have supported the call for a national

7. Alliance of Youth for Socialism, the youth group in political solidarity with the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI—Internationalist Communist Organization).

8. United Socialist party. The PSU has considerable influence in a student organization called Mouvement d'Action et de Recherches Critiques (MARC—Movement for Action and Critical Research). The MARC calls for the formation of a united, anticapitalist student union, linked to the organized labor movement.

strike since the April 10 Amiens strike coordination meeting.

Beyond the present student strike and the organizational forms created to carry it out lies a deep aspiration for unity in struggle on the part of the entire French student population in the universities, high schools, and technical schools. The student movement is deeply divided among different political tendencies, corresponding to the divisions in the labor movement as a whole.

The struggle against the Soisson reform represents a renewal in the combativeness of the student movement, which will have to face more government attacks on the right to and the quality of education as the result of the economic crisis in France. This poses the question of how to overcome the divisions.

One answer was given in a special student edition of *Rouge*, the LCR's daily paper. Pointing to the need for a united, permanent organizational framework that can take up the struggles relevant to students and youth, and that is linked to the workers movement, *Rouge* called for the formation of a "vast federation of rank-and-file committees" that can gather together all the unorganized students and those in political tendencies.

"Neither the two UNEFs, nor the MARC, nor the COSEF⁹ can claim to be the embryo of this organization of mass unity," *Rouge* said. "It can only develop by beginning from the structures of the present struggle. This is also one of the stakes in the present mobilizations—to lay the basis for a prolonged struggle and a united movement through coordination, the exchange of experiences, the centralization of platforms, the testing in action of democracy and unity." □

9. Comité pour un Syndicat des Etudiants de France (Committee for a Union of French Students). COSEF was organized by the Socialist party.

MEMO

to:

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

from:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Country _____

\$24 enclosed for one-year subscription.

\$12 enclosed for a six-month subscription.

Send information about first-class and airmail rates.

Liam Cotter, 1921-1976

By Jean Vertheim

Liam Cotter, a veteran Irish republican leader, was shot down April 12 during a robbery on Times Square in New York City.

Cotter had worked among the Irish exile population in the United States since 1949, when he was forced to leave Ireland by political persecution that made it difficult for him to find employment at home.

In 1953, he found a job with the Purolator Security company in New York. He died on this job, along with his partner. They were killed by robbers while picking up the receipts from a midtown New York movie theater.

Liam Cotter was a socialist as well as a republican, although he never joined any socialist political party. While he devoted his entire life to the cause of Irish national liberation, he was always anxious to make sure that a socialist perspective was put forward for Ireland. He was the main organizer of a commemoration meeting in 1974 for the Irish socialist labor leaders James Connolly and James Larkin. He hoped to revive the tradition of annual Connolly-Larkin commemorations in order to keep the socialist side of the Irish struggle in the minds of Irish Americans.

Liam was in contact with the Irish-American radical tradition in New York, even though it had already begun to wane when he came to the United States. He remembered James Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, as a powerful orator. In his memory he associated Cannon with the other Irish-American socialist labor leaders.

At Liam's wake a few days after his death, a mourner could be heard whispering: "Liam was a lifelong socialist and republican and look how he had to die in defense of what he didn't believe in."

Liam worked all his life, and he knew that in capitalist society you often do not have much choice about how you earn your living. He never deviated from his political principles. He was a model of an uncompromising republican. He also knew how easy it is to die a violent death in the streets of the metropolis of world capitalism.

Liam came from the depressed and hopeless west of Ireland, from Tralee in northern County Kerry. It was in this area that the radical wing of the Irish independence movement was most deeply rooted, and it was here as well that the repression by the Free State government, the representatives of the Irish bourgeoisie who had decided to abandon the struggle for an



Jean Vertheim

LIAM COTTER

independent Ireland and make a deal with London, was particularly brutal. Scores of republicans and their supporters were massacred in this tiny, thinly populated area.

Although Liam was born in 1921, on the eve of the civil war between republicans and Free Staters, memories of this repression remained strong during his youth. They had a strong effect on him. While still a boy, he joined the Fianna Eireann, the republican youth organization.

In 1942, during one of the worst periods in the history of the republican movement, when it was isolated and hounded and in the process of being virtually destroyed, he joined an active service unit of the Irish Republican Army in south Armagh, in British-occupied Ireland. He became one of its ranking officers. Like many Irish republicans, he regarded World War II as a war fought by England for its own imperialist gain.

As a result of his republican activity and convictions, the Dublin government interned him for five years.

In 1956, when the IRA began a guerrilla campaign in Northern Ireland against the British forces, Cotter headed the Irish

Freedom Committee in New York, which was one of the most important republican support groups in the United States at that time.

In 1968, the rise of the mass civil-rights movement in Northern Ireland revived support in the United States for the oppressed Irish people. Liam was one of the few veteran republicans who welcomed the influx of young people, in particular, young American-born radicals, into the movement and who worked well with them. He strongly opposed red-baiting and stood up to the most violent reactionaries.

Liam defended the right of persons of every political point of view to voice their opinions in meetings of the movement for the release of Irish political prisoners. He aimed for the largest participation in this effort by Irish groups in this country and by American groups, including those on the left. If any person or group infringed on the rights of speech and participation, his foot thumped the floor and his voice objected.

With his wide range of contacts and his personal integrity, he was able to achieve cooperation between representatives of many IRA prisoner support groups. In the early 1970s, he devoted most of his time to the most inclusive of these groups, including the Irish Anti-Internment Coalition, serving first as its treasurer and later as its chairman.

He opposed the split in the IRA in 1969 that produced a Provisional and "Official" republican movement. As a socialist, he was drawn to the "Officials," who spoke in the name of socialism. But he was repelled by their political sectarianism and their increasing descent into Stalinist bullying methods.

Liam cochaired the 1972 Bloody Sunday commemoration in which several thousand persons protested the murder of thirteen Irish civil-rights demonstrators in Derry by British troops. In 1973, he led hundreds of demonstrators to the Federal Bureau of Investigation building in New York City to protest against the grand jury investigation and jailing of five Irish-born Americans persecuted for their support of the freedom struggle in Ireland.

Liam was only fifty-five years old when he was killed, just a week before the sixtieth anniversary of the proclamation of the Irish Republic by Pearse and Connolly. He had a rich history of participation in the Irish movement and brought many strands of the republican and socialist traditions together in his personality and his work.

He held with absolute intransigence to an ancient tradition, but his face was not turned to the past. He was a bridge between the uncorrupted Irish revolutionaries of the past and the new generations of rebels that are rising up to pursue their ideals with better chances for victory. His example will be remembered and carried on. □

Spain After Franco—'A Slow Buildup of Explosive Forces'

[The following interview with a leader of the Liga Comunista (Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain) was obtained in Barcelona April 18 by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. The strikes and explosive demonstrations that have taken place since January must be causing great problems for the government and must be indicative of a change in the attitude of the Spanish masses. How do you view the situation?

Answer. Franco played a key role in maintaining stability among the various Francoist clans and groups in the country. The dictator's death last year has allowed the specific differences between these groups to come to the surface more readily. This, combined with the already existent mass upsurge against the dictatorship and the intolerable conditions of the workers, led to a slow buildup of explosive forces following Franco's death. It has also made possible several recent de facto partial conquests for the mass movement.

Given this unstable situation and the relative weakness of the new Arias cabinet, the government is trying to give the impression that it favors certain reforms of Francoism, that it is going to allow democracy after a two-year wait, and so forth.

Arias's February 28 speech in the Cortes¹ called for a certain kind of "democracy." It was strictly limited, of course, with regard to political freedoms and to which political parties would be allowed to participate. The government would make all decisions on participation, completely excluding the main workers parties that have emerged from the struggles of the Spanish proletariat—the Communist party and the Socialist party as well as all other parties of a socialist bent.

A bicameral structure is being proposed. One house is to be composed of members of the Falangist movement and other reactionary forces that stem from the civil war. The other house, it seems, would be composed of forces coming from more present-day life and would have a certain number of positive features. Although the fact that universal suffrage would be allowed in the elections is a step forward, the change in state structure would not mean anything.

A whole series of restrictions of freedom of political agitation and propaganda by the main working-class parties would exist. And, finally, the elected body would be subordinated to and controlled by the body composed of Falangists, who are to be appointed, not elected.

Q. What is the general effect of these demagogic promises of democracy?

A. This kind of demagoguery is being used more and more by the dictatorship. But there is not really very much talk about it.

Everyone is talking about the current struggles, the most important of which, and the most clear, were the events in Vitoria, which began March 3 and left five persons dead. The police fired on workers who were holding a meeting and this caused a huge commotion within the entire movement. It opened up a general strike against the dictatorship throughout all of the Basque Country. Important sympathy demonstrations were held in other cities, including Tarragona, where a situation of generalized struggle existed in the entire construction industry.

It was [Interior Minister Manuel] Fraga's police who did the killing, and Fraga had been trying to pretend he was in favor of an agreement that would introduce "democracy."

As a result of these two weeks of demonstrations and mobilizations the government's demagoguery lost almost all its credibility. It began to show itself more clearly for what it really is—the buttress of the dictatorship.

Q. There has been talk of changes in the cabinet. What about this?

A. The events in Vitoria and the subsequent explosions caused a great governmental crisis during which even the bourgeois press, which is Francoist, openly demanded the resignation of the cabinet. This was a distorted reflection of the real image of the government in the eyes of the entire population following these events.

Q. What would the resignation of the government mean?

A. This meant the resignation of Arias—not an end to the monarchy, of course—and the formation of a new cabinet and government that could be more flexible in face of the mass movement.

The same government was maintained, however, giving proof positive of the

incapacity of the Francoist groups to provide leadership.

All rumors about governmental changes include the appointment of old Francoist ministers who could not change even the appearance of what they have today.

So, they decided to keep the government as it was. But, given the situation, the contradictions among different Francoist groups have grown, each one pushing for its own specific solution to the crisis of Francoism, and as a whole, weakening the government even more.

In this sense, all the government's plans are paralyzed. They now combine hard repression with limited concessions in a confusing way. On the same day they suspend demonstrations or charge into a telephone workers' meeting, they allow a bourgeois opposition party, or even the Socialist party, to meet. Or they allow, as they have done this weekend, the present meeting of the UGT² to take place in Madrid.

They try to maintain all that is basic to the dictatorship while giving only the concessions wrenched from them by the pressure of the mass movement, or by pressure from abroad, which is also very important.

This is the general situation in which they are planning to hold the proposed referendum. The referendum is a classical Francoist maneuver. The history of Francoism is full of referendums that force the masses to state an opinion on matters that are really decided beforehand.

For example, if they ask, Do you want reforms? everyone will vote in favor of reforms, but the reforms will amount to nothing.

Q. What will be voted on?

A. No one knows yet; it is a very ambiguous and confused situation.

Every bourgeois group uses its newspaper to say what they think should be the substance of the referendum.

One question that is likely will seek a vote in favor of the king and the monarchy, something that couldn't be put directly, of course, because the monarchy is supposed to be unquestionable.

But they may have a question on the law of succession. That is, whether or not the eight-year-old prince should have full rights to direct succession. It's a question that seems secondary at first glance, but a vote on this could be interpreted as popular support for the king and everything else

1. The Francoist parliament.—IP

2. Unión General de Trabajadores (General Workers Union).—IP

the monarchy signifies.

Q. This may be one of the main questions?

A. It's one of the points the newspapers are playing up. Another point would be on the proposed reforms: for a unicameral government, or in favor of the reforms—and therefore, democracy?

Vague questions. Of course everyone wants democracy, but a vote for democracy will be interpreted as popular support for all the government's plans.

One thing about the referendum is certain. It will be a series of well-prepared questions that will seek a vote for democracy in general and then interpret it as support to the government's maneuvers.

In any case, the masses have already expressed their votes in a different kind of referendum. The millions of oppressed workers who are mobilizing today have already expressed a clear opinion about the dictatorship, and in their confrontations with it have given the proof that this government and these institutions cannot serve as a bridge to democracy. Democracy will have to be won by demonstrations in the streets and by the mobilization of the masses.

Q. Who will be able to vote? Will the vote be restricted to heads of families or some such category?

A. No, all citizens twenty-one years of age and over will be able to vote. The problem is the referendum as such, not who can vote. This is no different from the most recent referendums. Earlier, only heads of families could vote, but that changed some time ago.

Anyway, in the municipal elections where everyone could vote, only a minority of the government was elected. The majority was appointed by the central government.

There may have been some more restrictions on women voters before, I am not exactly sure.

So, the referendum, which attempts to show a popular consultation, avoids the main question of how decisions should be made, who should make them, and how the people can democratically decide what institutions should form the state apparatus.

That underlines the importance of the proposal for a freely elected constituent assembly with full freedom for all political parties to propagandize and agitate. This would have to be based on the destruction of the basic organizations and institutions of Francoism, because their repressive nature prevents any degree of freedom.

This is a battle the masses will have to see is necessary, because the logic and evolution of Francoism itself does not allow for any concession of this kind. It is the battle that has taken form in the recent

struggles, including the huge general strikes.

Q. What about the call for a republic?

A. Clearly, we are for a republic as a more democratic form of government



ARIAS NAVARRO

against any kind of maintenance of the king by either divine or bloodright. The republic is the most democratic form possible for a bourgeois regime, but the slogan for a republic is not now in the forefront. The question is not: republic or monarchy? It is rather who should decide and what is the most democratic way in which they should make the decision.

The SP and the CP both talk about a republic, especially the SP. An editorial in the latest UGT internal bulletin centers on the question of the republic. This is their public position. But given the alliances they have formed with certain bourgeois sectors, they leave aside the problem of building a basis for a constituent assembly.

The Christian Democrats also talk about a more democratic referendum for a constituent assembly. This is all right on the face of it, but the problem is that the radical democracy calls for settling constitutional questions by plebiscites and referendums that are in the Francoist tradition and represent antidemocratic forms.

Q. So you think the central demand to be raised is the call for a constituent assembly that is freely elected?

A. Regarding the referendum, we say:

Vote against the law of succession, against the monarchy, and concretely, if that question appears, for the republic as a superior kind of regime. But we oppose the referendum as an entirely false consultation. However, there is a need for true popular participation and this poses the need for a constituent assembly.

Q. The proposed constituent assembly is on the scale of the Spanish state as a whole. What relation does this demand have with the Catalan and other national struggles in Spain?

A. Francoist oppression has made the national struggle center against Francoism. Old-timers in Barcelona still remember when, following the civil war, the walls of Barcelona were painted with the message: "Dogs, Speak the Language of the Empire."

The struggle against Francoism and for national freedom is of first importance for the oppressed nationalities.

All the nationalities should be able to decide on their own specifically national questions, especially on whether to maintain relations with the Spanish state. This involves the right to separation, which is in the tradition of revolutionary democracy.

But what is the most democratic way the Catalan or Basque masses can decide the future of their nations? It is by means of a national constituent assembly. We call for a federalized state with full autonomy for the nationalities, but in a union freely decided upon with the participation of all the peoples involved.

Q. Is the demand for a constituent assembly popular among the masses now, or does the majority seem to favor more limited governmental demands such as a democratic monarchy, the proposed reforms, and so forth?

A. The questions that get more attention by the masses now are freedom of association, freedom for political prisoners, freedom for all parties, and amnesty. These are at the fore in all the current demonstrations and struggles.

But these demands represent the will of the masses to participate and make their weight felt on all questions relating to the state.

This is made clear by the new upsurge of the national struggles as one of the key aspects of the mobilizations that have been taking place. Especially in the Basque Country and also in Catalonia.

The question of how to decide what kind of state is required is also being posed in general. The bourgeoisie itself talks a lot about constitutional problems. And even factory committees have taken votes on governmental proposals—for example, proposals for coalition governments, which were introduced by the reformist

parties that are in alliance with the bourgeoisie.

Q. What kind of coalition governments?

A. The strategy of the democratic bourgeoisie, and of the whole democratic left who see that it is absolutely impossible in the long run to maintain the Francoist government in face of the mass struggles, is to give the impression that they are taking their distance from Francoism and are defenders of democratic rights against Francoism.

But, because of the panic they feel when the masses are in the streets, they try to get agreements with sectors of the regime and oblige the workers parties with which they have formed such broad groups as the "Democratic Coalition"³ to work for what they call a "ruptura pactada [negotiated break]." That is, to win over some Francoist groups by means of dialogue and agreement.

They call for establishment of democratic rights, very restricted of course, but different from Francoism. They see this as a viable solution to the problem of pacifying the masses. But this is clearly designed to prevent the masses from taking their own actions. They are trying to achieve this "break" through a dialogue with the more open-minded Francoist groups.

Q. Does the coalition mean a coalition of the Francoist groups with formations like the "Junta Democrática"?

A. Exactly, a coalition into which sectors of Francoism can enter and which can also include the major working-class parties, the CP and SP.

Q. What kind of government do you propose to resolve the crisis?

A. Our position is against a coalition government in alliance with sectors of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat will have to gain a position of dominance in the struggle and take the power in its hands to form a workers government composed of the working-class organizations, a government free of Francoism and the bourgeoisie. And we will fight for such a government to guarantee the convocation of a constituent assembly and make the necessary concessions to the needs of the masses. It would be a provisional government.

Q. This would also require the total defeat of Francoism?

3. "Coordinación Democrática," the body resulting from a fusion of the Junta Democrática (Democratic Junta) and the Convergencia Democrática (Democratic Convergence), the popular-front schemes in which the CP and SP participated, respectively.—IP

A. Yes, it would be a government capable of carrying out the struggle against Francoism to the end, and of convoking a constituent assembly. It would be a provisional government in the sense that it would end with the convocation of a constituent assembly, leaving the final word for the people.

It would be a revolutionary government in the sense that it would be installed by the masses through a general strike and would make no concessions to Francoism or any government of that type.

Q. Is there any chance that a coalition government with some Francoist groups could control the mass movement for a period of time?

A. We already have firm evidence of what the "ruptura pactada" would mean for the masses. Ruiz Giménez, a leader of the Democratic Left, a wing of the Spanish Christian Democracy, has set a condition for entry into the Democratic Coalition: All decisions must be agreed upon unanimously.

When a reporter asked him why he imposed this condition, he said it was necessary to prevent decisions from being made in the streets, something the government would consider provocative.

There is already clear proof of how these unanimous decisions work. A demonstration for amnesty was called in Madrid on April 3; the government prohibited it. So Ruiz Giménez made a statement that the demonstration would not take place because it would be a provocation.

Despite the calling off of the demonstration, 30,000 persons appeared. Obviously, these 30,000 demonstrators didn't think the same way as Ruiz Giménez. They believed that such "provocation" was the only way to win amnesty.

The line of negotiating with the government represents an attempt to have the workers parties in the coalition, the CP and SP, use their influence to keep the masses from participating in the struggles.

On other issues, the Coalition has little appeal to the masses. It does not take a position on the current workers struggles, nor on the national question. Nor does it call for the elimination of the government's repressive bodies, a demand that has been almost as central as the call for amnesty in all the demonstrations that have occurred in the last three months. Every person, young or old, who participated in these demonstrations recognizes the repressive forces as enemy forces whose retention could only prevent the winning of freedom.

Finally, their formula for a government leaves all the power in the hands of the Francoist groups with which they can negotiate. It would be an alliance of the workers parties with these groups, with the workers parties subordinated to the interests of the Francoists.

Q. What is happening with the CNS⁴ and the workers commissions? What about the UGT congress now legally taking place in Madrid? Does this mean that the UGT may become an important factor in the labor movement?

A. The workers commissions were formed in direct opposition to the vertical union, the CNS, and all it represents as an antiworker, government-operated union based on the denial of any union rights or freedoms, such as the right to strike.

The working class organized its own illegal factory assemblies and carried out strikes, which are still illegal, against the opposition of the CNS.

Despite the fact that so far this year there have been four million workers on strike, every strike was illegal.

The workers also created a stable organization that unites all the most advanced workers in defense of their immediate demands. This is the movement that came out of the workers commissions and that forced the various parties, especially the CP, to drop their own little clandestine unions and help build a movement out of the workers commissions. This movement played a major role in the huge 1964-66 mobilizations.

But because of the legalistic line imposed by the CP, the movement suffered a great defeat in 1966, with the imprisonment of its best leaders and cruel repression.

This led several left organizations to the conclusion that given the bureaucratic control by the CP, they would have to form different, independent, workers commissions. This move weakened the workers commissions even more.

But despite all this, the workers commissions continue today as a democratic, unifying movement. However, during the last CNS elections the CP, by presenting its candidates for election as CNS representatives, brought about a situation that seriously damaged the workers commissions on the rank-and-file level, transforming them into coordinating committees in each province. These bodies are very poorly organized at the factory level because the CP threw everything it had into work inside the CNS.

This left the workers commissions very weak. But, the proletariat does not easily give up an organization it has formed, that is part of its tradition, and that has led some of its greatest struggles. One of the major slogans in the workers struggles taking place today is, "Long live the workers commissions."

In fact, to speak in the name of a workers commission at any factory assem-

4. Central Nacional Sindicalista (National Federation of Syndicates), the Falangist version of a trade union.—IP

bly today guarantees that you will get a great ovation.

Despite the CP's line that the workers commissions should be no more than a vague movement, rank-and-file commissions again arose during the recent mobilizations. This was the case in Madrid during and after the January strikes. The CP was forced to enter to retain its domination but did so against its official line, which is not in favor of building the workers commissions.

These new commissions have won a certain de facto legality. In Madrid they are meeting in the CNS headquarters, taking them over and using them as legal cover. There are days when the headquarters are closed down by the government, but this depends completely on the relationship of forces at the moment. They have been able to hold semilegal congresses where the police would "not know" the exact meeting place beforehand, but on the following day all the newspapers would report that a congress had taken place, giving the names of the leaders, who were not even then arrested.

So the situation of the workers commissions is confused. There is a profound tendency in the proletariat to form workers commissions, and they arise spontaneously in the factory. They are still very weakly structured, however, especially because of the CP's line to work through the CNS.

The CP said that by starting with the election of the lower delegates to the CNS, we have to begin the construction of a true working-class union, reforming the CNS and throwing out the officeholders. As a result of the recent mobilizations, they have changed their tune a bit. The CP now says the CNS cannot be reformed and has to be destroyed, but that we have to use the posts now held in the CNS at the lower level to win over sectors of the CNS bureaucracy in order to build a new union. Although in practice they continue to try to reform the CNS, they are forced to cover themselves with statements to the contrary.

Now the SP has brought out the UGT, which is basically dominated by the SP. The UGT has taken a radical line against the CNS, supporting the boycott of its elections last summer as a correct demand. They criticize the CP for the pact it has established with the CNS hierarchy and for the disastrous consequences this has had for one struggle after another. They counterpose independent unionism to the CNS, calling for a working-class union built around the UGT; and they speak of a mass, democratic organization based on assemblies, elected commissions, negotiating committees, and so forth. All this is completely outside the CNS framework.

Their line has led to rapid growth recently. The UGT is still a small group, but there are signs of important growth. They are attracting radicalized working-class sectors that are anti-CP—not anti-

communist from the right, but anti-CP because of its compromises, which almost destroyed the most progressive organ of the working class, the workers commissions.

This maneuver is not completely alien to the government's desires. It tends toward giving greater concessions to the UGT than to the workers commissions. The UGT has been allowed to hold its congress just now in the hope of creating a separate force and sowing divisions in the workers movement.

Leaving aside what may be the government's intentions, we view the fact that a workers union can meet as an important step forward and as a victory for free unionism.

The UGT is an independent union. The problem is that its line, which is basically correct regarding the CNS, does not require the formation of a new organization to carry it out.

Instead of building a union that could divide the working class, they should be fighting along with us inside the workers commissions. These represent an organization with a much longer and stronger tradition among the proletariat.

We call on the workers commissions to join together in a trade-union constituent assembly that should include the UGT and other, even smaller, organizations.

But a union constituent assembly can't be held now because of the CP's alliance with the CNS hierarchy. This gives ammunition to the UGT against unification, since it can correctly accuse the CP of betraying the line of working-class independence. And the UGT uses this correct criticism to build its own divisionist organization.

We call for staying in the workers commissions and building them as an independent organization, boycotting the CNS, pressing for the democratic organization of the masses, and beginning to act as a union by taking advantage of the de facto semilegality they hold.

We also call for coordination at all levels between the workers commissions and the UGT to fight for immediate demands.

Some small steps have been taken toward this coordination in Vizcaya and Zaragoza.

The workers commissions still have a relatively strong structure in Navarra and in the Basque Country in general. There has been significant growth in Madrid and Barcelona, and in other places there are sectors that are beginning to organize on a practical level.

Q. What is your attitude toward working in the UGT in places where it exists?

A. In areas where the UGT has strength our members function inside the UGT, defending the union as such. And, just as we fight within the workers commissions for the line of class independence from the

CNS, we fight in the UGT for the line of unification with the workers commissions. We think the UGT could be an important component of a union constituent assembly.

I think the UGT is going to grow as a centralized union organization. It is still very small, but because of its line against the CNS, it can be much more acceptable to the working masses and is much more in touch with their needs and desires.

Q. Some members of illegal political groups have publicly announced their affiliation and function as public spokespersons for their groups. Is such a step possible for smaller illegal political groups?

A. The general situation makes it both possible and obligatory for the various parties on the left to have their public spokespersons. The bourgeois parties have much better opportunities than we do, and the SP, as a workers party, has more openings. But the government has not been able to prevent the public appearance of CP members either. They count on their great prestige among the masses and on international pressures to back them up.

The opening that has been forced by the masses must be utilized by the different working-class parties, including even the smallest ones.

Although these small parties run greater risks than the bigger ones, because they don't have the same base and can't count on strong international pressure in their favor, they should come out publicly.

The situation is contradictory. Even Camacho,⁵ who since his release from prison has been arrested twice and is now in jail, has been able to give many public conferences at certain times without being arrested by the dictatorship.

It's a risk that must be run in order to publicly present the position of revolutionary socialism.

Q. Could a public spokesperson for a smaller organization like the Liga Comunista get publicity and get a hearing for its point of view by calling press conferences?

A. Yes, it is possible, if the language used is properly guarded so as not to endanger the reporters or periodicals that print the statements.

The opportunities are good because of the opposition by reporters and periodicals to the lack of freedom of information. They are sympathetic to the need for small groups to make their positions public. The possibilities are also limited, of course, but the risk is necessary. □

5. Marcelino Camacho, the best-known leader of the workers commissions.—IP

The Student Movement Under the Dictatorship and Today

[The following interview with two members of a newly formed Portuguese Trotskyist youth group, Grupos de Acção Socialista (Socialist Action Groups), was obtained in Lisbon April 19 by Joanna Rossi.]

[Both of the students interviewed began their political activity several years ago, under the Caetano dictatorship. Maria de Santos, a seventeen-year-old high-school student, was arrested at the age of fourteen for her political activity. Carlos Almeida, a twenty-year-old student at the University of Lisbon, was arrested at age eighteen for his political opposition to the regime.]

* * *

Question. Was there any political activity in the high schools and universities prior to the 1974 coup that overthrew the Caetano dictatorship?

Almeida. Yes, very much. There was a large antifascist sentiment among the students. The student movement was massive. Even before the coup, the university walls were covered with slogans by the left organizations. Usually a lot of these were pretty ultraleft. It was also not unusual to have meetings of up to 5,000 students.

De Santos. There was no mass movement in the high schools in the same way as in the universities. There were mass struggles around specific incidents in certain schools, but the protests were more fragmented and difficult to organize.

Q. What issues did the protests revolve around?

Almeida. Against exams, for democratic rights—the right to hold meetings and not be repressed. And there was the mass antifascist sentiment.

Q. What about opposition to the colonial wars?

De Santos. Yes, that too. That was perhaps the second most important aspect, the antiwar sentiment. But this activity was more clandestine than the struggles around democratic rights.

Almeida. There were big fights and heavy repression.

Q. Tell me about this.

Almeida. The police and the PIDE [Policia Internacional e de Defesa do

Estado—International State Security Police] would often go into the universities and try to stop meetings from taking place. Students were often violently attacked. They would rebel against this. The repression was very severe. Sometimes the cops would use guns and dogs to break up meetings. Sometimes students were killed. Special cops, provocateurs, were sent to try to infiltrate the student movement.

Q. Can you describe one of the meetings?

Almeida. In 1972 a meeting was held in the Economics Department at Lisbon University. Students discovered that there was a PIDE agent in the meeting and they wanted to kick him out. But several more PIDEs came and shot into the crowd. Ribeiro Santos, a member of the Maoist MRPP [Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party], was killed. Over 5,000 people came to his funeral, and there, too, there were fights with the police.

De Santos. In December 1973 a high-school meeting was held. It was supposed to be for all high schools, on repression or some similar topic. About 200 of us went to the university for the meeting. We were going to meet in the Economics Department, but the police were there, so we went to Medicine.

But the police surrounded the building. There was confusion. Some people left, but some Maoist students wanted to continue the meeting because they thought they could win the vote. The majority of the students didn't get out. The police came into the buildings—upstairs, downstairs, in the corridors, with guns, of course. They arrested about 150 persons.

Q. Was that common?

De Santos. Not really. Other times they would usually just arrest certain individuals. This was the first time there were mass arrests in the high-school movement.

Q. What happened then?

Almeida. They took everyone to a jail in downtown Lisbon. Some were taken to Caxias, the main PIDE prison. No one was tortured. We were mainly young people and they were trying to frighten us. They shaved off the guys' hair—real close to the head—to brand them, so everyone would know they'd been arrested by the police.

De Santos. But they didn't cut our hair. Everyone was held for one night. And then we were subjected to a sort of disciplinary process. Those who could not explain why they had been at the meeting were to be expelled from high school.

Almeida. So our parents had to come in and say what good kids we were and that sort of thing.

Q. What organizations or political tendencies were active then?

Almeida. In the universities there were associations of students in the various faculties, all controlled by the left organizations. The associations were only semilegal and were not supposed to be political bodies at all. They held public elections, but the censorship didn't allow them to publish political views in newspapers.

The left organizations would distribute lots and lots of leaflets to get their views known. The main political tendencies formed these associations on a more or less apolitical basis, partly because of the repression, but also because they wanted to limit the political character of the associations.

Q. What political tendencies were active?

Almeida. The main ones were the Communist party and different Maoist groups. Smaller currents were the LCI [Liga Comunista Internacionalista—Internationalist Communist League, Portuguese sympathizing organization of the Fourth International] and the group that later became the MES [Movimento de Esquerda Socialista—Movement of the Socialist Left]. These last two advocated a political character for the associations. Only the CP and the Maoists had any real underground apparatus at that time.

Q. What about the Socialist party?

Almeida. They had no intervention. They were not a recognized tendency.

Q. And in the high schools?

De Santos. It was more complicated there. There was no association movement. No legal work at all. The CP was strong. There was also a Trotskyist grouping called Groups of Action, whose leading militants later helped form the PRT [Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores—Revolutionary Workers party]. Until recently we were members of this latter

group. The LCI had a small intervention and so did the Maoists.

Q. What did the Groups of Action do?

Almeida. A group of militants would enter a high school wearing nylon stockings over their heads. They would paint slogans on the walls or make a two- to three-minute speech, hand out some leaflets, and then leave really fast.

Q. What happened after April 25, 1974?

Almeida. The reactionary teachers were immediately purged, both in the high schools and universities. Also the majority of the administration in the universities. There was a complete lack of authority or control by the bourgeoisie. New teachers came in, but gradually, over a time, and exclusively from the left organizations. Everyone was marching in the streets those days. Every high school had general assemblies with thousands of students. Sometimes almost the entire school would come. There were discussions against fascism, directed against the PIDE and the reactionary teachers.

De Santos. In the high schools there was also the question of the right to form associations. But right after the coup, all classes ended in the schools. There was nobody there. People were always in discussion. There was no time to go to class. There was a massive strike, a completely spontaneous movement against holding exams. The CP opposed this movement. But it could not be stopped. There were no exams that year. In fact, there were no classes at all until the next school year. We called it a "radical break."

Q. What political issues came to the fore?

Almeida. The central issue of mobilization in the universities has been against the institution of "serviço cívico" [civic-service work]. After the 1974 coup many students attempted to get into the universities. In Lisbon alone, about 20,000 students applied, and that was perhaps double the number of the year before.

The government refused to admit them. Instead, the Ministry of Education tried, together with the MFA [Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement] and a CP-controlled student front, to establish a year of civic service for these people. They said it was a great progressive move, to go out and work with the people. Some of them compared it to what they called a "serve the people" movement of the Cuban revolution.

Q. You didn't see it that way?

Almeida. No! It was a move both to keep students out of the university for a year

and to keep them from applying for jobs. They were supposed to "work" for a year—but with no, or very low, pay. It was an attempt to neutralize the student movement.

Q. And the CP supported this measure?

Almeida. Not only supported—they were its leading advocates. It greatly discredited them in the student movement. Students were almost unanimously opposed to the move. There were demonstrations against it. Often there were confrontations—some between Maoists who opposed the measure and the CP, which was pushing it. Copcon [Comando Operacional do Continente—Mainland Portugal Operations Command] was used against the Faculty of Law, which was controlled by the MRPP at the time. They occupied the faculty because of the resistance there to the law. The CP supported this occupation by Copcon.

Q. Were there different issues in the high schools?

De Santos. After October 1974 when classes began again, student control of the schools became a big issue. In all schools executive councils were set up composed of students, teachers, and support staff. In some schools students formed the majority on these bodies, in others they were equal in number to the teachers. These bodies were accountable to decision-making general assemblies of all students and teachers. In some schools these assemblies even took over control of course content.

Q. Does this still exist?

De Santos. Not in the same way. Last year the minister of education sent a letter recognizing the executive councils, but at the same time taking away any powers from the general assemblies. Before the coup there were no student councils, just the headmasters, who were openly known to collaborate with the PIDE. They made the decisions. So gaining these bodies was a good step.

But now the minister of education is trying to take even more control away from the executive councils. They want the Ministry to appoint some of its members, with only the remainder elected by the students. In addition, the executive councils are no longer accountable to the general assemblies. Often now these bodies are acting more as units of administration rather than forms to organize students.

Q. So it's been an uneven process?

Almeida. Definitely. It was really the relationship of forces in the broader class struggle that allowed the initial gains. The highest level of mobilization was in the first months. It peaked and then went

down. It was totally affected by the general course of evolution of the wider struggle in Portugal.

Q. What factors caused the decline?

Almeida. First it was shaped by the general situation in the country. The working class did not show a real alternative. The student movement was affected by the division in the working class, the struggle between the major parties. The CP and SP did not support the student struggles. For example, they participated in governments that were working against student control in the schools.

Within the student movement, the left organizations were involved in support to the bourgeois governments and tried in a bureaucratic way to make students support the bourgeois selective control of admissions into the universities. I mean, they supported "serviço cívico." This was mainly the CP.

Also, the main tendencies in the student movement used undemocratic and bureaucratic methods, and were incredibly sectarian. There were big fights between tendencies. No one had any success in unifying the movement. It became dispersed and divided. There was no revolutionary-socialist grouping big enough to change this.

Q. What about right now?

Almeida. At the moment there is no central student organization to organize and centralize struggles. For the first time ever, the bourgeois parties are openly functioning in the schools. Right-wing parties run candidates in school elections. Some of the individuals even openly say they support the ELP [Exército de Libertação Portuguesa—Portuguese Liberation Army, an ultraright formation].

But this depends on the general situation. It could turn very much to the left again. It's always open to change.

Q. What do you think the fights will be around in the future?

Almeida. We will have to counter this offensive of the bourgeois government against the conquests that have been won, fight the moves against leftist teachers and student control. They also want to close some schools. The main fight will be to defend the gains, and to try in the process to extend the struggles and organizations to mass proportions.

De Santos. In the high schools we're calling for student associations, for the right to have political clubs. They exist in some schools, but not all. And we must build a revolutionary student movement that brings the student masses into the struggle for socialism that is taking place in society as a whole. □

National Union of Students Debates Key Issues in Britain

By Skip Ball

LONDON—The so-called Broad Left alliance of Communist party students and left-leaning Labour party members retained their grip on the leadership of Britain's 770,000-strong National Union of Students (NUS) at its national conference in April. They were able to do so, however, only by allying with the Federation of Conservative Students against growing left-wing opposition.

About 1,200 delegates and observers attended the week-long conference, held in Llandudno, Wales. At least 335 universities and colleges were represented. Besides electing next year's Executive, the conference discussed the outgoing Executive's report on NUS activities and debated what to do about the issues facing students.

Despite their success in winning leadership elections, the Broad Left lost many votes on key issues. In these cases, its more radical supporters deserted the Broad Left and backed the action proposals of its opponents on the left.

The most significant defeat for the Broad Left leaders came when they proposed that the NUS adopt the economic program of the parliamentary Labour party *Tribune* group. This program hinges on a call to support British industry through import controls—the same protectionist policy followed by the capitalists during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Delegates at the conference rejected this proposal that they line up with the industrialists on a program of British nationalism. Instead, they adopted a motion put forward by the International Socialists and the International Marxist Group (IMG—British section of the Fourth International) to fight the attempts to make the working class pay for the economic crisis. The motion called for student actions in solidarity with the May 26 day of action to fight unemployment, called by the recent Assembly on Unemployment. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 26, p. 680.)

In an editorial on the conference, the April 16 issue of the *Times Higher Education Supplement* argued against such involvement in political action. "The NUS leadership," it said, "will be judged on its success in protecting its members' day-to-day interests, not on the correctness of its political perspective."

But the political issues confronting the NUS are inescapable. The economic policy of the Labour government includes vicious cutbacks in higher education and in the living standard of students. One-quarter of

all cuts in government expenditures proposed under Labour's austerity program are to hit education.

In addition, foreign students have come under attack. Foreign students are currently one-fourth of the student body in London and 17 percent of the total student population. When fee increases already on the books go into effect, they will face fees of £416 [£1=US\$1.83], more than double those paid by British students.

Another target of the government offensive is student grants. When the grant system was introduced in 1962, it enabled many students from working-class backgrounds to go on to higher education. However, inflation has so eaten into the grant that the current out-of-London grant of £740 is £400 below the real level of the 1962 grant. Moreover, between 40 and 60 percent of all students have their grants further reduced by a "means test," which calls for but does not require a parental contribution to make up the difference.

Unemployment is another problem facing students. Many will go not into jobs but onto dole queues when they graduate. There may be as many as 15,000 unemployed teachers next year alone.

In the meantime, the government has introduced severe restrictions on civil liberties, stepped up its imperialist intervention in Ireland, and threatened to restrict further the right of women to abortion.

But the Broad Left leadership was not interested in leading any campaign on these issues. They simply wanted to win posts in the NUS once again.

The reason was explained in the April 4 London *Times*: "Student's leaders still have the compensation of secretarial help, entertainment expenses and the knowledge that a top post in the union is often a good starting point for a successful career. Recent presidents of the union have been . . . Mr. Jack Straw who was one of [Labour Minister] Barbara Castle's political advisers and a deputy leader of the Inner London Education Authority and Mr. Digby Jacks and Mr. John Randall, who both have jobs in the trade union movement."

Salaries for full-time NUS officers were cut at this conference, and a move to have such salaries correspond to the amount paid to students living on grants was narrowly defeated.

Campaigning as "militants not careerists," candidates of the IMG contested

every post. The IMG platform centered on the struggle to defend foreign students, the fight for increased grant payments—with further increases as necessary to keep up with the pace of inflation—and the struggle for women's rights.

The IMG also called for an extension of democracy in the NUS by giving more power to Union General Meetings, which are open mass meetings of local student unions. In addition, it backed affiliation of the NUS to the Trades Union Congress and the Labour party, and called for the NUS to support the struggle for democratic rights in the USSR and other Stalinized workers states.

The Broad Left has proved unable to lead active struggles. The NUS did call a demonstration for February 27 against cuts in education and for increased grants, but the Broad Left leadership did little to build it. Student outrage at the massive education cutbacks, which were announced by the government only a week before the action, led to a turnout of 25,000.

A few weeks later a demonstration of more than 2,000 was held against the attacks on foreign students. The Broad Left leaders involved in the campaign opposed discussing the issue at the NUS conference, but a decision to build a campaign to defend foreign students was adopted in spite of the Broad Left.

Dissatisfaction with the Broad Left leadership was widespread. Feminist activists joined with the IMG in denouncing the Executive's failure to endorse the International Women's Day march. A motion of censure on this issue was narrowly defeated. The conference rejected the Executive's report on southern Africa because of its failure to support demonstrations around Angola or to denounce Labour government collaboration with South Africa.

The Broad Left has refused to initiate any action on Ireland. In the past, this stance has been denounced by the IMG and the Troops Out Movement, and defended by Broad Left supporters from Northern Ireland. This time, the former Broad Left supporters from Northern Ireland walked out of the conference when the Executive failed to urge a discussion on the situation there.

The rejection of the Broad Left by many students has resulted in a double-edged development. On the one hand, the Tories won a place on the Executive for the first time since the 1960s. On the other hand, new support has developed for the tenden-

cies to the left of the current leadership. This was illustrated in the election for national secretary. IMG candidate Valerie Coultas, a member of the NUS Executive,

came in second with 298 votes against the CP-backed candidate, Sue Slipman, who won 415 votes in the final tally. Each delegate vote represents 1,000 students,

and delegates vote on a preference ballot with votes for lower-ranking candidates being redistributed. Slipman won only with the transfer of Tory votes. □

10,000 March in London

British Women Answer Attacks on Right to Abortion

By Phyllis Hamilton

LONDON—Ten thousand persons marched here April 3 in a demonstration organized by the National Abortion Campaign (NAC). The march was in support of the right of women to choose abortion and called for free abortion on demand. It urged opposition to the Parliamentary Select Committee (SC) set up in connection with the restrictive Abortion (Amendment) Bill proposed by Labour MP James White.

The demonstration was supported by women's groups, the National Union of Students, and branches of such unions as the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, the National Union of Teachers, the National Association of Local Government Officers, and the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. The number of trade unions represented showed that NAC is beginning to take the abortion issue into the labour movement.

Labour party branches were also represented on the march, as were almost all the groups on the left—Communist party, International Socialists, International Marxist Group, Revolutionary Communist Group, League for Socialist Action, and the Workers Socialist League.

A major focus of the action was the attack on the rights of women launched by the SC. This committee was set up in February 1975 with a majority of eight of its fourteen members opposed to abortion.

The anti-abortionists argued that the relatively liberal 1967 Abortion Act was being "abused"—that some doctors were making excessive profits from abortion, for example. In fact, there is little evidence of this, and any abuses that do exist can easily be corrected by making abortion freely available to all women on request through the National Health Service.

Almost all the evidence heard by the SC, including that provided by the government department which deals with abortion, favored retention of the liberalized law. But the SC majority ignored the weight of the evidence and recommended further restrictions on the already limited right to abortion.

These restrictions were accepted by the minority, which argued that acceptance of the restrictions was the way to prevent

even tighter controls from being enacted. But this move merely gave credibility to the claims about "abuses," and enabled the opponents of the right of women to control their own bodies to press their offensive further.

The SC asked to be reconstituted in the new parliamentary session. The members of the committee who favor the right of women to choose abortion did not dissent from this request, although they later began to fight, together with NAC, against the reconstitution.

However, the lack of a consistent campaign inside and outside of Parliament led to a vote February 9 in which a majority of about 150 decided to reconstitute the SC. The six minority members of the SC then resigned from the committee, urging that no members of Parliament in favor of women's right to abortion replace them on the committee.

Meanwhile, the "rump" SC, composed entirely of opponents of the right to abortion, continues to meet. It takes evidence from bodies such as the Catholic

church. In line with the stand of the SC members who resigned, NAC and other supporters of the right to abortion have decided to boycott the SC.

The successful demonstration on April 3 was part of NAC's response to the SC. The next stage in its campaign will be a tribunal on abortion rights to be held at the end of this year. Dodie Wepler, a member of the NAC Steering Committee and of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International, explained the role of the tribunal in the April 1 issue of *Red Weekly*:

The Select Committee are a rump of staunch anti-abortionists sitting in smoke-filled rooms in the House of Commons with the fate of hundreds of thousands of women in their hands.

The Tribunal will be very different. It will be an opportunity to hear evidence collected over the next six months and to map out plans for taking the campaign forward on the basis of the experience in collecting it.

... the Tribunal ... will try to reach thousands of people who are concerned about the increasing restrictions on women's abortion rights. □

Women in Britain Plan Campaign for Rights

By Jo O'Brien

LONDON—The first national conference of the Working Women's Charter Campaign took place April 10 and 11 in Coventry. The Working Women's Charter is a series of demands concerning job and educational opportunities for women, equal pay, the right to free contraception and abortion, provision of nursery facilities, and greater opportunities for women to participate in trade unions.

The 250 delegates at the conference represented seventeen Working Women's Charter groups, fifteen women's liberation groups, four branches of the National Abortion Campaign, and branches of eleven trade unions. In addition, a number of branches of the Labour party and its youth group, the Young Socialists, were represented, along with some trades councils.

The International Marxist Group, Brit-

ish section of the Fourth International, actively participated in the organization of the conference.

The need to amend the charter was discussed at the conference in light of the attempts of the Labour government to defuse the struggles of women. The Labour government has passed the Equal Pay and the Sex Discrimination acts, neither of which adequately assists women in overcoming the discrimination they suffer.

The conference participants decided that a discussion should be opened on the best way to amend the charter. Also, a national structure was adopted and a mobilizing committee was proposed for carrying out action initiatives. The conference also agreed that a newspaper should be established to build the work of the charter campaign. □

UN Commission Scores Violations of Human Rights in Chile

By Judy White

The accounts of torture "stagger the imagination."

That was how the Ad Hoc Working Group of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights¹ described the testimony it collected on violations of human rights in Chile between September 1975 and January 30, 1976.

In a report issued February 4, the commission published the findings of its investigation into torture, arrests, and political repression in Chile.

The investigators' conclusion, repeated several times throughout the report, was straightforward: There has been "no substantial change" in the systematic violations of human rights in Chile that began with the September 1973 military coup.

The investigators estimated that between 1,000 and 2,000 persons who were arrested have disappeared. They detailed six cases they considered "illustrations of a particularly disturbing situation from the point of view of human rights."

Among them was the case of Alphonse-René Chanfreau:

Alphonse-René Chanfreau, son of a French father and a Chilean mother, was arrested in July 1974 at his home in Santiago. His wife Erika and her baby were taken by a DINA [Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional—National Intelligence Bureau] inspector to the home of her parents. The following morning she was taken away by security forces to an ordinary-looking house near a church. She joined about 60 other people, among them her husband, being held in a single room. All were blindfolded, and they were watched by two armed guards. Mrs. Chanfreau was not interrogated herself and some time later she was allowed to say good-bye to her husband. Three days after she was transferred to the women's section of the Tres Alamos prison where some 100 women were being held. On 7 November, following the intervention of the French Government, she was able to leave Chile, but was unable to obtain any official news about her husband. According to the international press, all public and private inquiries received one and the same answer: "We know nothing of

Mr. Chanfreau. He has never been in our custody. His name cannot be found in any of our prison records."

In the section on arrests, the report stated that since the end of August 1975 "arbitrary arrests and detentions in Chile do not appear to have subsided to any considerable extent." It said that 90,000 to 180,000 persons are believed to have been arrested for political reasons since the coup, that more than 3,000 political prisoners have been executed without trial or died of torture, and that about 50,000 persons have left the country to avoid political persecution.

The investigators found that "contrary to what has been repeatedly stated by the Chilean authorities, torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment continue in Chile on a large scale."

They listed more than twenty-five torture centers, not mentioned in previous Human Rights Commission reports, and cited the forms of torture most widely used in Chile at present:

- Burial in sand, leaving only the head free and exposed to the sun.
- The "telephone"—hitting both ears of the victim at the same time.
- Repeatedly throwing the victim to the ground from a height of about nine feet.
- Stretching on a grating with each limb tied and pulled in a different direction.
- Throwing a handcuffed victim into a well, bringing him or her out, and repeating the operation several times.
- "Lora"—an electrified metal bed on which the victim is "massaged."
- Driving over the victim with a small truck, first over the feet, then over the legs, and finally over the body.
- Cuts with razor blades all over the body.
- Applying electricity to open wounds.
- Using animals in the sexual abuse of women—including the introduction of mice into the vagina and the use of dogs.

Twenty-five eyewitness accounts of such torture are cited. These cases, the investigators said, were simply a "representative selection" of the testimony they had gathered. The following is one example:

An unmarried student stated that she was arrested by four armed civilians in her home at 3 a.m. Her detention lasted two months. She was blindfolded, stripped and searched, including the vagina; interrogation started the same night. She was put into a room with 30 women and two young children next to the torture room. The conditions were very bad; there was no water

and they were not allowed to go to the toilet so the smell was terrible. Their hunger was so great that one woman tried to eat the cement from the walls. This witness was submitted six or seven times to the electric shock treatment, particularly to the nipples and vagina, which lasted from half an hour to four hours. She was raped many times and at one time tied naked and blindfolded to a narrow table and people came into the room and made fun of her, smacked her and pinched her breasts. The ringleader said "Volodia" would be coming into the act to do his bit and then there was a dog on her body; it licked her all over and showed maximum excitement—this greatly amused her torturers.

In a section on the situation of women, children, and the family, the Working Group said:

According to the information available to the Group, women suffer gravely from unemployment, because of the general economic situation in the country and in many cases because members of their families are detained. If the woman had been working before the detention, she was very often dismissed. If she was obliged to work as a result of the breadwinner's imprisonment she was unable to find a job, because of the stigma attached to the whole family. Therefore, it was reported that, not being in a position to provide sufficient food and clothing for their children, a considerable number of women have been forced to take to the streets as prostitutes.

The UN inquiry's findings on the treatment of children, especially the children of political prisoners, are particularly illuminating as to the nature of the Pinochet regime. The report said:

The Group has reason to believe that the special hardship conditions suffered by children . . . have not disappeared. The main cause lies in the political persecution of parents or their detention and the resulting poor economic conditions. The number of children who have become orphans since 11 September 1973 is said to run into tens of thousands.

. . . the Group noted that an editorial in *El Mercurio* on 25 June 1975 suggested that 50 percent of Chilean children may be suffering from some degree of undernourishment. In addition, the Group was informed that in the mornings children go from house to house asking for bread and although it is forbidden to beg in the centre of the city, children who are obviously hungry ask for money. Hunger is also driving the children to look for alternatives, such as that adopted by a group of children who had become addicted to the inhalation of neopren, a sort of glue. *El Mercurio* reported on 24 July 1975 that one small boy said "it makes us feel as if we were drunk and it takes away hunger." The effect of this glue is said to be most damaging to the health of children. Some eye-witness accounts were given to the Working Group that on the streets of Santiago famished women and

1. The members of the Ad Hoc Working Group who drafted the report are Ghulam Ali Allana, the Pakistani chairman of the Commission on Human Rights; Ambassador Leopoldo Benites from Ecuador, former president of the UN General Assembly; Abdoulaye Dieye, a member of the Supreme Court of Senegal; Felix Ermacora, a former chairman of the Commission on Human Rights and current member of the Austrian parliament and the European Commission on Human Rights; and M.J.T. Kamara, a social worker from Sierra Leone.

children can be seen searching for food in the garbage.

The Group was also informed that children suffer not only because adult members of their family are detained, but that hundreds of children have themselves been detained (with or without their mothers), sometimes as hostages pending the finding of members of their families, and that some have even been tortured as a means of extracting a confession from their parents. The following evidence was received by the Group. A four-year-old girl was taken with her parents to a torture centre; in front of them she was beaten with a whip and her head was held in a bucket of icy water until she was almost drowned. A boy of eight was hit in front

of his father in the torture room. A woman was raped in front of her six-year-old daughter to compel her to confess; later the girl was stained with cat's blood and taken to her mother in the darkness to make her believe that the child was bleeding. The Group also heard of three boys whose arms and legs were chained so that they had to hop to the lavatory. It was said that children between 12 and 14 years of age detained on political grounds in ordinary gaols had been sexually abused by common criminals.

The junta's views on human rights were frankly expressed by Pinochet during a December 1974 meeting with Lutheran Bishop Helmut Frenz, whose testimony is

included as a supplement to the report.

Upon being presented with voluminous documentation of torture and the "disappearances" of political prisoners, including members of the MIR,² Pinochet accused Frenz and another churchman who was present of being "naïve pastors."

He then commented: "Of course, we have to torture the members of the MIR because without torture they will not speak." □

2. Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

Project to Aid Aché Indians Halted

Anthropologists Tortured in Paraguay

Washington has covered up the threatened annihilation of the Aché Indians in Paraguay and refused to defend arrested and tortured members of the staff of a U.S.-funded project aimed at improving the conditions of the tribe. These disclosures were made by representatives of the International League for Human Rights at a news conference in New York April 5.

The league, which has accreditation with the United Nations as a human-rights organization, said that in December 1975 Miguel Chase Sardi, a prominent Paraguayan anthropologist and head of the Marandu Project, was arrested along with Marilyn Rehnfeldt, Mauricio Schwartzman, Victorio Suárez, and Gloria Estrago—all staff members of the same project.

At least three of the prisoners have been tortured by the police. Chase Sardi was drugged, beaten, and submerged in water. As a result, he suffered a broken rib and has lost some use of his arms. He was not allowed to see a doctor. Another unidentified member of the team was reported in even worse condition.

With the exception of Rehnfeldt, a German citizen, the group remained in prison as of April 5 on charges of "subversion."

Despite the fact that American authorities were notified of the arrests, league spokesman Morris B. Abram said, Washington has continued to depict the Stroessner regime in favorable terms and has supplied it with generous amounts of economic and military aid.

The State Department claims the Marandu Project is an "exclusive Paraguayan responsibility," although its funding came primarily from the Inter-American Foundation, a U.S. government agency.

With the arrests of the staff and the seizure of the project's files and other equipment, the Marandu Project ground to a halt. It was started in mid-1974 following



PARAGUAYAN DICTATOR STROESSNER

international publicity about the conditions faced by the Achés.

The Aché Indians were being enslaved, tortured, and killed on their reservations. Food and medicine were withheld, leading to deaths from starvation and disease. Outside the reservations they were hunted and massacred with the toleration and even encouragement of members of the government and with the aid of the armed forces. Families were split up and the

children sold into slavery and prostitution. Their cultural traditions—including language, traditional music, and religion—were being destroyed.

Professor Richard Arens of Temple University, speaking at the news conference, said the Stroessner regime had reduced the population of the Achés from 10,000 to a few hundred through such practices.

The Marandu Project provided medical care, legal aid, and education to the Achés. Efforts were undertaken to transfer land to traditional Indian communal ownership. Legal action was initiated against those charged with crimes against Indians.

Several organizations—including the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, the International Commission of Jurists, and Amnesty International—have protested the detention of the Marandu staff and the forced termination of the project. □

Sir Harold Wilson— Knight of the Garter

Former British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, the retired leader of the Labour party, will in the future be known as Sir Harold. On June 14 he is to be dubbed a Knight of the Garter by her majesty the queen, in recognition of past services.

Although Wilson said he was "very honoured," other members of the Labour party were not so pleased.

Robert Cryer, a Labour member of Parliament, said, "I would have thought that the business of knights of this and knights of that should not be propped up by leaders and former leaders of the Labour movement."

The Avalanche of Price Increases in Iceland

[Iceland, with its small economy, has the highest rate of inflation of the developed countries. The annual rate has been hovering around 50%. The following article on this question is from the April 9 issue of *Neisti*, the monthly newspaper of the Fylking Byltingarsinnadhra Kommúnista (FBK—Revolutionary Communist League), an Icelandic group that has declared its adherence to the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

What worker believes that the wholesalers, marine outfitters, and manufacturers have fallen on hard times and are "forced" to raise their prices? In *Neisti*, we have pointed out that since 1973, the last year of the fat cows, the wages of workers have fallen proportionately more than the national income. If the capitalists are in as dire straits as they pretend, then they must have starved to death in the good year of 1973 itself!

Neisti likewise foresaw that the capitalists' predictions about inflation would prove to be simply plans for raising prices. What they represented were calculations about how much the tax system should compensate importers and dealers for foreign price rises. There was no nonsense here about "price indexes promoting inflation."

They worked out how much manufacturers and outfitters should be compensated for higher prices of foreign and domestic products. And thus, according to these plans, it was decided how much prices should be raised to compensate the capitalists for wage increases. These price increases did not have to be set by an index or a "cost-of-living-increase threshold."¹ The capitalists have the power to make such adjustments behind the scenes.

"This is no way an inflationary contract," *Vinnan* [Labor] said . . . after the national labor contract was signed.² It is correct that the wage increases should not be exaggerated. But if anything were said about this contract, the first thing should have been that it was an inflationary contract in the true sense. That is, inflation was what they were negotiating about!

Last fall, the Hagstofa [Statistical Bu-

reau] began to issue projections of the rate of inflation. The estimate was a 17% price rise by November 1, if there were no wage increases! Then, when the contract negotiations were coming up, this estimate was reduced. What had to be calculated then were wage increases and suitable compensation for the capitalists. That is, they had to try to arrive at raises and a cost-of-living-increase threshold that would determine a certain division of real income between labor and capital, along with a corresponding share of inflation.

If you take a close look at the raises and the cost-of-living-increase threshold, you will see that both of these were set so that in the following period inflation would eat up wage increases. Thus, Dagsbrun's six-item index [compiled by one of the major unions] showed an increase of 8.7% on March 1. By June 1, the [government's] abridged price index, according to which the cost-of-living threshold is determined, should increase by 9.9%. If the abridged price index does not go over this threshold, then the Dagsbrun six-item index should rise another 6% by July 1. From June 1 to October 1, the abridged index should rise by 5.2%. The figures for October 1, 1976, to February 1, 1977, are 5% and 4.4%.

According to these figures, which were published immediately after the signing of the contract, the real wages of workers should rise between 1 and 4% this year, as compared with last year.

In fact, it is impossible to calculate accurately what this contract means for the real wages of the workers. Differing assumptions about the rate of inflation and how much of this will go uncompensated for because of the decision to reduce the number of items included on the index lead to differing conclusions with respect to real wages.

Immediately after the signing of the national contract, the Fylking distributed a leaflet in which we made an estimate of the trend of buying power according to Dagsbrun's six-item index. We calculated that buying power would remain stable on the same level as this February.

This means that buying power can only decrease as compared with last year. Such in fact is the rate projected in all the plans the capitalists have put forward ever since [Premier] Geir Hallgrímsson's policy speech last fall, which called for holding buying power through 1976 at the level of summer 1975.

The rate of inflation in recent days indicates that we overestimated the prospective buying power. The capitalists intend to exploit to the fullest the opportunity for cutting real wages offered by the new national contract. The ink had hardly

dried on this agreement before there was an avalanche of price rises. Milk rose 34%, butter by 33%, cheese by 30%, heat by 27%, fish by 24%, meat by 24%, coffee by 20%, and so on and so on. In addition, many more price increases can be expected.

Characteristically, the rising prices are for food and public services, which account for a large part of the expenditures of low-wage earners. The expenses of low-wage earners must have risen by more than the 4% that the bourgeois economists claim. It is also notable that tobacco and alcohol have just gone up by 15%. But these items have been removed from the index determining the cost-of-living-increase threshold. So, obviously, just as they did in the previous period, the capitalists intend to exploit fully the provision for removing items from the index.

The leadership of the ASI [Althydhúsamband Islands—National Union of Iceland] remains as confused as ever. On March 25, the central leadership of the ASI issued a statement complaining that price increases had exceeded the "estimates the National Statistical Bureau and the Statistical Bureau of Iceland made in the period preceding the signing of the national contract, and these estimates were among the assumptions on which the agreement was based."

It is rather belated to say that the ASI leadership should learn from experience. The entire press from *Thjodhviljann* [the Communist party paper] to *Visi* and *Dagbladhidh* [aright-wing daily] are churning out phrases about the ASI's "saga of sixty years of struggle" every day. But the ASI leadership has learned nothing from this history.

So, we workers will commemorate ASI's sixtieth anniversary in the proper way, by undertaking an independent working-class struggle. We will take up the struggle against class society and against capitalism. We will reject the ASI leadership's lip service to building a democratic way of

Still Available

Complete Back Files (Unbound) *Intercontinental Press*

1967	42 issues (1,072 pages)	\$25
1968	44 issues (1,176 pages)	\$25
1969	43 issues (1,152 pages)	\$25
1970	43 issues (1,120 pages)	\$25
1971	45 issues (1,128 pages)	\$25
1972	47 issues (1,448 pages)	\$25
1973	46 issues (1,520 pages)	\$25
1974	47 issues (1,888 pages)	\$25
1975	47 issues (1,888 pages)	\$35

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

1. The point at which an increase in the government inflation index puts into effect the automatic cost-of-living increase written into labor contracts.—IP

2. In Scandinavia, where there is for all intents and purposes only one national union federation in each country, the contract for the bulk of the workers is negotiated centrally.—IP

functioning in the Icelandic labor movement.

Now is the time to show the power of the union movement. Not the "power" that sings the praises of the capitalists in *Morgunbladh* and *Visi*, but the power that lies in the united will of the workers who know what they want and are prepared to fight for it.

To accomplish this, we need preparation. This requires the efforts of great numbers of people in the labor movement. The ASI leadership has still not opened any discussion for the congress scheduled for next fall. A few statements are not sufficient to

explain why no new program is being presented. Although it is only half a year till the congress, the leadership has not begun to give an accounting to the organization.

Workers, we cannot trust this leadership. Let's make our own decisions. We demand that the leadership call a meeting to discuss the conditions facing the working class and to discuss the upcoming congress.

Workers! Let's start this discussion in our workplaces. Let's promote democracy in the labor movement. Let's reinforce the strength of labor. □

of their religious beliefs (would be) absolutely intolerable. Even the practice of making reference to one or another religious belief in official documents should be eliminated."

What is involved in the struggle in Lithuania is not simply a question of religious freedom, however, but the question of democratic rights in general. The mass movement for democratic rights—including religious, national, and political freedom—assumes a religious form in Lithuania because the Catholic church is closely bound up with Lithuanian national traditions and provides the most accessible organizational structure for the struggle.

Nevertheless, as *Chronicle of Current Events* No. 36 documents, the purely religious repression is very real and vicious. In a number of cases parents have been declared "unfit" to raise their children because of their religious beliefs.

One mother of three was declared insane and imprisoned in a mental hospital because she refused to educate her children "in an atheist spirit." This woman taught her children to be vegetarians and to observe Saturday as a day of rest, both of which the bureaucrats condemned as "alien to either Catholicism or atheism."

Revolutionists oppose attempts to suppress religion. Marxists have always held that religious superstitions will die out of their own accord as society advances, just as most people no longer believe in witchcraft. But the bureaucrats who control Soviet society cannot allow free religious expression any more than they can allow other types of free expression. The full exercise of such democratic rights could only undermine their rule. □

A Report From 'Chronicle of Current Events'

The Stalinist Suppression of Lithuanian Catholics

By Marilyn Vogt

The Russian samizdat journal *Chronicle of Current Events* first began appearing in April 1968. After issue No. 27, dated October 1972, no new issues circulated for a year and a half as a result of the Stalinist repression in the USSR. In the spring of 1974, however, new issues began to appear, and they have continued appearing roughly on schedule about four times a year.

A recent issue, No. 36, as usual contains a variety of reports from the Soviet Union, including information on various arrests, and news from the prisons and camps where dissidents are confined.

However, a larger portion of the *Chronicle* than customary is devoted to the persecution of those who are practicing religion. This information is included in a section entitled "Persecution of Believers," in the coverage of events in Lithuania, in ongoing reports of persecution of Jews who want to emigrate, and in numerous places throughout the news briefs.

It is clear that the bureaucrats who exercise political control in the Soviet Union view religion as a real threat. This is not because they are "the atheistic minority," as some of the religious samizdat authors claim. Rather it is because religion often means meetings and writings that the bureaucrats cannot control, and like all such activity they cannot control, religion frightens them.

Agents of the bureaucracy carry out regular activity to ensure that religious groups do not "abuse" their rights. Secret-police agents are sent to monitor church services where they note the content of sermons, the size of the congregation, and its composition. Government agents taunt those who are entering and leaving churches and set up roadblocks to discourage attendance at church ceremonies.

Issue No. 36 of the *Chronicle of Current Events* includes a number of reports from the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church (CLCC)*. The *CLCC* first appeared in June 1972, just one month after Romas Kalanta, a nineteen-year-old Lithuanian, burned himself to death.

Kalanta was protesting the lack of political and religious freedom in Lithuania and its national oppression under the rule of the Great Russian bureaucracy. His death sparked massive protests by young Lithuanians.

Nineteen issues of the *CLCC* have since appeared, and judging by its reports and a number of petitions Lithuanians have presented to Soviet party chief Leonid Brezhnev, the opposition sentiment in Lithuania continues to be massive. But those appealing for greater religious freedom are accused of "anti-Soviet activity," and face official persecution.

The Stalinist regime's fear of the growing opposition movement in Lithuania prompted it to launch a crackdown there in November 1973. Clandestinely circulated samizdat literature is usually typewritten, and according to the *CLCC* the secret police have collected samples from every known typewriter in Lithuania since 1973. In addition, there have been thoroughgoing searches for all "unauthorized" literature—religious or otherwise.

In an article in the January 11 *Washington Post*, Richard Krickus said with respect to the Lithuanian movement:

Soviet authorities have used terms such as "fascists" and "enemies of socialism" to describe the Catholic dissidents. The militants, on the other hand, have adopted a policy of attempting to adhere to the letter of Soviet law. The *Chronicle* has even quoted Lenin: "Years ago Lenin wrote that the making of any distinction between the rights granted citizens on the basis

New Support in Fight to Win U.S. Visa for Hugo Blanco

Support for the fight being waged by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) to win a visa for Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco continues to grow.

The March 24-28 national convention of the Latin American Studies Association passed a resolution urging U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi to issue the visa. In its appeal, LASA scored the exclusion of Blanco as a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Accords, the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, and "the spirit of the Bill of Rights on which our nation was founded."

Publishers Weekly, the main trade journal of the American publishing industry, carried a full-page article on the visa fight April 12. The article quoted Edward Shaw, the president of Pathfinder Press—Blanco's American publisher—on one reason why the State Department may be unwilling to have Blanco tour the country. Blanco was to speak on "Latin America: A Continent Without Justice," Shaw said, and no doubt he "would have mentioned the CIA's involvement there."

Behind Moscow's Lies About Angola

By Dick Roberts

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

* * *

The Communist party in the United States has seized on the victory of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) to polemicize against those who disagree with Moscow's line on Angola. This includes a recent series of four articles by Erik Bert in the CP's newspaper the *Daily World*. Bert attempts to show that "the U.S. Trotskyite position [on Angola] has paralleled the policy of U.S. imperialism and of Maoist counterrevolution."

Further, "the Trotskyite line called for the destruction of the MPLA." The charges are completely false.

Bert pretends to base his fabrication on a report given by Tony Thomas to the January 2-4 meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party. But any reader of that report, which was reprinted in *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War*,* will know that Bert is lying.

In the first paragraph of his report, here is what Thomas said about U.S. imperialism: "The Political Committee has proposed that we launch a national campaign against U.S. imperialist involvement in Angola. We want to help stop the intervention of the State Department, the CIA, and the Pentagon in the Angolan civil war. We want to help bring the secret moves of the Ford administration into the open and compel Kissinger and his cohorts to disclose the whole truth about their covert operations in Angola."

To twist the SWP's opposition to U.S. imperialism into a position that is supposed to parallel Washington's, the Stalinists focus on two aspects of the Angolan situation and the SWP's stand on them. One of these aspects is that in the final period of the civil war the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front) and the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the

Total Independence of Angola) were directly aided by U.S. and South African imperialism against the MPLA.

The other aspect is that the SWP did not call for the victory of the MPLA.

Let us take the second first.

The Kremlin provided military support to the MPLA and called for its victory over its nationalist rivals.

It is true that the SWP did not call for an MPLA victory. *The SWP did not call for a victory by the FNLA or UNITA either.* We called for an end to the fratricidal civil war that was taking place between the three groups and for unity in their struggle against foreign imperialism.

Here is how Thomas summarized this position: "In our opinion, no political support ought to be given to any of these three nationalist groups. The victory of any one of the three offers no special promise of advancing the Angolan masses toward socialism or toward greater independence from imperialism. To impose the domination of one nationality over the other two nationalities offers no stable solution to the problems facing Angola and would only facilitate imperialist designs on the country."

Only fabrication can turn this into a position that calls for the destruction of the MPLA and support to imperialism.

Nevertheless, it is an important concern of the Kremlin's to deny that in Angola three nationalities were warring against each other.

"The U.S. Trotskyites," says Bert, "describe the MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA as 'each . . . based on one of the country's three main ethnic groups.' Each of the three groups (represents) one of the three main nationalities' in Angola.

"Thus," Bert continues, "the anti-imperialism of the MPLA, and the pro-imperialism of the FNLA and UNITA are equally dissolved in ethnicity. . . ."

"The U.S. Trotskyites attempt to disguise their betrayal of the anti-imperialist struggle by translating it into theorizing about the 'national question.'"

What is actually disguised in Bert's argument is the reason the Angolan civil war was fought. In 1974-76 the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA, based on the Mbundu, Bakongo, and Ovimbundu peoples respectively, were locked in fratricidal combat to determine which group would rule Angola with the impending withdrawal of Portugal.

In this war each of the groups sought the aid of imperialist powers. In fact, the

MPLA sought to collaborate with the Portuguese colonial forces remaining in Angola against the FNLA and UNITA. The basic question for these nationalist movements was who would rule Angola.

Marxists unconditionally support nationalist movements in their struggle against imperialism. We do not support such movements insofar as they attempt to suppress the struggles of workers and peasants or attempt to oppress other nationalities.

The Stalinists try to make a mockery of the "national question" and pretend there aren't rival nationalist movements in Angola to justify Moscow's call for the MPLA victory. They want people to ignore the fact that this victory could mean the oppression of the Bakongo and Ovimbundu peoples. The MPLA has repeatedly proclaimed its opposition to the right of the Bakongos and Ovimbundus to secede if they so choose.

And this is not a new stance for Moscow. The Kremlin supports Iraq against Kurdish nationalism; it supported the formation of Israel against Palestinian nationalism; in the Soviet Union itself the Great Russian nationalism of Moscow oppresses all the other many nations within the USSR's boundaries.

The Stalinists also dismiss with ridicule the question of the character and program of the nationalist movements. They simply praise the MPLA as "progressive" and brand the FNLA and UNITA as "reactionary." Their aim is to hide the fact that the MPLA leadership is just as anti-working-class as are the leaderships of the other two groups. They try to cover up the MPLA's breaking of strikes, imposition of labor "discipline" and speedup, and attempts to crush any independent working-class formations and leaderships that arise.

It is precisely because none of the movements in Angola are led by working-class parties or conscious socialists that it cannot be excluded in advance that one or several of these groups could become subordinate to a foreign imperialist power.

If the basic war had been between South Africa backed by the United States on one side and the MPLA on the other, as the Stalinists all but say in print, it would be entirely different. Revolutionists would have been duty bound to defend the MPLA against the imperialist invaders.

But the South African intervention, as dangerous as it was—and this was pointed out by the SWP—was not the overriding issue in Angola; it was the civil war for state power.

The SWP concluded, as we have already seen in Tony Thomas's remarks, that none of the three groups offered a superior perspective to the working masses over the others and that the wide-ranging civil war between them threatened to seriously weaken the anti-imperialist struggle.

Once it is grasped that in Angola rival

*Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas, *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War*, edited with an introduction by Malik Miah (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1976), 160 pp. with maps and bibliography. \$9, cloth; \$2.45, paperback.

nationalities were locked in civil war, the question of imperialist aid to the FNLA and UNITA can be put in context. The Stalinists also try to lie about this.

"The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) did not invite foreign imperialist intervention. The National Liberation Front (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) did."

In fact, the MPLA sought aid in Washington before it turned to Moscow in 1964. And since its victory in the civil war, it has made repeated overtures to such U.S. companies as Gulf Oil, and even to the U.S. government.

Nevertheless, aid and direct involvement of imperialist troops are qualitatively different. Liberation movements have the right to get weapons from wherever they want. What is a dangerous error is to invite the direct intervention of foreign imperialist troops. The SWP always made its position clear on this point:

"The UNITA and FNLA must be condemned for blocking with the South Africans, just as the MPLA had to be condemned for collaborating with the Portuguese colonial army against the FNLA and UNITA," Thomas says in the report.

Bert's smear job sought to show a "parallel" not only between the SWP position and that of Henry Kissinger, but with "Maoist counterrevolution" as well. This second frame-up has as little basis in fact as the first. Peking, out of blind factionalism, brands the Soviet Union a "capitalist" country and labels Moscow's foreign policy "imperialism."

The Maoists placed equal blame on the Soviet Union and on American imperialism for intervening in the Angolan civil war (Peking actually denounced Moscow as the *greatest* danger to Angolan independence).

The SWP considers the Soviet Union to be a workers state, *despite* the conservative bureaucratic caste that now wields power in Moscow. The U.S. capitalists seek the economic enslavement of the peoples of the colonial and semicolonial world, including Angola. The Soviet Union, as deplorable as its policies may be, had no such aim. It is criminally disorienting to the national liberation fighters to place these two regimes on the same plane. Tony Thomas explicitly opposed Peking's demand for Soviet withdrawal from Angola on these very grounds:

"If the Soviet Union stopped sending weapons to the MPLA, would that be a step forward for the Angolan revolution? No. It would embolden imperialism!"

Bert read these words. His lame retort to make his frame-up amalgam stick together was that the SWP's criticism of Maoism "is hypocritical in the extreme, for the cancerous soul of Trotskyism itself is anti-Sovietism."

What this boils down to is not any

imaginary similarity between the positions of the SWP and those of Maoism, but apologist Bert's horror of any opposition whatsoever, on any grounds, to the Kremlin's opportunist line on Angola.

The SWP led in the attempt to mobilize forces in the United States to support the struggle of the Angolan nationalist move-

ments against U.S. imperialism and its South African ally. But we stand against the oppression of workers and peasants by these same nationalist movements and we do not accept their attempt to oppress other nationalities. The Kremlin's hoopla about the MPLA should not blind serious supporters of African liberation to these realities of the Angolan situation. □

Conditions of Detention Worsen

187 Political Prisoners 'Disappear' in Chile



PINOCHET

Clarín

One hundred eighty-seven persons arrested in Chile between August and October 1975 have "disappeared." This information was provided by the families of 1,000 political prisoners in a report featured in the February 15 issue of *Agence de Presse Libération*, a news bulletin published in Brussels.

Of 482 cases the families were able to verify, 187 persons were said to have "disappeared," 4 were officially reported dead, 1 had been sentenced, 10 were undergoing trial, 98 remained in jail untried, and 172 were eventually released.

According to the prisoners' families, the conditions of detention are brutal in the extreme. They provided the following information on one notorious hellhole, Tres Alamos prison, where conditions are becoming even worse.

Six prisoners "disappeared" after intelligence agents removed them from the facility. Among the six are Hugo Salinas Farfán ("disappeared" November 18,

1975), Jorge Quintanilla Guerra ("disappeared" November 19), and Patricio Durán Elicer ("disappeared" November 23). The names and dates of the "disappearance" of the other three are not known.

Many women prisoners have given birth to children in the jail as the result of having been raped during their torture.

The 120 women prisoners have to share eighty beds and are kept alive on a diet of boiled vegetables.

Since November, family members coming to visit male prisoners are exhaustively searched when entering and leaving the prison. Moreover, visits have been limited to members of the immediate family.

New prisoners, brought in blindfolded, wounded, and bleeding, are paraded before the visitors, and agents of the intelligence services mingle with the visitors to intimidate them.

Conjugal visits for couples with both members imprisoned at Tres Alamos have been discontinued.

Prisoners are threatened with the cancellation of visits.

Male prisoners are prevented from working, and the weekly cultural activities by prisoners have been forbidden.

In one cellblock there are only three toilets for 167 inmates.

At Camp Puchuncaví there are 220 prisoners and only three toilets and four showers that work.

At the Santiago prison, conditions are also worsening.

All sports and other group activities have been suspended, and requirements for getting medical attention have been stiffened.

In addition, censorship of letters has increased, family members are thoroughly searched, and interrogation is more frequent. □

A subscription to *Intercontinental Press* is still a BEST BUY.

Check rates inside cover.

Israeli Occupation—'Any People Would Revolt Against This'



Demonstration in West Bank town of Nablus, April 12.

[The following interview with Dr. Israel Shahak appeared in the April 29 issue of *Red Weekly*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International. Shahak is the chairman of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights.]

* * *

Question. What lies at the root of the general unrest which has arisen in the West Bank?

Answer. Certain events acted as a catalyst, but what really brought the situation to boiling point was a growing perception of the nature of the permanent Jewish colonisation, of the fact that Israel intends to keep the West Bank forever.

The continuing occupation has destroyed more than the nature of Palestinian society in the occupied territory. It has proletarianised the Palestinian people—it is changing them more and more into a society that is akin to slave society, without national character and without even a human character, bound in permanent oppression. Well, any people would revolt against this.

Q. What about the events in the Galilee (Northern Israel)? This is the first time that the Arabs in the pre-1967 borders of the Zionist state have revolted in such a daring manner.

A. Yes, this is a different thing. This really indicates a change, not just an opportunity as in the case of the West Bank. It indicates the rise in Israel of a young generation which is not feudalised, which is better educated, and which has lost its fear both of the Israeli authorities

and of the notables, elders and family heads who were almost all nominated by and friends of the Israeli government.

Here again the land confiscations served as a catalyst in a process which had been going on for some time.

Q. What was the role played by the Palestine Liberation Organisation in both these events?

A. The PLO did not play an important role at the organisational level. Of course people say that they support the PLO, but this is a national declaration.

What really happened is that it was leaderships at a local level which called for people to demonstrate. The PLO itself played only a small and rather vague role in the recent upsurge.

Q. So how are the Arab cadres who were most active in the events organised, then?

A. They are all organised in the left coalition known as the National Front. I think it is fair to say that it is headed by the Palestinian Communist party (Rakah), but I think that practically all the left groups are participating.

The rank and file cadres are the young and educated Palestinians, who are economically in the situation of being without a job or even the prospect of a job. Because of Israeli economic and social oppression, all the jobs offered to Palestinians consist of the lowest kind of work.

For example, in a recent article in *Ha'aretz** (17 December 1975) on the situation of Arabs in the Israeli construction industry, the writer seriously talks

about how it is necessary to supervise Arabs with Jewish workers because Arab workers cannot read plans or lay a straight line in carpentry and plastering! From this we can see how Zionist ideology in practice relegates the Arab to the lowest and most menial kind of work. Racism is becoming more and more overt.

Q. Can you give some examples of this from your own experience?

A. You must understand that all aspects of life in Israel are permeated by racism. To give you one example: If in ordinary Hebrew speech, one wants to say that some work is bad, then the normally used expression is to say "that work is done by Arabs," or the work is simply referred to as "Arabic."

On the other hand, if one wants to praise somebody colloquially—especially a strong man, a male—then the expression of praise is "racist"! In case you don't believe me, I will spell out the Hebrew word. It is *Giz'i*.

Furthermore, in literally every social situation, in every position, an Arab will have no rights. This occurs every day and in every aspect of life.

Q. There have recently been tremendous cuts in the average standard of living due to the deteriorating economic situation. Has there been any response by the Israeli population?

A. The tragedy of the Israeli situation is that apparently the population is prepared to accept enormous cuts in its living standards before it will rebel. People are grumbling, and they are losing their patriotism (this is a most important improvement in the situation). But the majority of Israelis are apathetic. They follow the government, but they do so with apathy.

Any protests there are—against a factory closing, for instance—can be isolated and defeated.

On the whole the situation can be summarised as follows. Ten or 15 percent of the population has it better than ever before. You can see this in the number of imported cars, in the luxurious restaurants, etc. Meanwhile about 85 percent of the population have their situation getting worse and worse.

But still—and on this point I agree with you—without a party or an organisation which can mobilise the people, this is not a situation which by itself is going to improve. And nationalism is the way in which the government stops all opposition by the workers, and splits up their efforts.

* The largest daily in Israel.—IP

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



French Stalinists Back Concorde

Both the French Communist party and the Stalinist-led trade-union federation, the CGT, have launched a campaign to support the supersonic ecological monstrosity, the Concorde. The French and British governments have announced that they may have to close down the production line owing to a lack of buyers.

On April 5, the CP held rallies in several French cities. In Toulouse, several hundred persons demonstrated with members of the CP Central Committee and CP elected officials. The rally passed a resolution calling for safeguarding "French aerospace potential, preserving employment, and guaranteeing our national independence."

Three days later, Jean Breteau, the general secretary of the CGT Metalworkers Federation, published an article in the CP daily, *l'Humanité*. He called for a national meeting in support of the Concorde to be held April 23. Breteau noted that "in Toulouse, it is common to hear it said that the Concorde is the airplane of the CGT; we are proud of the plane."

He denounced the decision to close down the Concorde production line as an example of the government's unwillingness to fight for "French national independence" and of its "submission to the United States." The central slogan of CGT demonstrations, he said, should be "No Concorde in the United States, no Boeing in France."

A second major trade-union federation in France, the CFDT, has lightly criticized the Concorde on ecological grounds. It has not, however, directly criticized the CGT or CP for their unabashed defense of Concorde.

'Kanemi Oil Sickness'

About 13,000 persons in Japan are officially recorded as victims of the horribly disfiguring disease called "Kanemi Oil Sickness." The disease, named after the company that produced oil containing the poisonous chemical PCB, began spreading in western Japan in 1968.

According to an April 30 dispatch from New Asia News, a recently published book of photographs of some of the victims "shows people whose necks look like the surface of the moon, people who have lost all their hair, and other disfigurements characteristic of the disease."

Polluter Faces Homicide Charge

TOKYO, April 30 (New Asia News)—The Supreme Public Prosecutor's Office decided on April 27 to indict a former chief of the Chisso Corporation's Minamata Plant on the charge of accidental homicide.

According to prosecution officials, when the executive, Eiichi Nishida, was chief of the plant, the Chisso Corporation ignored a Health and Welfare Ministry warning of July 1958 on the cause of the dread Minamata disease and continued to dump wastes containing methyl mercury compounds into the heavily fished Minamata Bay. The Prosecutor's office has yet to announce whether it will also bring criminal charges against former Chisso President Kiichi Yoshioka.

This marks the first time an executive is facing indictment in connection with pollution. Though Minamata disease victims, dead and maimed, number in the thousands, the prosecutors are charging

Nishida with responsibility for the deaths of six persons who succumbed to the disease between July 1959 and June 1973.

No Extra Charge

"Thousands of cases of cookies, graham crackers, and grapefruit juice are being recalled nationwide because they are contaminated with rodent hairs and filth, the Food and Drug Administration said Wednesday [May 5].

"The agency announced that 1,450 cases of 46-ounce cans of sweetened grapefruit juice processed by Lykes Pasco Packing Company, Dade City, Florida, contain rodent parts and filth, and 20,875 cases of cookies and graham crackers baked by Bremner Biscuit Company, Louisville, Kentucky, are contaminated with rodent hairs."—*Christian Science Monitor*, May 6.

\$1 Million Fine for Water Pollution

The longest and costliest environmental case ever prosecuted by the U.S. government resulted in a gain for environmentalists May 4. Fines totaling more than \$1 million were levied against the Reserve Mining Company and its parent firms, Armco and Republic Steel, for polluting Lake Superior.

The case was initiated in 1972 by the Environmental Protection Agency, several environmental groups, and a number of state and city governments. The plaintiffs wanted to force Reserve Mining to end its dumping of taconite wastes into Lake Superior.

Each day Reserve dumps 67,000 tons of fine rock waste into the lake, despite the fact that taconite is known to contain cancer-causing asbestos fibers. Cities on the lake draw their drinking water from it.

The victory came despite the removal of one judge, who was charged with being too hostile to Reserve Mining by a U.S. appeals court. Reserve was allowed to continue dumping its poisonous wastes into the lake while the case was under litigation, and despite the fine it has not been ordered to cease its pollution.

The court has ordered the parties in the suit to seek "a mutually satisfactory resolution of the dispute." In the meantime, Reserve is appealing the ruling.



Herblock/Washington Post

AROUND THE WORLD



Moro Tries to Halt Lira's Plunge

In a move to bolster the sinking Italian lira, the caretaker government of Premier Aldo Moro has imposed the strictest fiscal restrictions on imports since World War II. On May 5, Moro ordered all importers and others dealing with foreign exchange to deposit in the Bank of Italy for ninety days an amount equal to 50 percent of any transaction.

The new curbs are aimed at improving Italy's balance-of-payments deficit, both by reducing imports and by discouraging speculation against the lira by Italian capitalists. The lira has declined in value by one-third in less than four months, and investors prefer to hold more stable currencies, such as the German mark, or else put their money into commodities.

The controls are also part of the government's plan for making the working class pay for the economic crisis. By making imports more expensive, they will increase Italy's rate of inflation, now running at 30 percent a year.

More Autonomy Demanded in Azores

The Azores Regional Junta, meeting May 5, rejected recent proposals on autonomy from Lisbon as "clearly unsatisfactory." The original proposal by the Azores authorities stipulated that all revenue from

international agreements concerning the islands should go to them. This proposal, which involves millions of dollars from French and American military bases on the islands, was turned down by Lisbon.

Soviet Jews Avoiding Israel

An increasing proportion of Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union are not going to Israel. In April a record 60 percent refused to go to Israel. In 1975 about one-third of the 15,000 Jews who left the USSR did not go to Israel.

The figures on immigration were released May 2 by Josef Almogi, the chairman of the Jewish Agency, which is the Zionist organization responsible for persuading Jews to settle in Israel. "We cannot use force," Almogi commented in regard to the decline in applicants.

Palestinian Protests Continue

Israeli troops shot at Palestinian demonstrators in Jenin May 5, wounding one person. Protests occurred in other West Bank towns as well, including Ramallah and Nablus. Among those shot by Israeli troops in these towns were a thirteen-year-old girl and a forty-five-year-old woman who left her home to look for her young daughter.

In Jerusalem, thirty persons were wounded by a bomb May 3. "Jewish youths with clubs marched to the Arab half of the city, throwing rocks and shouting for revenge," according to an Associated Press dispatch.

Unequal Pay in the U.S.

A ninety-page statistical study released by the U.S. Census Bureau April 26 shows that the gap in wages between male and female workers is continuing to widen. In 1974, the study said, the median income for a woman was \$6,957—only 57% of the \$12,152 the typical American male took home that year.

Four years earlier, in 1970, the average working woman made \$5,440, or 59% of the \$9,184 median income for men.

Although women head about 13% of all American households, families headed by women represent 46% of the households living below the poverty level.

The Census Bureau also found that the number of women in the labor force had

doubled since 1950, while the number of working men had increased by only one-fourth.

Another 'Honorable Agreement' at Expense of British Workers

Prime Minister James Callaghan's Labour government and the top leaders of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC) agreed May 5 to a wage-control policy that would limit raises to a maximum of £4 a week (£1=US\$1.83). This would amount to an average increase of 4.5 percent at a time when inflation is running at an annual rate of about 15 percent.

A similar agreement, worked out last summer, put a £6 weekly limit on pay increases. At that time, inflation was running at 30 percent. Thus, British workers are not only losing ground as a result of the current rate of inflation, but they also have yet to make up cuts in their standard of living suffered under the previous wage-control plan.

Denis Healey, the chancellor of the Exchequer, was triumphant. "This 4.5 percent level of pay increase," he said, "is likely to be below that in practically all the Western developed countries this year. Even the Germans, with their excellent record, are seeing a rate of increase of 5.5 percent."

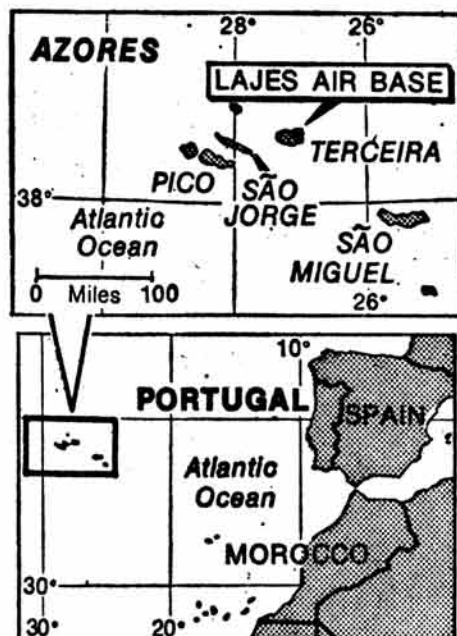
Having helped the British capitalists improve their competitive position at the expense of the working class, TUC leader Len Murray said of his handiwork, "This is a simple and an honorable agreement."

Japanese Workers Settle for 8.8 Percent Wage Increase

The annual spring labor offensive in Japan, called the *kokumin shunto* (people's spring struggle), ended April 22, one day ahead of schedule, when the railway workers accepted the government's offer of an 8.8% wage increase.

The strike by workers on public and private railway lines, which began April 20, affected about 38 million commuters. In addition to the transportation workers, employees in other public and private companies also walked off their jobs.

The strike was called by the Spring Offensive Joint Struggle Committee organized by Sohyo (Nihon Rodo Kumiai Sohyogikai—General Council of Japanese Trade Unions) and Churitsuroren (Churit-



New York Times

su Rodo Kumiai Rengo—Federation of Independent Labor Unions). The committee represents 8.5 million workers.

The unions called for wage increases of between 10% and 20%. Among the other demands raised were those for employment guaranteed by law; a minimum wage for all industries throughout the country; and improved housing, education, and health services.

In January, Nikkeiren (Nihon Keieisha Dantai Remmei—Japan Federation of Employers Associations) announced that it would accept no wage increases above 9.9%. The other leading bosses organizations also backed this limit.

The 8.8% wage increase actually settled for marks a decline in real wages for Japanese workers, since the inflation rate during the past year stood at 9.8%.

Police Provocateurs Infiltrate French Student Demonstrations

French students, who are protesting the government's proposed educational "reforms," have charged that special police in civilian dress have taken part in the student demonstrations as provocateurs. The police are thought to participate in and even organize the groups of masked and helmeted youths who have broken windows and set fire to cars at many of the demonstrations.

On April 23, the students formed a marshaling squad to isolate the provocateurs from the student marchers in an attempt to force the regular police to deal with them separately. Student leaders apprehended a police security official taking part in the vandalism.

The French Police Union, which represents the regular police, called April 24 for an inquiry into the charges. It said that it had previously tried, without success, to get the authorities "to put a stop to the activities of the elements in question."

Park Regime Begins New Trial

A new trial of Korean dissidents who have demanded democratic rights began in Seoul May 4. Eighteen leading oppositionists are charged with what the Park Chung Hee dictatorship has called a "nation-ruining plot" and "a premeditated and organized act with a clear-cut intention of overthrowing the government."

The "crime" in question occurred in March when a statement calling for the restoration of democracy and the resignation of Park was read during an ecumenical mass in Seoul's Myongdong Cathedral. Under an emergency measure decreed by Park a year ago, it is a crime punishable by a minimum of one year in prison to express any opposition to the regime.

Among those on trial are Kim Dae Jung, who narrowly lost to Park in the 1971 presidential election; Yun Po Sun, a former president; Lee Tai Young, South Korea's

first woman lawyer; and Chyung Yil Hyung, a former foreign minister.

The Park regime packed the courtroom with secret police, while outside about 200 persons staged a sit-down demonstration in support of the defendants.

Refugees Protest in Lisbon

Several hundred refugees from the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique occupied the square and the stairs of the São Bento Palace in Lisbon May 5. The occupiers were protesting the announcement that the government is suspending all further food subsidies to the hundreds of thousands of refugees from Africa who have returned to Portugal over the last year.

In the past, the Portuguese capitalists encouraged poor peasants to emigrate to the African colonies. This served both to relieve the pressure of unemployment and land-hunger in Portugal and to establish a base of support for Portuguese rule in the colonies.

Now that the African colonies have won their independence, the capitalist government has failed to solve the returnees' problems, particularly in the areas of housing and employment.

The right wing hopes to use the embittered refugees to its own advantage, and so far the Portuguese left has paid little attention to the problem of developing a program that can direct the anger of the refugees against the capitalist government, where it belongs.

'Subversive' Literature Burned by Argentine Army

A large quantity of "subversive" literature and documents has been burned in Córdoba by the Argentine army, according to a report in the April 30 issue of *La Opinión*. The literature destroyed included works by Mao Tsetung, Marx, Lenin, Guevara, and Trotsky.

In an April 29 press release on the action, the army described the books they burned as "evil" and designed to "affect the intellect and our Christian way of life."

The army said the book burning was carried out to avoid "the continuing deception of our youth on the true good represented by our national symbols, our family, our church, and finally, our most traditional spiritual estate—God, Fatherland, and Home."

Postage Due—\$21,100

"Although the Postal Service is hovering on the brink of bankruptcy, it has produced one of the most handsome annual reports in the federal government. The 58-page glossy booklet, whose main purpose seems to be to glorify bumbling Ben



BAILAR: Has image problem.

Bailar, the postmaster general, upset Sen. Richard Schweiker (R-Pa.), who asked the General Accounting Office to find out how much it cost. The answer: \$21,100 for 24,000 copies, most of them unneeded."—Jack Anderson, in the May 6 *New York Daily News*.

Racists Stage Rallies in Britain

About 1,000 members of the ultrarightist National Front marched through a densely populated immigrant community in Bradford, near London, April 25 calling for an end to immigration and for the immediate repatriation of all nonwhites. About 30 of the racists were arrested after clashes with the police.

The Bradford Trades Council organized a counterdemonstration of about 4,000 persons in opposition to the racist attacks on immigrants.

Another anti-immigrant rally was held the same day in Trafalgar Square, London, by 150 rightists. The police attacked a counterdemonstration of about 400 persons, arresting 25.

Engineering Feat of Century

An April 23 dispatch from the official Chinese news agency Hsinhua recorded the success of an engineering team in drilling the first 6,000-meter well in Szechwan Province.

After pointing to the importance of the achievement for the development of China's petroleum industry, Hsinhua noted that the new well was "also a vigorous rebuff to the right deviationist wind stirred up by Teng Hsiao-ping, arch unrepentant party capitalist-roader."

Chapter 18

Stop the Draft Week: Oakland and New York

By Fred Halstead

Unity between the moderate and radical forces in the antiwar movement often proved more difficult to achieve in the San Francisco Bay Area—and therefore much of the West Coast—than in New York and the East. There were a number of reasons for this difference, including the relative insularity of the Berkeley milieu—long the main radical base in the West. On the other hand, the West did not have the advantage of the direct influence of Muste and the patterns which had been established while he was alive. These carried over to some extent after his death, in New York and the East.

While the march on the Pentagon was being organized in the East there was no comparable unified mass action planned for the San Francisco Bay Area. This was because the West Coast Spring Mobilization Committee—the coalition that organized the April 15, 1967, action in San Francisco—had split and fallen apart in early summer. The National Mobilization Committee never became established on the West Coast.

The Student Mobilization Committee did organize West Coast support for the Pentagon march, but the distances were so great that the number of participants from the West Coast was limited. There was much antiwar activity by various local groups during

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

the summer and fall of 1967 in the Bay Area, but there was no central focus and no unified broad coalition. In the fall of 1967 there did develop in the Bay Area two activities that had national impact. One of these was Stop the Draft Week and the other was an antiwar referendum placed on the ballot in the city of San Francisco for the November 7 elections. Each was organized by different groups with little connection between them.

The referendum campaign was led by a new coalition called Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam. It included some reform Democrats, many of the moderate antiwar groups, the SWP, and some other radicals in the city of San Francisco. Stop the Draft Week involved the Berkeley students and radicals, some San Francisco SDSers including members of the Progressive Labor caucus within SDS, the Resistance, and a number of pacifists.

The idea for Stop the Draft Week had several origins. As early as April 15, David Harris had announced that the Resistance would organize a national draft-card turn-in for October 16, 1967. Later this was incorporated into the activities leading up to the October 21 march on Washington. In July a group of antidraft organizers, including members of SDS, met in the offices of *The Movement*, a Bay Area newspaper affiliated with SDS and SNCC. According to Terence Cannon, one of the group, they wanted "to move opposition to the war and the draft from the level of moral

protest to a show of power."¹ They decided to try to halt the activities of the Oakland Armed Forces Examining Station (popularly known as the Oakland induction center), where draftees and enlistees from the Bay Area reported for physical examinations and shipment to training bases. They set up the Stop the Draft Week Committee (STDW) to organize the action for October 16 to 20. According to Cannon, "the STDW organizers rejected traditional pacifist non-violence and emphasized the right to self-defense. The hard-core pacifists broke off and decided to hold a separate demonstration on Monday the 16th at the Induction Center."² This was organized by the Civil Action Day Committee, a coalition of pacifists, clergy, and academic figures. Those remaining in the Stop the Draft Week Committee decided to attempt to physically close the induction center beginning on Tuesday and for the rest of the week.

Stop the Draft Week was widely publicized on the Berkeley campus after classes opened in the fall. In an attempt to contain the activity, the university administration granted permission to the official student government for an all-night teach-in on the war and the draft to begin Monday evening, October 16, in a large auditorium on campus. Speakers from different points of view were scheduled and it was clear that some of them would use the occasion to urge participation in the demonstrations at the Oakland induction center.

To forestall this, the Alameda County supervisors went to court for an injunction forbidding the use of any university property by any group for "on campus advocacy of off campus violations of the Universal Military Training and Service Act."³ This meant that all advocacy of draft resistance or organizing for civil disobedience at the Oakland induction center would be banned on campus for the duration of Stop the Draft Week. It came close to posing the same issue that had precipitated the Free Speech Movement in 1964—the right of students to organize on campus to support off-campus civil rights activity, including civil disobedience.

Obviously fearful of precipitating another FSM-type explosion, University Chancellor Roger W. Heynes opposed the granting of the injunction and expressed reluctance to calling police on campus to enforce it.

On Monday, October 16, the first demonstration at the Oakland induction center took place, organized by the Civil Action Day Committee. It consisted of a series of nonviolent sit-downs by groups of about twenty at the entrance, supported by a picket line of several hundred. Some 120 people including Joan Baez and other prominent pacifists were arrested. At noon the demonstrators went to San Francisco where a large crowd gathered in front of the Federal Building to support representatives of the Resistance who attempted to turn in some 300 draft cards. U.S. Attorney Cecil Poole refused to accept them, so they were dumped,

1. *The Movement*, November 1967.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Daily Californian*, October 17, 1967.

according to some reports, over Poole's head. Poole was quoted as calling the demonstrators "rabble."⁴

(The draft card turn-in at Washington, which took place the day before the Pentagon march, was more ceremonious but no less strange. There, over a thousand cards were carried in a briefcase into the Justice Department by Yale chaplain William Sloane Coffin, accompanied by Dr. Spock, Mitchell Goodman, Marcus Raskin, and Arthur Waskow. The distinguished delegation tried to present the cards to Assistant Deputy Attorney General John R. McDonough. McDonough offered coffee, which was accepted, and the delegation made statements of their complicity to encourage draft resistance. But McDonough refused to accept the draft cards. Coffin put the briefcase on a table and Waskow declared: "Here you have just read this statement alleging that we are guilty of crimes for which we offer you proof! And you, the number three man in the Justice Department, refuse to accept the evidence! Where, man, is your oath of office?"⁵)

Meanwhile the Stop the Draft Week steering committee had called a rally for Monday night at De Fremery Park in Oakland to mobilize support for Tuesday's action. The turnout was only a few hundred and these marched to the Berkeley campus where the student government teach-in was scheduled. By that time, the injunction had been handed down, and Chancellor Heynes closed the auditorium and banned on-campus meetings. Some 6,000 students who had come for the teach-in stayed for an impromptu rally in Sproul Plaza, as much to challenge the injunction as to talk about Stop the Draft Week. Such rallies continued through the week. In a sense, then, the injunction itself, and the civil liberties issue which it raised, assured a central focus and large audiences on the Berkeley campus for the Stop the Draft Week organizers.

On Tuesday morning some 3,000 demonstrators converged on the Oakland induction center. Some of them were equipped with shields (from garbage-can lids) and crash helmets or hardhats as protection against police clubs. The police let them occupy the street in front of the induction center and then moved out of a nearby parking building with a solid wedge of cops, using clubs and mace. Some of the demonstrators sat down and the police went to work on them. Some tried to fight back, but the police cleared the area with ease. The demonstration ended in a rout, with the cops injuring several dozens including some medics and newsmen. Among the demonstrators it became known as "bloody Tuesday."

At a Berkeley campus rally later that day it was decided after much discussion to return to the induction center with a large demonstration on Friday, October 20, and in the meantime to have an informational picket line there. On Wednesday some people sat in at the entrance to the induction center and there were ninety-one arrests but no clubbings, and the police did not interfere with the picket line. The Thursday picket of some 600 was without incident.

On Thursday, Morgan Spector, a nineteen-year-old UC student speaking for the Stop the Draft Week steering committee, announced the plans for Friday: "We're going back with a demonstration like Tuesday's—only smarter—and will attempt to stop the buses." He was referring to the buses used to carry inductees to and from the center. "We don't know if we can prevent the buses from getting through," he added, "but we intend to try. And we intend to give the cops one hell of a run for their money."⁶ To almost everyone's surprise, that's exactly what happened on Friday morning.

Early Friday some 10,000 demonstrators showed up in the streets around the induction center, most of them from Berkeley but with contingents from Stanford and other colleges in the area

as well as from some high schools. This time they did not concentrate in the street in front of the induction center where 2,000 police, county sheriff's deputies, and state highway patrolmen waited to repeat Tuesday's cleanup operation. Instead the demonstrators approached from all sides, blocking traffic in the streets up to several blocks away. As the police swept down the streets to clear them out they retreated where the attack was heaviest, blocking the street further back, swarming around the edges in small groups, dodging to other streets and intersections, only to return when the police moved to another blockade.

From shortly after 5:00 a.m. (the center opened at 6:00) until 10:30 a.m. the demonstrators kept the police busy and at times controlled the twenty-block area of downtown Oakland surrounding the induction center. They set up barricades using whatever was at hand, including parked cars which they pushed into the streets before letting the air out of the tires. (Somebody spotted U.S. Attorney Poole's car and it was deliberately used this way.)

A few of the buses carrying inductees were stopped for a time. Some of the men gave the demonstrators the V for victory sign with two fingers when the blockade succeeded in stopping the bus they were riding. The demonstrators returned it, and the story is told that this was the origin of the salute of the antiwar movement. In any case after October 20 the V sign quickly spread among antiwar youth in the Bay Area and soon across the country, becoming the universal and ubiquitous greeting of Americans opposed to the war.

By noon the police had called in reinforcements and the demonstrators had retreated back to the campuses and neighborhoods to spread the word of the fleeting success of their "mobile tactics." They left the area covered with antiwar slogans painted with spray cans. Remarkably, only a handful were arrested on Friday, and less than two dozen, about half of them police, were treated for injuries.

Governor Ronald Reagan said he hoped a way could be found to punish the demonstrators under wartime rules in spite of the lack of a formal declaration of war. "There is nothing," said Reagan, a rabid advocate of the slaughter in Vietnam, "that justifies bloodshed, violence, damage to property and harm to individuals."⁷ And the "generation gap" widened another notch.

The University of California administration suspended or put on disciplinary probation eleven students who had been prominent in the Stop the Draft Week rallies in violation of the injunction on the Berkeley campus. VOICE, the radical student political party, countered by running these students as its slate for the student senate in early December. In a massive repudiation of the administrative action, the VOICE slate swept the elections, with Peter Camejo and Reese Erlich, the two suspended students, coming in first and second respectively.⁸

* * *

During the summer of 1967 attempts had been made to put antiwar referenda on the ballot in many cities, including New York, Cleveland, and Detroit. With two exceptions—San Francisco and Cambridge, Massachusetts—the referenda had been ruled off the ballot as inappropriate for city elections. In San Francisco as well the city administration had first turned down the

7. *San Francisco Examiner*, October 29, 1967.

8. There were ten openings on the student senate. Observers agreed that the students who had been disciplined would have won them all on the basis of simple majority vote, but the rules required seats for any minority party polling 10 percent, so VOICE got only six seats. Camejo, incidentally, was not a member of the Stop the Draft Week Committee. He spoke at the rallies, appealing for violation of the injunction as an affront to free speech. The other disciplined students were: Frank Bardacke, Charles Capper, Marion Cohen, Morgan Spector, Dave Kennitzer, Hal Jacobs, Jeff Lustig, Patti Iiyama, and Paul Glusman. Later, seven youths, not all Berkeley students, were indicted on charges of "conspiracy" in connection with the Oakland demonstrations. They were Reese Erlich, Steve Hamilton, Bob Mandel, Mike Smith, Jeff Segal, Terry Cannon, and Frank Bardacke.

4. *The Movement*, November 1967.

5. Thomas Powers, *The War at Home* (New York: Grossman, 1973), p. 194.

6. *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 20, 1967.

petitions, but this was reversed by the California Supreme Court. So the San Francisco referendum—on the ballot as Proposition P—was the first time the voting population of a major American city had a chance to vote directly on the Vietnam war issue.

The project had been initiated by members of the Pacific Democrats, a dissident Democratic Party group. A Citizen's Committee for a Vote on Vietnam was set up on a nonexclusive basis, with Ed Farley as chairman and Mary Louise Lovett as executive secretary. Both were Democrats, but Lovett told the *San Francisco Examiner* that "Communists and Republicans, if any, are equally welcome."

From the start the committee took the position that the vote would be meaningful only if the proposition being voted on were clear-cut. On that basis it rejected arguments for an equivocal statement calling for negotiations of some sort, and opted for a straight withdrawal statement. This read:

"It is the policy of the city and county of San Francisco that there shall be an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems."⁹

The city administration and both major daily newspapers opposed Proposition P, but the committee succeeded in making it a central issue in the campaign. Over 2,000 activists joined in distributing more than 400,000 leaflets at every conceivable public place in the city, including those where GIs gathered. A special project was organized by Catholic students, unionists, teachers, and even a few nuns and priests to distribute 40,000 leaflets in favor of the proposition at Catholic churches. When the *San Francisco Chronicle* published an editorial against the proposition, a hundred workers on that paper took out an ad to rebut it. Two rival talk-show announcers rented a hall and drew 3,000 people to a debate on the proposition.

Shortly after the Pentagon march, I went to San Francisco to help out on the Proposition P campaign. It was a remarkable sight to drive through the streets of the city in those days and see posters in favor of Proposition P in windows of houses and apartments on almost every block. Such a phenomenon would have been unthinkable in the midst of previous wars.

"It is a political axiom," commented Asher Harer, "that to wage an effective war, the rulers of the country must have a united population behind them, or at least have the voices of dissent isolated and/or muzzled. The extent to which San Franciscans felt free to display these antiwar posters in their windows indicates the extent to which the war 'consensus' has been shattered."¹⁰

The result of the vote was officially reported as 76,632 "yes" and 132,402 "no." Some of us who thought the proposition had a chance to win were slightly disappointed. The election was marred by irregularities and the Citizen's Committee considered demanding a recount, but demurred because of the legal expense involved.¹¹ But even if the count was honest, 36 percent of the vote

in a major American city for immediate withdrawal was still a very impressive showing. It was even more impressive in light of the fact that youths between eighteen and twenty-one could not then vote. The Student Mobilization Committee and the Citizen's Committee set up fifteen polling places where such youth could cast a ballot. Of the 6,149 who did, 4,840, or 79 percent, voted for Proposition P.

In Cambridge on the East Coast the referendum was initiated by Vietnam Summer. Its text declared the war "not in the interests of either the American or Vietnamese people" and urged a "prompt return home of American soldiers from Vietnam." The yes vote was 39 percent of the total, 11,316 to 17,688.

The San Francisco and Cambridge referenda—the only chance any Americans got to vote directly on the war in the governmental elections of November 1967—showed a very substantial and growing minority flatly opposed to U.S. intervention in Vietnam. And the majority were by no means in support of Johnson's war policies. A Harris poll released November 14 showed that a whopping 77 percent disapproved. The same poll showed 21 percent favoring escalation and 44 percent for withdrawing from Vietnam "as quickly as possible." Even Johnson stopped claiming he had a consensus, though he continued the war unabated.

* * *

There is no doubt that the Friday, October 20, demonstration at the Oakland induction center had an exhilarating effect on the youth who participated. Patty Iiyama, then a UC student and a member of the Stop the Draft Week Committee, still remembered it years later as "the greatest day of my life. For a change it was the cops, not the demonstrators, who were on the run." But there were more than a few illusions.

"The action at the Oakland Induction Center during Stop the Draft Week," wrote Jeff Segal, a leading SDSer and one of the Stop the Draft Week steering committee members, "while not being definitive seems to us to represent a watershed in the course of the antidraft and white student movement analogous to Watts for the black movement. We experimented with tactics that involved direct conflicts with the duly constituted forces of the law—the cops. It was not guerrilla warfare or armed insurrection, for it would be foolish to think that we are prepared either psychologically or materially to launch a large-scale activity of that nature, but the action carried within itself the seeds for all the elements that we will need, when, indeed, our time does come."¹²

Not quite all. The little matter of drawing the masses into action was one thing, among others, that there was a tendency to overlook among those "revolutionaries" who made a fetish out of a moderately successful street fight. And, for some time after the week of October 16-21, SDS and a good part of the student wing of the antiwar movement were preoccupied with discussions of and experiments with "mobile tactics."

There were two such experiments in New York City. The first took place in connection with a demonstration called by the

was indicated in a United Press International dispatch printed in the October 28 *San Francisco Examiner* under the headline: "City Prop. P Upsets LBJ Aides." The story said: "Friends of the Administration failed in their attempt to keep the question off the ballot." But, the story continued, "their concern over this one item on a local ballot indicates the scope of the government's operation to counter criticism of its Vietnam policy." And further: "In the Johnson Administration's counter-attack . . . no target is overlooked."

My own comment at the time was made in a press conference November 3, four days before the election: "San Francisco at this very moment is undoubtedly crawling with CIA agents and other representatives of Washington interested in defeating Proposition P. And they will stop at nothing" (*Militant*, November 27, 1967). When dealing with elections in the United States of America—and other places as well—trust and the assumption of good faith in their managers is badly misplaced.

12. *The Movement*, November 1967.

9. *Militant*, November 6, 1967.

10. *Militant*, December 11, 1967.

11. For example, according to the November 18 *San Francisco Chronicle*, there was an "amazing switch" in vote totals between the first official announcement of complete totals and subsequent ones. In addition, prior to the election several mailbags filled with sample ballots being mailed to voters in a heavily Black area—where support to Proposition P was strong—were discovered in a ravine. The sample ballots contained instructions on how to vote and the address of the polling place.

In the United States, cheating in elections is as fine an art as dodging issues. Honest counts in elections where there is something important at stake are assured only by the most complete, meticulous, knowledgeable, and suspicious surveillance of every detail of the process. The Citizen's Committee, unfortunately, did not have a developed electoral machine and could not even provide experienced poll watchers for many of the polling places. In general it got hostility and no cooperation from the Democratic and Republican machines.

The attitude of the national administration to the Proposition P effort

Vietnam Peace Parade Committee for November 14 outside the New York Hilton hotel where Secretary of State Dean Rusk spoke before a Foreign Policy Association banquet.

The Parade Committee planned a mass demonstration outside the hotel. According to the account by Kirkpatrick Sale, "the SDS Regional Office worked to build it into a major confrontation, and local chapters were alerted that plans were afoot to storm the police barricades, create general disruption, make the night unpleasant for the dignitaries and, some hoped, stop Rusk from speaking altogether."¹³ The broad coalition that still made up the Parade Committee would never have agreed to such plans.

I was not involved in organizing the Rusk demonstration (having left the staff of the Parade Committee after the Pentagon march to devote more time to the socialist election campaign), but, as far as I know, there was no extended discussion of the SDS plans in the Parade Committee meetings. There was, however, a certain accommodation to the mood. It was simply left that SDS would do its own thing, and the Parade Committee leaflet on the demonstration included a small box which said: "There will be various direct actions, sponsored by SDS, at the hotel. For further information call SDS."¹⁴

The SDS leaflet itself was entirely unspecific, but full of broad hints. It began: "Dine with the Warmakers!" and ended: "Embroid the New York Hilton (6th Ave. and 53rd St.). Revolution Begins: Nov. 14, 5-5:30 p.m."¹⁵

Since the Parade Committee had long since proven that when it called a massive demonstration it was going to be massive and well ordered, the police had accommodated to the necessities and were generally not obstructive on the technical level. This time it was different.

The Parade Committee had planned to picket directly across the street from the hotel on Sixth Avenue (Avenue of the Americas) and when that area was filled, to overflow to the south. The police had agreed to this, but after a few hundred began picketing directly across from the hotel the cops closed this area off. Further south a huge crowd built up, separated from the Parade Committee marshals. By 5:30 p.m. (Rusk was scheduled to speak at 9:00) there were thousands assembling on the streets near the hotel. With a force of 1,500 men the police forced the pickets out of the streets and onto the sidewalks behind wooden barricades. They split the demonstration into a number of segments tightly packed on sidewalks in a three-block area near the hotel. The cops limited the crowd by blocking off a number of side streets and refusing to allow anyone to get through. Nevertheless some 10,000 were in the area, lustily jeering the limousines arriving for the banquet, making the peace sign, and chanting slogans.

Around 6:00 p.m. three groups began to try out "mobile tactics." Two, of about fifty each, started outside the immediate area of the main demonstration, one from the north and one from the south, running in the streets, blocking traffic, stopping and banging on cars that looked posh enough to be headed for the banquet. The other, somewhat larger, group gathered at the southeast corner of 53rd and Sixth Avenue, as part of the main crowd, and rushed the police barricade, spilling into the streets. The cops charged on horses and forced them back. Some garbage was thrown from the corner at the cops and they attacked from three sides, arresting some and injuring some more. The fourth side—to the south—was packed with demonstrators and those trying to escape were jammed against the main crowd.

The demonstration began to disintegrate and by 7:00 p.m. was dissolving southward down Sixth Avenue. Hundreds of youths ran into the streets, crossing back and forth, stopping limousines, and retreating further south as the cops moved in. The demonstration went as far as Times Square, finally dispersing about 11:00

p.m. Meanwhile, Rusk had been spirited into the Hilton for his speech. Over seventy demonstrators were arrested that night. Three Columbia University SDSers, Ron Carver, Ted Gold, and Mark Rudd, were charged with "inciting to riot."

The Rusk demonstration produced mixed reactions within the movement. Some SDSers, though not all, were elated, and their view was popular among many radicals. Many members of the Parade Committee were less than enthusiastic about the fringe activities, and some of the moderate groups quietly began to take their distance. My own view was that the SDS actions were a lot of damn foolishness which gave the cops an excuse to limit and attack the whole demonstration. The political point could have been made as effectively—and with far less cost—with a straight mass demonstration which would probably have been even larger if it had not been for the shenanigans.

* * *

Ten days before the Rusk demonstration there had been a meeting of the National Continuations Committee of the Student Mobilization Committee at New York University. Among other things this meeting decided to call another Stop the Draft Week for December 4 through 8. The proposal was made by Linda Morse (formerly Dannenberg) who used the following language: "I propose that SMC call a national 'Stop the Draft Week' Dec. 4-8, in conjunction with the Resistance, to organize the closing of induction centers or draft boards where possible across the country, a la Oakland style."¹⁶ The proposal passed unanimously. In connection with this action there occurred the second try at "mobile tactics" in New York City.

The plans included a draft card turn-in by the Resistance for Monday, December 4. On Tuesday there would be a traditional nonviolent sit-in at the Whitehall induction center, located near the southern tip of Manhattan between the ferry slips and the Wall Street financial district. Dave McReynolds and the War Resisters League were responsible for coordinating this phase. On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday an ad hoc Stop the Draft Week Committee, including the Student Mobilization Committee, the Resistance, the Workshop in Nonviolence, and a number of New York SDSers, would attempt to close the induction center.

During the initial organizing discussions the YSAers in the SMC balked at the phrase "to close the induction center." This was unrealistic, they maintained, and they proposed a more defensive formulation for a mass demonstration, to "talk to the inductees." They were in the minority, however, and the final wording on the leaflet was: "BE WITH THOUSANDS TO CLOSE THE INDUCTION CENTER—Talk to the inductees."¹⁷

The committee sent a telegram to Mayor John Lindsay informing him of the demonstration and saying: "We will be going down to Whitehall Street unarmed and with no intention of violence." It urged the police to "do the same."¹⁸

On Tuesday, some 5,000 demonstrators showed up before 7:00 a.m. when the inductees were scheduled to report. Thousands of police prevented all but a token number from picketing in front of the center. The demonstrators were herded behind mazes of wooden barricades spread out over a large area. Dr. Spock, who led the first of the sit-downers, once again had difficulty getting arrested. The cops at first wouldn't let him step through the barricade to the front of the building, and the tall distinguished pediatrician, in a vested suit, had to try to crawl under and push through the cops' legs. They finally relented and let Spock and others walk through to the center entrance to begin the sit-down. There were so many sit-downers they couldn't all get to the

13. Kirkpatrick Sale, *SDS* (New York: Vintage, 1973), p. 377.

14. Parade Committee leaflet on November 14, 1967, demonstration. (Copy in author's files.)

15. SDS leaflet on November 14, 1967, demonstration. (Copy in author's files.)

16. "Action Proposals—"Stop the Draft Week." Submitted by Linda Morse to the November 4, 1967, SMC Continuations Committee meeting. (Copy in author's files.)

17. Stop the Draft Week Committee leaflet for December 4-8, 1967, demonstrations. (Copy in author's files.)

18. *Militant*, November 27, 1967.

entrance and some sat down in the street. These were attacked by mounted police and one was hospitalized with a brain concussion. Otherwise the sit-down went according to plan and 264 were arrested.

On Wednesday morning, long before sunup, the crowd was also about 5,000, gathering this time in Battery Park a couple of blocks from the induction center. There were literally as many police as demonstrators and they had complete military control of the entire area. The demonstrators marched toward the center in several groups but the cops allowed only token numbers in front of the center where they were tightly boxed in by barricades. One group led by Linda Morse and Gus Horowitz was shunted by police from one side street to another until it was finally dispersed by the cops, utterly frustrated. It was dubbed the "Lost Battalion." One survivor of the adventure recalls:

"There were about 300 hundred of us, and at first everybody was mad as hell at the bullying by the cops. We were peacefully walking toward the Whitehall building when a phalanx of cops marched on us with clubs, pushing us into a side street. We couldn't stop or we'd be arrested and the cops wouldn't say where they were herding us. I was one of the marshals and we decided we had nothing to lose by trying the Berkeley 'mobile tactics.' So the whole group set out at a dead run down the street away from the induction center, trying to outflank the cops and double back to rejoin the main group. But every time we would turn a corner, with hundreds of cops running after us, we'd sight a new line of police forming up ahead. This went on for several hours as we were driven further and further away, still hoping to run faster than the army on our heels. Finally we realized that the cops not only outnumbered us but were working with radios and a helicopter and knew where we were going before we did. In the end they closed in on us from all sides and we all scattered as fast as we could into stores and alleys just to escape arrest. So much for the Lost Battalion and for 'mobile tactics.'"¹⁹

Some of the other marchers headed into the financial district, swarming through the streets, their antiwar shouts echoing off the concrete canyons. They were closely followed by cops on all sides. Finally about a thousand broke to the north, marching rapidly through the streets from the financial district to city hall. Chased from there, they half marched, half ran, all the way to the Waldorf-Astoria hotel, miles uptown, where Dean Rusk was slated to speak at a gathering of the National Association of Manufacturers. Police were massed there as well and eventually dispersed the pickets.

A few hundred stalwarts marched to the United Nations where the cops once again attacked and broke them up. The first day ended in complete frustration for those who had expected to close the induction center, or even have a good try at it. The most encouraging part of the day was the friendly response from people on the sidelines and in windows of buildings as the demonstrators ran past shouting slogans and giving the V sign.

The next two days were similar except that the turnout was much smaller and the cops were proportionately freer with clubs and blackjacks, and more sweeping in their arrests.

On Thursday about 800 demonstrators started out from Battery Park for the induction center. I happened to be in a group of about 100 that the police allowed to picket near the entrance. The pickets were entirely peaceful but at one point the cops put a ring around them and started loading the whole bunch into police vans. Fortunately I was wearing a good overcoat and a tie so I picked up a copy of the *Wall Street Journal* from a wastebasket and slipped out by asking a cop how I could get through this mess to the Stock Exchange.

The main body of demonstrators once again went north through the streets to Times Square and then east toward the United Nations. Near the UN the cops surrounded the group, by now only about 300 strong, and arrested the whole bunch as Peter Seidman of the Columbia University CEWV was making a speech denouncing the police suppression of the demonstration. The TV cameras happened to catch this and it was shown on TV that

19. Letter to the author from Les Evans, April 26, 1976.

evening. The police released without charges all those arrested on this occasion claiming they'd made a mistake, but 150 others had been arrested and booked during the Thursday activities.

On Friday the crowd was a little larger, about 1,000. They didn't even try to make the induction center but went straight north again. They got as far as 16th Street, in front of an army intelligence center across the street from Washington Irving High School. There the crowd stood for a while waving at the students across the street, who gave the V sign back, and then the cops made the most vicious attack of the week. Plainclothes police inside the crowd took out blackjacks and together with the uniformed cops with clubs beat and arrested anyone they could reach. In a few minutes the sidewalk was spattered with blood. The bulk of the crowd retreated to Union Square where it assembled around a statue and waited for leaders of the demonstration to come up with a plan.

There were perhaps 500 demonstrators left. The police were bringing up vans and surrounding the area. It was obvious that plainclothes police were heavily infiltrating the crowd. A few leaders spoke over portable sound equipment but nobody seemed to have a suggestion. So I asked for the microphone and told the people we were outnumbered by the cops and ought to get out of there quickly by dispersing, go home, and organize a really big demonstration another time.

Art Goldberg, a journalist who was then on the staff doing press relations for the Stop the Draft Week Committee, was angry and said I had no right to do that.²⁰ To be sure I was not on the committee organizing this demonstration, but I figured three days of puffing through the streets had earned me the right to an opinion. The majority voted with their feet and the bulk of the crowd melted away. A part of it ran north once again and got as Rockefeller Plaza where the arrest of seventy-five ended the week's events.

In four days the second Stop the Draft Week had resulted in some 580 arrests (aside from those the cops said were mistakes), uncounted injuries, and no interruption of the business of the induction center. It was not all negative, of course, since the activities did attract a lot of attention and a certain amount of sympathy for the draft protest. But an evaluation of tactics was obviously in order.

[Next chapter: *The First National Student Strike and the Split in the SMC*]

20. This Art Goldberg is not to be confused with the longtime Berkeley activist of the same name who was prominent in the radical campus political party SLATE in the early 1960s and in the Free Speech Movement.

Subscribe now

Read

Intercontinental Press

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

- \$12 for six months.
 \$24 for one year.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Country _____

When Isaac Deutscher Showed Healy to the Door

By Ernest Tate

It is not necessary for me to deal with Gerry Healy's slanderous accusations against Joe Hansen and George Novack—I think Joe Hansen's reply to the charges more than adequately exposed Healy's latest frame-ups¹—but I think by relating some personal experiences I had in Britain, I can throw some light on how damaging Healy's methods can be—to Healy.

Readers of *Intercontinental Press* will be aware that I became one of Healy's victims when members of the Socialist Labour League physically assaulted me outside one of the organization's public meetings, on November 17, 1966, at Caxton Hall in London, England, where I was selling the *International Socialist Review* and the pamphlet, *Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International*.² In the beating, which took place in the presence of Healy, my glasses were smashed. After I got up from the pavement, I was forced to go to a hospital for treatment.

The beating was not just an isolated incident. It followed a series of threats against the political group I was active in—the sympathizing group of the Fourth International in Britain, which later became the International Marxist Group, the official British section of the Fourth International.

In the weeks preceding the incident outside Caxton Hall, members of our group had been threatened by Healy's followers and prevented from selling literature at an SLL meeting held during the Labour party annual conference in Brighton. And of course there was the open threat leveled against us in Healy's paper, the *Newsletter*, in connection with our selling the pamphlet, *Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International*.

"We shall not hesitate to deal appropriately with the handful of United Secretari-

at agents who hawk it around the cynical fake-left in England."

At that time our group was very much involved in mobilizing public sentiment against the complicity of the British government in the U.S. imperialist intervention in Vietnam. Our main activity was in the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, but we were also helping the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in the organizational work of the War Crimes Tribunal which sought to bring together some of the world's leading intellectuals to hear and pass moral judgment on the American aggression against Vietnam.

It was through this work that I had the good fortune of meeting Isaac Deutscher, the Marxist historian and biographer of Trotsky.

Deutscher was very much committed to making the War Crimes Tribunal a success. He had spoken in the United States on the American aggression and had undertaken speaking tours throughout Europe on the question, putting aside some of his major historical writing to do so. He also took an active part in trying to solve the day-to-day practical problems that inevitably arose in making such a broad international undertaking as the War Crimes Tribunal a success.

As far as I am aware, this was the first time that Deutscher since leaving Poland had become publicly and personally involved, in an organizational sense, in political activity on the left.

My impression of Deutscher was that he saw his writings as his main contribution to the struggle for socialism. He remained aloof from the various groupings in Britain, but was, in general, sympathetic to the Trotskyists (but not the state capitalists!) although what he thought was the needless factionalism and polemics they conducted against each other was not to his taste.

I remember once discussing the Socialist Labour League and Healy with Deutscher. I had heard that in the past Deutscher had had a collaborative relationship with Healy and that articles by him had appeared in *Labour Review*, the theoretical organ of the SLL. I also knew that he had discussions with Healy from time to time.

Deutscher readily conceded the sectarian and political weaknesses of the SLL; but, he asked, which of the Trotskyist organizations in England at that time were as organizationally serious or as prepared to

build a working-class leadership as was the SLL? And indeed, despite the serious political differences I had with Healy, I had to admit the element of truth in what Deutscher was saying.

At that time, the disease of sectarianism seemed to be rampant in most of the Trotskyist groups. Of them all, the SLL was the largest. Even though it abstained from participation in activities around the Vietnam war and was hostile to the War Crimes Tribunal, it nevertheless held some of the largest and most impressive meetings in London and had an atmosphere of seriousness surrounding it that was absent from the other groups.

The day following the incident outside Caxton Hall, I had occasion to see Deutscher in connection with some work concerning the War Crimes Tribunal. He could see that I was not in good shape, being bruised and having difficulty walking. He told me he had heard that I had been beaten, and asked me about it. I described briefly what had occurred.

Deutscher became angry and upset. If what I was saying was true, he said, he could not have such a person as Healy coming to his home. He felt that it was necessary for him to confront Healy with my accusation.

Deutscher asked me to come to his home to face Healy while he personally questioned him about the incident. I, of course, agreed to be present.

This is not to say that Deutscher was sympathetic to me in the affair—indeed, he told me that to sell such a pamphlet as *Healy "Reconstructs"* outside an SLL meeting was far too provocative.

I disagreed, but I felt that this implicitly was more of a condemnation of the SLL, because the material in the pamphlet stood on its own merits.

I think part of Deutscher's motivation in asking for the meeting was that he viewed himself as a friend of the left as a whole and was alarmed at the apparent degeneration in political relations between two Trotskyist groups. He thought he could use his own personal and intellectual authority—which stood high with the left in Britain—to intervene in the dispute and bring some sort of resolution to it.

Healy brought Michael Banda and Eileen Jennings with him to the meeting at Deutscher's home. Banda was editor of the *Newsletter*, if I recall correctly, and Jennings was the leader of Healy's Young

1. See "On Healy's 'Investigation'—What the Facts Show" by Joseph Hansen, *Intercontinental Press*, November 24, 1975, p. 1636.—IP

2. The pamphlet *Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International* as well as a series of documents concerning the beating of Ernest Tate have been included in a 253-page book, *Marxism Vs. Ultraleftism: The Record of Healy's Break With Trotskyism*. For a copy send \$2.50 to the National Education Department, Socialist Workers Party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.—IP

Socialists. I brought Geoff Coggan, who at that time was on the staff of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

Deutscher confronted Healy with the charge I had made against him. Although I was boiling underneath, I did not say anything. Under Deutscher's questioning, Healy admitted that the people who had carried out the assault were members of the SLL. He admitted that I had been kicked while lying on the pavement. But he refused to take responsibility himself for what had happened.

He said that I had provoked the SLL members or supporters by saying things critical of the SLL.

Then he had the gall to say that I, Tate, had attacked and beaten up his people!

Deutscher wanted to know how it was possible for someone lying on the ground and being kicked to carry out this feat.

Indeed, Healy said, he had intervened personally and prevented me from receiving a worse beating.

Well then, Deutscher asked, didn't you see to it that Tate received attention for his injuries?

Healy had no answer.

Deutscher turned again to the question of responsibility. "As a leader of the SLL, don't you accept responsibility for the action of its members?"

Healy refused to accept this and Deutscher quoted Lenin to him on the question of leadership responsibility.

Yes, in that sense I am responsible, Healy replied.

Deutscher, obviously very angry, ordered Healy to get out. He rose to show the SLL leaders to the door.

As they started to leave, Healy shouted at Deutscher; and Banda, who had been silent until then, joined in. They denounced Deutscher as "petty bourgeois" as they walked out.

What is instructive in this episode, in my opinion, is that Isaac Deutscher, who alone among the intellectuals of stature in Britain could be considered a friend of the SLL, was forced to break off personal relations because of an action of its leader that violated proletarian morality. The SLL thus lost a valuable asset because of the practices of the Healy leadership.

The "Tate incident" continued to give the SLL trouble. Some time later, Tony Garnet, the well-known television producer, who was sympathetic to the SLL, organized a meeting, ostensibly to discuss our group's policy on Vietnam, at which representatives of the SLL could present their views. We had known for some time that the SLL was trying to influence a number of politically inexperienced people in television work, who were moving to the left and who had participated with us in our Vietnam war protest activities.

The meeting took place at Garnet's home and the representatives of the SLL were no less than Gerry Healy and Cliff Slaughter. Also present at the meeting were partici-

pants in the *New Left Review*, most notably, Robin Blackburn. The meeting was essentially a debate between two from our group, Connie Harris, and myself on one side, and Healy and Slaughter on the other, concerning the antiwar movement in Britain and how our respective organizations could best defend the Vietnamese revolution.

The debate soon shifted to what was for Healy the real business of the gathering—a discussion of "the Tate affair." Healy went to great lengths to plead his personal innocence and I stated the facts as they happened outside Caxton Hall, explaining that witnesses were available who could verify what had occurred and the conclusion that Healy was entirely responsible for the assault upon me by his people. No matter how much he wriggled, Healy could not evade that central question.

Of course there was no way that particular gathering could really determine the truth about Healy's personal role, even if it wanted to, so the meeting broke up inconclusively in the small hours of the morning. From the discussion it was obvious that "the Tate affair" was disturbing to some of the people present, and this was creating problems for the SLL in winning them. In fact, the staging of the debate was in its own way a tacit recognition by Healy of the justice of my demand that a commission based upon working-class organizations be set up to investigate the beating, a demand that the SLL had categorically rejected.

I am sure, when the final balance sheet is drawn on the Workers Revolutionary party, Healy's distinctive technique (is it so unique?) of dealing with the ideas of political opponents, even in his own

organization, through lies, slander, frame-ups, and general thuggery, will be seen to be a key element in the decline and isolation of that organization. I am confident that the attempt to besmirch Joe Hansen and George Novack will be an important contribution to that process.

The tragedy is that many good militants who are now members of the WRP may be lost to the cause of revolutionary socialism as a result. □

Immigrant Workers in Paris Refuse to Pay Exorbitant Rent

Twelve thousand immigrant workers in the industrial suburbs of Paris are refusing to pay rent. The workers, who live in more than twenty state-operated apartment units for single men, are insisting that they will not pay more than \$40 a month for a single six-by-ten-foot room. The government is demanding about \$60.

Police acting under the orders of Interior Minister Michel Poniatowski raided several of the apartment complexes on Easter weekend. Sixteen leaders were rounded up and deported.

The racist treatment the immigrant workers—who are mainly Black Africans and Arabs from North Africa—receive at the hands of apartment managers is also an issue in the rent strike.

One young Algerian described a case to *New York Times* correspondent James F. Clarity in which one apartment manager "took the North Africans aside and told them he liked them, understood them, and that the black Africans were like animals. Then he told the blacks that the Algerians were bad; that he knew them from the war. He was trying to divide us."

**When you move,
it's nice to have your mail
move with you.**

New Address:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zipcode _____

Country _____

Old Address:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zipcode _____

Country _____

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

LCI and PRT Discuss Failure to Field Joint Electoral Slate

[The two Trotskyist groups in Portugal, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) and the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party, an organization that has declared its adherence to the Fourth International), ran separate slates in the April 25 legislative elections. Negotiations for a common campaign failed in

the last days before the filing date for petitions for a place on the ballot.

[Following the PRT's decision to run its own slate, the LCI newspaper, *Luta Proletária*, published in its March 10 issue a comment on the failure of the negotiations. The PRT replied in the March 18 issue of its newspaper, *Combate Socialista*.

[Both articles are printed below. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*. All emphasis is in the original.]

Statement of the LCI

The political agreement reached between the Executive Committee of the LCI and the leadership of the PRT—an accord subsequently ratified by the Central Committee of the LCI—was abrogated, owing to a political shift by the PRT.

We think an explanation is necessary, and so we are offering one here. Our objective in this is to clarify a political debate that we think is part of building the Portuguese section of the Fourth International on a line that will be adopted in a congress unifying the revolutionary Marxist forces.

The SP is unquestionably the *majority party* in the working class. But its strength lies fundamentally in its electoral influence. It does not lie in the organization of the masses that follow its leadership in cells, local sections, and trade-union fractions.

However, the comrades of the PRT see the SP as the *dominating force* in the workers movement. From this flows their hope that mobilizations initiated by opposition caucuses will make it possible to establish democracy in the unions. Hence their support for SP slates and even SP-MRPP [Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party, a Maoist group] slates.

But the consequences of this position lead deeper. They lead to advocating an "SP government based on the working-class deputies and mass mobilizations." It is precisely this perspective that prevented an accord between the LCI and the PRT. We proposed to the PRT comrades, in conformity with the text of the agreement they accepted and later abrogated—to make propaganda for a *workers and peasants government* an axis of the campaign. Such a government is explained as a *working-class solution* for the present crisis. Therefore, we stressed the *central tasks it has to carry out* (nationalizations with compensation, satisfaction of the demands of the workers and peasants). So, also we put the responsibility directly on the CP and the SP, as the *majority parties in the workers movement*, demanding that

they break the pact and take up the tasks established by the workers in a democratic congress of the trade unions.

However, the PRT comrades wanted to advance the formula of an "SP government. . ." That is an incorrect perspective that would make it impossible for our campaign to appeal to all sections of the working class; we disagree profoundly with it.

We think the kind of government that is needed, as we have been explaining in our agitation, should in no way be responsible to the Legislative Assembly (to the

working-class deputies. . .) but rather should be responsible to a democratic congress of the trade unions, to the organs of workers power.

When we demand that the SP and the CP take their responsibilities by forming a government responsible to the workers, we refuse to endorse the political line of the CP (acceptance of the pact, proposal of "unity" with the SP) or of the SP ("we will govern by ourselves," while at the same time obviously counting on the support of the bourgeoisie and respecting its institutions). In this case, we make no distinction between the leaderships of the SP and the CP. Both have tied themselves to the bourgeoisie. The problem is to put them on the spot in front of the workers movement and clearly expose their betrayals.

But the formula of an "SP government. . ." does not enable us to do this. And this is what we need to do in order to prevent a campaign in which the issues are confused.

Nonetheless, unity in action by our two organizations is necessary. We will continue to devote space in the pages of *Luta Proletária* to our proposals and to the positions of the PRT. □

Statement of the PRT

Combate Socialista does not intend to try its readers' patience with a detailed account of all the episodes that prevented the proposed joint campaign between the LCI and PRT. The memberships of both organizations, of course, will have to take the time to make a thorough balance sheet of this unsuccessful experiment. For such a task we will shortly have a joint internal bulletin.

This said, another question arises. While it is true that our newspapers are not perhaps the best forum for such a discussion, we cannot fail to reply when issue no. 27 of *Luta Proletária* gives a false version of the process. We owe our readers a clarification, and we will offer one on two points:

1. *Luta Proletária* said that the accord was "proposed by the LCI and accepted by the PRT." That is a lie. The fundamental lines of the accord were drawn up by both leaderships, and there were concessions on both sides.

The LCI made a concession on the slogan of *centralizing the Workers Commissions*. The PRT proposed that this slogan be one of the main ones in the campaign. The LCI started by saying that it could not be because the stage we are going through is a defensive one. The LCI comrades said concretely that the stage is not a prerevolutionary one and probably will not be "until October." However,

finally they accepted our proposal.

The PRT made a concession on the governmental formula. The LCI proposed a call for an SP-CP government, which in general we agree with but which we thought would not be very understandable. This is because the Socialist workers in general are against their party forming a government with the CP. And if we devoted ourselves to convincing them that they have to accept a government with CP ministers, we would be diverting attention away from the fundamental question, that is, from denouncing the pact between the military and the parties and stressing the need for a government without representatives of the bourgeoisie. On this question, we must make clear that the workers cannot accept a government subordinated to a "Council of the Revolution" and a general as president.

So, our proposal was to challenge the SP to break the pact and to break with its collaboration with the bourgeoisie, to call on it to "govern by itself" in alliance with all the working-class deputies and apply an anticapitalist program that after being discussed in all the organs of the workers, mainly the Workers Commissions, would be backed up by the mobilization of these bodies. The LCI strongly rejected this. Since this was not a matter of principle for us, we agreed to use the formula of an SP-CP government, which is correct, although

not very understandable. This did not involve, as we explicitly said, abandoning the formula that we proposed, but just subordinating it.

2. *Luta Proletária* claims that the PRT broke the agreement. This also is false. The PRT had every interest in maintaining this accord. For this reason, we made concessions that could be justified only for the sake of the agreement, on questions such as the allotment of propaganda time on radio and television and the composition of the slates and the candidates in each district. The LCI, on the other hand, maintained an inflexible position on all these points.

It was the LCI that broke the agreement. It was the comrades of the LCI who told us that this political platform was not sufficient to establish an electoral front between two organizations that continue to have profound differences, in particular on the interpretation of November 25. The LCI comrades thus left us the possibility of sharing in their slates but refused to announce the existence of an electoral front, because they thought the political agreement achieved was not sufficient for this.

It may have been naïveté on our part, but we thought this agreement in fact

reflected a coming together of both organizations. The LCI, on the other hand, pretends that it made no concessions and believes that the one we made was the result of "electoral opportunism." We also thought that a joint campaign could be an important step toward unification of the Portuguese Trotskyists. The LCI, on the other hand, thought that it would be an opportunity to "explain to the PRT members the zigzags and hesitations of its leadership."

Perhaps we deceived ourselves. But *Luta Proletária* is also deceiving itself if it thinks it can trample on the truth and not be deservedly unmasked. □

Election Manifesto Issued by Former Members of PRT

[On April 15 a group of former members of the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party, an organization that has declared its adherence to the Fourth International) issued an electoral manifesto calling for a vote for the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International).

[This group of former PRT members includes a number of activists and former leaders of the organization who were expelled on February 1, as well as others who left at that time. Since the expulsions took place before the opening of pre-congress discussion, the political positions of the persons expelled have not yet been clarified. The following is one of the first public statements issued by this group. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

For a CP-SP Government Without Representatives of the Bourgeoisie

Comrade workers, youths, and activists of the workers organizations:

The elections for the Assembly of the Republic clearly pose the question of the government, the question of power, for the working and oppressed masses in the cities and in the countryside, for the youth.

What class holds state power and what class should rule?

Already in April 1975, in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, the majority of the Portuguese people gave a partial answer to the bourgeoisie in the electoral field by voting for the workers parties. The victory of these parties pointed the way toward organizing a government based on unity between the two mass workers parties so as to provide a working-class and socialist solution for the crisis. This is why the MFA [Movimento das Forças

Armadas—Armed Forces Movement] and the bourgeois government launched their attacks on the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly as the expression of the people's will.

But today as in 1975, we see pacts being signed between the workers parties, the MFA, and the bourgeois parties—designed to impose a defeat on the workers before they even get a chance to fight. The CP and the SP are collaborating shamelessly in this. These pacts delude and divide the working masses, leading them to support bourgeois solutions and bourgeois governments resting on collaboration by the workers parties with the bourgeoisie and its institutions.

The Popular Front Against the Mobilization of Workers

The "new" pact demonstrates that the bourgeoisie, represented as a whole by the MFA, has a clear understanding of the fact that after two years of proletarian revolution, the working masses have not yet been defeated. The relationship of forces between the classes that emerged after April 25, 1974, has not altered qualitatively. To carry out a policy aimed against the workers movement and its gains, the bourgeoisie thus cannot dispense with the form of government that involves collaboration with the workers parties, the popular front. The bourgeois parties, the MFA, and those forces allied with them in the attempt to paralyze the revolution know very well that no solution has been found for the fundamental problems that are impelling mobilizations by the workers movement. No such solution is possible within the framework of bourgeois institutions. So, they say that "social stability and order" must be assured for the sake of "national reconstruction."

Thus, the elections for the Assembly of the Republic are being held in a period when the bourgeoisie, exploiting the No-

vember 25 adventure, is taking the initiative against the mobilizations and strikes of the workers. In the entire campaign for "stabilization" mounted by the bourgeois government, no worker can fail to ask in what camp and with what class their leaderships stand, with the workers and socialist revolution, or with counterrevolution.

A Plan of Struggle

Most of the demands raised by the mass movement and pushed in strikes have not been met. This has been particularly true after November 25. The government and the bosses are not inclined to make any concessions.

However, the masses cannot stand by and let their main problems go unsolved. They need:

- Higher wages and a better standard of living; a national minimum wage of 6,000 escudos [1 escudo=US\$.03], a sliding scale of wages adjusted according to increases in the cost of living.
- A sliding scale of hours of work that will assure employment for all workers.
- Support for housing construction that will guarantee decent homes for the working population.
- Full guarantees of vocational training.
- Furtherance of agrarian reform, with the backing of a credit policy controlled by the organizations of the workers and poor peasants.
- A plan of struggle discussed and decided on in a democratic congress of the trade unions, which will direct its application in a coordinated way and impose workers control.
- Extension of democratic freedoms; repeal of the reactionary and antilabor laws—the strike law, the press law, the trade-union unity law, and so on—dissolution of the repressive bodies, the PSP [Policia de Segurança Pública—Public Security Police], the GNR [Guarda Nacion-

al Republican—Republican National Guard], the military police, and others.

- Full democratic rights for soldiers, including the right to organize.
- Abrogation of the military pacts with imperialism—the Iberian Pact and NATO.
- Repeal of all laws limiting access to education; nationalization of all educational institutions and free education for all.
- The right for students, through their democratic organizations, to control the entire life of the schools and put them at the service of the social and political needs of the working masses.

A United Front Instead of Class Collaboration

The increasing slide into political and economic bankruptcy, which the successive provisional governments have been unable to reverse, prevents satisfying the needs of the working class. *The bourgeoisie must not be allowed to take part in any more governments. It bears the main responsibility for the crisis.* All its solutions involve the working masses paying the costs.

The government has to be changed! A government must be formed without representatives of the bourgeoisie, without representatives of the MFA; a government of the workers organizations.

At this time such a government can only be a government of the CP and the SP, which are supported by a majority within the workers and people's movement.

A workers united front joining together the majority of the exploited and oppressed against the government and for the independence of the mass organizations from the bourgeoisie is an urgent need!

- The CP and the SP must break the pact with the MFA and the parties of capital.
- Down with the Council of the Revolution.
- For a workers and peasants government.
- For a CP-SP government without representatives of the bourgeoisie, without military officers.

The task of such a workers and peasants government will be to satisfy fully the just demands of the working masses. Its program must center on breaking the back of the ruling class by expropriating and nationalizing all big Portuguese and foreign capital, by dissolving the professional army. The workers and peasants government will have to base itself on the struggles of the workers movement against the bourgeoisie and its institutions, on the struggle for socialism.

For a Democratic Congress of Trade Unions and a Single Union Federation

Fighting for a workers and peasants government becomes an elementary re-

quirement for class unity against the MFA and the bourgeois parties. It is only along an axis of class independence, carried out the governmental level as well, that the workers, tenants, and soldiers commissions can be revitalized and centralized as united-front bodies. Without such an axis, we will see the same fragmentation the masses suffered in the period when the MFA's control over them was called "People's Power."

Organizing the working class against the offensive of the bosses and the government requires strengthening the trade-union organizations. The most extensive workers democracy, permitting the expression of all tendencies in the workers movement, is a prerequisite for building a single united trade-union federation independent from the bosses and their state. A united front of all tendencies in the workers movement to convene a democratic congress of all the trade unions provides the fundamental framework for the fight to carry out an anticapitalist strategic plan for defending the gains and interests of the workers. Self-defense by the workers, which to be effective must be massive, should be organized on the basis of this congress as an urgent task.

Why We Are Voting for the LCI

Our vote is fundamentally a vote for working-class independence, a vote for a CP-SP government without representatives of the bourgeoisie, a vote for the unity of the working class.

We know, however, that both the CP and SP leaderships stubbornly refuse to unite the working class, to break with the parties of the bourgeoisie, to break with the MFA, because they refuse to open the door to the destruction of the bourgeois state, to open the way for building socialism. The struggle for a united front will be reinforced by the presence in the Assembly of the Republic of workers candidates who stand committed before the workers movement to supporting working-class unity and independence, to the struggle for a workers and peasants government.

Although the PRT declares adherence to the Fourth International and its program, the position it has taken in the elections calling on the SP to "govern by itself" represents capitulating to the pressures that the Stalinist and Social Democratic leaderships have brought to bear to split the mass movement. Therefore, we former members of the PRT consider that this organization's electoral campaign and governmental slogan do not promote working-class unity. On the contrary, they create confusion about the meaning of the united front and reinforce illusions in the Social Democratic leadership.

We call for a vote for the LCI, regardless of the differences we have with it. This organization is the only one that is

presenting the perspective of class independence and a government by the workers parties united. As we see it:

Voting for the LCI means fighting for a workers and peasants government, for a CP-SP government without representatives of the bourgeoisie.

Voting for the LCI means telling the leaderships of the workers movements to tear up the pacts with the civilian and military representatives of the bosses.

Voting for the LCI means fighting for a democratic congress of trade unions and for building a single democratic independent union federation.

Voting for the LCI means saying: Down with the Council of the Revolution and the MFA, who are preparing to establish a military dictatorship! Reaction is in the government!

Vote for the LCI

Since voting for the LCI means supporting the program of the Fourth International, it means:

- Fighting for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the destruction of its state.
- Fighting for the world proletarian revolution and for socialism.
- Fighting for a Federation of Iberian Socialist Republics and for a Socialist United States of Europe.
- Building an independent working-class party inimical to the bourgeoisie and the bureaucracies in the workers movement as the precondition for the victory of the revolution, that is, building the Revolutionary Workers party.
- Building the Fourth International. □

Prisoners Protest in Bahrain

Conditions in the Jedah prison, an island prison in the sheikhdom of Bahrain, have led to a protest by forty-two inmates there. In an appeal to Bahraini Interior Minister Mohammad bin Khalifa al-Khalifa dated January 4, the prisoners detailed their situation.

"For example," the appeal said, "our relatives are given time for interviews and we are informed of dates different from the dates given to our relatives."

Another point raised by the prisoners was that "due to the inavailability of a doctor at Jedah Jezirah prison, we see that some of the sick prisoners are removed to hospital at Manamah. So they remain at Qala'a prison and are asked to do work, and when they refuse due to their health condition they are subject to harsh punishment and beating and insults. For example prisoner Abdul Majid Mohammad al-Muhsin; the Manamah prison officer kept him in an individual cell during the summer for a period of 27 days when he refused to go for work at Hawar island due to his inability to walk and carry heavy things as a result of sickness in his muscles."

Finnish Social Democrats Discuss Attitude Toward CPs

By Jukka Paastela

[The following article, published in the March issue of *Lippu*, the monthly newspaper of the Finnish Sosialidemokraattinen Nuorisliiton Keskusliitto (League of Social Democratic Youth), offers an explanation of the differences among the European Social Democratic parties. The explanation is intended for the ranks of the Finnish Social Democracy, which is in a particularly delicate position as regards the question of collaboration with Communist parties.]

[Since *Lippu* is a house organ for activists and is not noted for controversy, it appears that the SP leadership decided that a semiofficial summary of the disputes among the SPs had to be given to the membership. The disputes in the SPs, of course, are tactical, and the *Lippu* article is also written from the tactical standpoint of the Finnish Social Democracy. Nonetheless, it does give a certain picture of the trends in the European SPs.]

[The original subheadings have been maintained. The translation from the Finnish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Two important meetings have been held in the Socialist International this year. Leaders of the parties affiliated to the international met in Denmark, and the leaders of the southern European Socialist parties (including Belgium, Spain, France, and Italy) met in France.

In these meetings, many crosscurrents came to the surface that are producing certain tensions among the various member parties as well as within them.

The questions that caused these crosscurrents were, among others, relations with the Communist parties, the attitude toward NATO, the attitude toward further attempts at "European unity," and the question of the Socialist International's relations with the Third World.

North Against South and the Central Position of the German SP

It can be said that a conflict had appeared long ago between the north and the south. The southern European Socialist parties represented forces seeking structural changes. Among them, the very term "Social Democrat" was a common epithet. On the other hand, the "Social Democratic" parties in England, Germany, Austria, and Scandinavia were reformist forces propping up capitalism.

This division was always automatic. But the meetings I referred to have shown that in this conflict the German SPD¹ and the

parties linked to it (above all the Austrian SPO²) are coming to take a central position.

After the formation of the Union of the Left in France, the French SP (PSF³) and the SPD were at loggerheads. Now the trend seems to be toward the PSF getting more and more sympathy from quarters that previously maintained a more reserved attitude.

In the SPD, moreover, there is a clear conflict between the party leader, Willy Brandt, and the chancellor, Helmut Schmidt.

Communists a Central Issue

A central question in this dispute is what attitude to take toward the Communist parties and possibilities for collaborating with them.

Three general lines can be clearly distinguished.

1. The traditional anti-Communists, represented above all by the SPD and the SPO.

2. Those who hold a favorable attitude toward united action by the left. This group includes primarily the PSF, the Finnish SDP,⁴ the Italian Socialist party (PSI), the Spanish Socialist Workers party (PSOE),⁵ and the Greek PASOK.⁶

3. The "moderate" parties, which did not immediately condemn the French Union of the Left; for example, the Swedish and Danish Social Democratic parties.

This kind of categorization, however, always involves oversimplification. In many parties, internal disputes have arisen over these questions.

In the Denmark meeting, Chancellor Schmidt took the floor and strongly condemned working with Communists. But at the end of January, SPD Chairman Brandt made a statement, published in *Der Spiegel*, in which there were some notable nuances.

Brandt said that "interesting developments" were taking place in the Communist movement. He pointed in particular to Italy, where, he said, "a withering away of dogma" was in progress.

Immediately after saying this, Brandt

2. Sozialistische Partei Oesterreichs (Socialist party of Austria).

3. Parti Socialiste Français (French Socialist party).

4. Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue (Social Democratic party).

5. Partido Socialista Obrero Español.

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

did say cautiously that he did not know how far this process had gone or how long it would last.

In any case, if this evolution was genuine, it would change the situation in many countries.

"We cannot close our eyes to important political facts, even when they concern Communists," Brandt said.

The reference to Italy was not accidental, since the Italian Communist party is the only West European CP with which the SPD has developed party-to-party contacts. The Italian Communists were able to offer the SPD their "good offices." At the end of the 1960s, they served as the intermediary for the first discussions between the SPD and the East German SED.⁷

The relations between the Italian Communist party and the SPD were unofficial, but they have been continuous since that time.

Recently, observers from the Italian Communist party participated in the congress of the SPD in Mannheim.

What is prompting Brandt? It is clear that in many European countries and especially in Italy new realities are giving rise to new assessments.

In a few years, Social Democrats may find themselves facing a Communist party firmly ensconced in the Italian government. So, it would be a good idea to develop the necessary relationships before this.

Thus, Brandt has now come to the general conclusion that it is entirely correct to keep open unofficial channels of discussion with those Communist parties that have real political weight.

Brandt's statement aroused the ire of some rightists. The Christian Democrats made it a major campaign issue [in recent local elections].

Support for French Union of the Left

Those parties that clearly supported the French Union of the Left in the Denmark meeting, according to *Le Monde's* correspondent, were the Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Belgian, and Luxembourg parties, as well as the representatives of the Social Democratic party of Finland.

A completely new aspect, according to some assessments, was that the Swedish Social Democratic Labor party (SAP)⁸ expressed its support for those in the PSF who are satisfied with the Union of the Left. This strengthens Mitterrand's posi-

7. Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity [Communist] party of Germany).

8. Sosialdemokratista arbetarpartiet.

1. Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic party of Germany).

tion in the party, especially if the fight sharpens against the right wing of the PSF that supports a "Social Democratic Federation."

This is a possibility in the near future if the right wing becomes stronger in the party.

The French Socialist party responded directly to this challenge in the southern European meeting. The representative of the PSF, Jean-Pierre Cot, said:

"The Communist parties are developing toward independence from the Soviet Union. Polycentrism has become a reality in the international Communist movement."

A Sharp Discussion in Southern Europe

The SPD's sharpest critic in the Socialist International is perhaps the Greek Socialist movement PASOK. Andreas Papandreou, who participated as an observer in the meeting of the southern European SPs, maintains that the SPD holds the dominant position in the Socialist International.

Papandreou says that he hopes the differences of opinion between the two currents he sees in the Socialist International, "the Socialists and Social Democrats," will not sharpen and that the SPD will make an about-face on the question of working with the Communists.

According to him, these conflicts arise

from the different structures of capitalism in northern and southern Europe. He maintains that Spain, Greece, Portugal, and southern Italy stand in the same relationship to northern Europe and the U.S.A. as the Third World countries.

Another important question is what attitude to take toward NATO. As is generally known, the SPD is extremely friendly to NATO. Even the Jusos⁹ regard such slogans as "Out of NATO" and "Dissolve NATO" as incorrect. In Greece, one of the foremost themes in the struggle of the Socialist movement is the demand for a break with NATO and from U.S. imperialism. The SPD strongly opposes any member states leaving NATO.

Disputes in Portuguese SP

In the meeting of the southern European parties, it became clear that there was a division in the Portuguese party.

The party leader, Soares, did not come to the gathering but went to the U.S.A. during this time.

The official explanation was that Soares had made a mistake about the date for which the meeting was scheduled. However, there were widespread reports that differences of opinion in the party lay behind this decision. In any case, Soares's

9. Jungsozialisten (Young Socialists, the SP youth).

absence caused consternation. Papandreou said, for example, "My friend Soares has made a fateful choice."

According to some estimations, there are two lines in the PSP: A "Social Democratic" one, represented by Soares, and a "Marxist one," represented by Minister of Agriculture Lopes Cardoso.

Whereas Soares stressed publicly last October that the "Social Democratic road is not possible in Portugal," he now maintains, in a message sent to Mitterrand, that "our Socialist program does not differ fundamentally from the objectives of northern European society." In the Cardoso current, on the other hand, demands are being heard to go beyond the declaration "Socialism in freedom," to start putting it into practice.

The French SP is obviously following the PSP's¹⁰ evolution with concern. Claude Estier, a representative of the PSF, said recently that so far circumstances have not arisen that would force the PSF to change its attitude toward the PSP.

But he added: "Nonetheless, the PSP is abandoning the alliance of the progressive forces and moving toward the road of class collaboration. Clearly, this in no way corresponds to our line and has nothing in common with what we are fighting for in France." □

10. Partido Socialista Português (Portuguese Socialist party).

Liga Socialista Counters 'Fifth Plan' for Venezuela

[The following material appeared in the March 30 and April 7 issues of *Voz Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Liga Socialista (LS—Socialist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Venezuela. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Once again the government of CAP [Carlos Andrés Pérez] is trying to pull the wool over the eyes of the workers, talking endlessly of the need to build a "great Venezuela." To accomplish this, he has put forward the Fifth Plan of the Nation, painting it up as an immediate solution to all the problems this bourgeois government has not solved in two years.¹

Thus, in recent weeks the radio, press, and television have bombarded us with appeals to sacrifice and work harder. Everyone has joined the chorus praising the government's anti-working-class plan, and talks about improving it or changing some of the figures. But no one has pointed out what it means for the workers and people.

It is scarcely a year since the iron industry was nationalized and only a few months since oil was taken over. On being

elected, CAP pompously announced that he was going to end the country's dependency on imperialism by carrying out nationalizations. But the reality has been different. Just a few weeks ago in his speech to Congress on the second anniversary of his government, the president admitted that it would cost us "effort and work" to achieve economic independence.

To be sure, the nationalization of oil and iron was accompanied by the Actas Convenio² and the formation of mixed companies, which in actuality keep the Yankee imperialists in those firms. Furthermore, the imperialists can rest assured that in Venezuela, as long as CAP rules, they will be guaranteed supplies of oil and participation in industrial plans for the petrochemical, iron, and steel industries. And to top it off, Kissinger's visit definitively concretized imperialist participation in the exploitation of Orinoco's bituminous deposits.

This is the other side of the coin! CAP nationalizes so that under the Fifth Plan of the Nation he can turn over more wealth to the Yankee monopolies and sink the country deeper into debt.

Fedecámaras³ is satisfied. Kissinger

2. Memorandum of Agreement spelling out provisions for the nationalization of the iron-ore industry.

smiles at CAP. In view of the circumstances it is not surprising. The gentleman who boasted of being anti-imperialist is today shamefully selling out our country.

The Fifth Plan of the Nation has set as a central goal industrializing the country and increasing production, so as to modernize Venezuelan capitalism and give the native bourgeoisie greater economic power. But this plan is supposed to be completed within ten years.

To carry it out, the bourgeoisie is considering resorting to two things—asking for loans from the Yankees and reducing the cost of production in Venezuela. What does this mean? With regard to the loans, we have already stated what it means. As for the cost of production, the matter can be stated in this way: The workers will have to produce more in less time, and earn less while producing more.

That is what makes the Fifth Plan anti-working-class in character. It is precisely for this reason that the bosses are beginning to campaign against absenteeism from work. To discipline the workers movement they hope to repeal some provisions of the Unjustified Firings Law,

3. The major association of Venezuelan businessmen.

enabling them to dismiss workers not considered sufficiently productive.

No wage increases or economic improvement is contemplated for the collective-bargaining contracts. The government does not want to spend money on the workers.

It is the working class that will have to pay for the Fifth Plan of the Nation. This plan is not ours, it is the bosses' plan.

In the Fifth Plan, CAP did not include a special budget for education to resolve the problem of admission quotas and to construct new universities. What the plan did include was a new education law, which is soon scheduled to be approved. The law would facilitate a North American technical presence, the reaffirmation of admission quotas, an increase in technical courses, and elimination of university autonomy. All of this is designed to assure that the universities and high schools will provide the technicians and cheap labor the bosses need.

Minister [of Finance Héctor] Hurtado has gone further and projected the possibility of the university's beginning to charge tuition, because of the "lack of money."

In short, every aspect of the Fifth Plan leads to one conclusion—greater profits for the bosses, greater exploitation and sacrifice for the workers and people. And that is because it is a capitalist plan, and as such is designed only to increase the wealth of the exploiting minority.

Our interests are not represented in any form in the bourgeoisie's plan. As we said, ours is a different plan.

Plan Proposed by the Liga Socialista

1. In face of the constant inflation, it is clear that the wages we currently receive in no way meet our needs. Although prices keep rising, our wages do not offer even partial compensation. That is why we propose to fight for a wage increase of 40 percent and a minimum wage of 33 bolivars [1 bolivar=US\$.22] daily. We also think that in face of the unchecked rise in prices, our wages should increase proportionately. That is why we should press for the sliding scale of wages and for collective-bargaining agreements that extend for no more than a year.

2. The government's inability to solve the problem of unemployment is obvious. The wave of new layoffs will only make it worse. In Venezuela at present one million persons are unemployed. To meet this problem we call for the establishment of unemployment insurance. In this country there is enough money to be able to give each unemployed person a monthly allocation, with the state guaranteeing jobs. This could be accomplished through a program of public works to build hospitals, day-care centers, schools, universities, and so forth, thus providing jobs for all Venezuelans. Along with this we propose the sliding

scale of hours of work.

3. In face of the wave of layoffs that has affected about 1,000 workers in Maracay, 2,000 in the petroleum industry, and a sizable number in the rest of the country, we demand the immediate reinstatement of any worker who has been laid off.

4. In face of the divisions among workers who are members of three trade-union federations (CTV, CUTV, and CODESA⁴), none of which represent our interests, we urge unification of the three into one federation and call for a congress of delegates from the three federations, to be democratically elected in the factories and other workplaces, and subject to recall. Moreover, the federations should propose a plan of struggle to win a wage increase and halt the layoffs.

5. The Fifth Plan of the Nation envisions using education to serve its ends, as for example in establishing technical courses to obtain cheap labor. The government has shown that it is incapable of solving the problem of admission quotas. That is why we reject having the bourgeois governments decide plans for education.

For open admissions to the university. For assemblies of democratically chosen delegates subject to recall, to organize mass mobilizations and lead them to victory. For student control, for the nationalization of education to place education at the service of the workers, the people, and their struggles.

6. In face of the crisis in the countryside and the impossibility of the bourgeoisie carrying out agrarian reform, we socialists propose:

Expropriation of the land of all latifundists and landlords and its immediate nationalization. Establishment of collective farms, universities, and urban developments.

Interest-free loans without collateral to the peasants to enable them to obtain all the technical means necessary for farming. The land to those who till it.

7. In face of the constant escalation of repression, which has cost the lives of three students, and in face of the raids on the newspapers *¿Qué Hacer?* and *Ruptura* and on the headquarters of the Liga Socialista-MEUP and other people's organizations, we demand that the democratic rights and the freedom of expression and opinion of all organizations be respected.

In Venezuela there are numerous political prisoners. It is a constant duty to fight for their release. Freedom for all political prisoners.

8. In face of CAP's turning Venezuela over to the imperialists, and in face of the mixed companies and the objective of the

Fifth Plan to develop the economy at the cost of greater indebtedness to the imperialists, we demand:

Immediate expropriation of all the imperialist monopolies in our country. Elimination of the mixed companies and establishment of workers control over the nationalized industries.

For withdrawal from all economic and political pacts with imperialism, such as the OEA and the TIAR.⁵

9. The Carlos Andrés Pérez government did not fulfill any of its promises. It did not make the country independent. It did not slow down the high cost of living. It did not eliminate unemployment. On the contrary, it has only increased the poverty and exploitation of the people.

The problem is that it is an anti-working-class, proimperialist, capitalist government. The only government that can carry out the plan we propose is a workers and people's government in the framework of a socialist Venezuela. This would be a government in which the entire economy and means of production are in the hands of the workers—the only way in which there can be a rise in the well-being of the people.

10. All the bosses and presidents of the different Latin American countries talk a lot about the "unity of Latin America." But the Andean Pact⁶ and the dispute with Colombia have shown that for the bourgeoisies of the different countries, their private interests come first. These are what have pitted them against each other to such a degree that they cannot reach any sort of agreement for economic or any other type of unity. In view of this, the only possibility of uniting the countries of the continent and forging a single people out of them is through the formation of a Federation of Socialist States of Latin America. The first step in this direction—to be carried out in succeeding steps through a workers and people's government—is immediate federation with socialist Cuba.

The only thing the socialist members of Congress have done up to now is to add one or another figure to the plan, in fact supporting this capitalist program. The job of the socialist deputies is to expose the Fifth Plan and propose a workers, socialist plan. Not to do so is to betray the masses.

These facts show the need in Venezuela for a solid party that really defends the interests of workers and socialists and that guides our struggles to achieve a workers and people's government. And, as this is a necessity, we include it in our program: Let's build a socialist workers party. □

4. Confederación General de Trabajadores de Venezuela (General Confederation of Workers of Venezuela), Confederación Unitaria de Trabajadores de Venezuela (United Workers Confederation of Venezuela), CODESA—the trade-union federation dominated by the Christian Democrats.

5. Organización de Estados Americanos (Organization of American States), Tratado Interamericano de Asistencia Recíproca (Interamerican Reciprocal Aid Treaty).

6. A preferential trade agreement among several of the smaller South American countries.

La Izquierda Portuguesa Mantiene su Terreno en Elecciones

Por Gerry Foley

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 10 de mayo bajo el título "Leftist Parties Hold Their Own in Portuguese Elections." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

El resultado de las elecciones legislativas del 25 de abril en Portugal demuestra que una mayoría absoluta del pueblo portugués y una abrumadora mayoría de los trabajadores están decididas a lograr una sociedad socialista; esto es, a pesar de las decepciones y divisiones creadas por los partidos de masas reformistas dentro del movimiento obrero y sus satélites.

En conjunto, los partidos Comunista y Socialista obtuvieron el 49.53% de la votación. Esto, aunado al 4.7% que obtuvieron los partidos de izquierda más pequeños, suman un total de 54.23% para los partidos que se encuentran dentro del movimiento de los trabajadores. Esto es comparable con el 54.37% que estas fuerzas obtuvieron en las elecciones del año pasado para la Asamblea Constituyente.

La comparación, sin embargo, se complica por el hecho de que el año pasado una formación controlada por el Partido Comunista, el Movimento Democrático Português (MDP), obtuvo el 4.12% de la votación. El MDP no contendió como partido del movimiento obrero. Sin embargo, no es factible que hayan votado por el MDP muchos de aquéllos que no apoyan al PC. Este año el MDP se retiró de las elecciones, llamando a sus partidarios a votar por el PC.

Si contamos los votos por el MDP como parte del total de la izquierda, entonces la votación en favor de ésta de hecho decayó en un 4.26%. Esto está muy lejos del revés decisivo que esperaba la burguesía.

Por otra parte, los partidos maoístas más rígidos, que el año pasado no estuvieron en la boleta, obtuvieron el 1.25% de la votación. Uno de éstos, el Partido Comunista Português (marxista-leninista) (PCP[ml]), llamó a votar por la "democracia burguesa." Todos estos partidos denunciaron al PC como el peligro principal. Sin embargo, no parece factible que muchos de entre aquéllos que se oponen al socialismo hayan votado por el PCP(ml).

El año pasado, los partidos que se reclaman a la izquierda del PC y del PS ganaron el 3.97% de la votación, a comparación del 4.7% que obtuvieron este año. No obstante, es difícil clasificar entre la "extrema izquierda" a los partidos maoís-

tas más rígidos. Si substraemos los votos en favor de estos últimos, la votación total por los grupos que tratan de ocupar el espacio a la izquierda del PC y del PS en realidad declinó levemente. Los partidos que están identificados con la línea del "poder popular" sufrieron graves pérdidas. El Movimento de Esquerda Socialista (MES) pudo observar como decayó la votación a su favor desde un 1.02% en 1975 a un 0.58% este año. El voto por el Frente Socialista Popular declinó del 1.17% al 0.78%.

Quien obtuvo el más grande avance entre aquellos partidos que se consideran a la izquierda del PC y del PS fue la União Democrática do Povo (UDP: grupo centrista maoísta). Obtuvo el 1.69% de la votación, a comparación del 0.79% que logró el año pasado. Pero este avance equivale a la votación que obtuvieron hace un año los partidos maoístas más pequeños, quienes no se presentaron este año a la contienda. Más aún, la UDP se presentó con una línea frentepopulista de derecha, "autocriticándose" por sus "desviaciones ultraizquierdistas" previas.

La votación por los partidos trotskistas se duplicó. La Liga Comunista Internacionalista, organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional en Portugal, obtuvo el 0.30%, a comparación del 0.19% de la ocasión pasada. El año pasado tan sólo se presentó en cuatro distritos electorales; este año presentó planillas para veinte de los veintidos distritos existentes.

El Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores, que se declara adherente a la Cuarta Internacional, no se presentó en las elecciones del año pasado. Este año presentó planillas en cuatro distritos, logrando el 0.1% de los votos.

El abstencionismo fue un tanto más alto en esta ocasión. Alrededor del 88.04% del electorado se presentó a las urnas, comparado con el 91.7% del año pasado, lo que representa una disminución de 3.66%. Esta pequeña caída está muy lejos del 40% que algunos sondeos habían predicho.

La esperanza por parte de los capitalistas portugueses, en el sentido de que estas elecciones marcarían el agotamiento político de un gran sector de las masas, cayó hecha añicos.

Los partidos que dependen de la clase trabajadora y que se han comprometido a mejorar la situación de los trabajadores ganaron una mayoría de 147 de los 259 escaños.

Hay indicaciones de que el PC, que ha centrado su campaña alrededor de le

consigna "Por una mayoría de izquierda," realizó avances a expensas del PS en las áreas industriales decisivas de Lisboa, Oporto y Setúbal, así como en las áreas rurales radicales del Alentejo. Esto no puede ser medido con precisión, no obstante, hasta que los votos sean detalladamente desglosados y se puedan comparar con la votación por el PC-MDP en cada barrio.

En total, la votación por el PC se incrementó de 12.53 a 14.56%, lo que significa un aumento de 2.03%; no obstante, este 14.56% es una pérdida de 2.09% comparado con el total de 16.65% para el PC-MDP en 1975. Por su parte, el PS sufrió una disminución desde el 37.87% el año pasado, a un 34.97% que significa una pérdida del 2.9%.

Así, el PC no obtuvo la famosa victoria que ha venido proclamando la prensa estalinista internacional. Sin embargo, los resultados indican que los votos por el PC en los sectores socialmente decisivos de las masas permanecieron firmes, y posiblemente hasta se hayan incrementado. Consecuentemente, el PS queda bajo fuerte presión por parte del PC, cuya consigna de unidad de la izquierda parece haber sido su llamado más efectivo.

Como resultado, la dirección del PS ha quedado en una situación apretada. Prometió a los capitalistas en Portugal e internacionalmente, especialmente en los Estados Unidos, que no iba a aliarse con el PC. Estas elecciones supuestamente iban a asentar al PS como el partido de la "normalización" capitalista.

Pero ahora, si Soares quiere retener a su base, va a tener que depender de los votos del PC en el parlamento. Esto tiene un sabor un tanto desagradable para Wall Street. El *New York Times*, influyente vocero entre el capital financiero norteamericano, ni tardo ni perezoso aconsejó a Soares sobre lo que debería hacer. En un editorial el 27 de abril dijo:

"Los socialistas han ganado más votos que cualquiera, pero cuentan tan sólo con el 35 por ciento del total. . . . Dados los gigantes problemas en la reconstrucción política y económica de Portugal, sería desastroso que el jefe del partido Mário Soares tratara de encabezar un Gobierno minoritario, que en cuestiones críticas sería forzado a lanzar tentativas en pos de los votos de otros partidos en el Parlamento, incluyendo los comunistas."

La única solución, decía el *New York Times*, sería una coalición con las fuerzas burguesas. Sin embargo, Soares explicó de

manera bastante abierta después de las elecciones que un curso así significaría la "destrucción" del PS y "facilitaría una revolución totalitaria."

Si el PC presionara por un frente unido en la acción, en vez de andar proclamando simples consignas electorales ambiguas, los planes de Soares en pos de una reconciliación con la burguesía se vendrían abajo fácilmente. Los estalinistas no van a hacer esto por voluntad propia. Pero

la necesidad objetiva por la unidad de la clase trabajadora ha llegado a ser muy clara.

Más aún, los trabajadores van a ver los resultados de las elecciones como un triunfo y como un aliento para renovar las luchas que fueron forzados a cancelar para no "desestabilizar a las elecciones."

La necesidad de la unidad de la clase trabajadora es tanto más apremiante

porque las elecciones también revelaron que existe una agudización en la polarización de clases, con un incremento del 8% para el partido derechista denominado Centro Democrático Social. Más aún, los sondeos preelectorales mostraron vaivenes entre las masas, mismos que quizás no hayan desaparecido. Los dos meses de aquí a las elecciones presidenciales marcarán un período crítico para la revolución portuguesa. □

Torrijos le Marca una Falta a Reagan

Ford y Reagan Juegan al Fútbol con el Canal de Panamá

Por Judy White



REAGAN

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 10 de mayo bajo el título "Ford and Reagan Play Football with Panama Canal." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

El Canal de Panamá está siendo pateado espectacularmente en una competencia entre Gerald Ford y Ronald Reagan por lograr la nominación presidencial del Partido Republicano. Reagan ha pintado una imagen de Ford que lo describe como si tuviera la intención de entregar los Estados Unidos a los panameños.

En una comida para promover su precandidatura en Alabama el 22 de abril, por ejemplo, Reagan dijo que Ford estaría

cediendo a un "simple chantaje" del gobierno panameño si no se aferraba a toda costa a "the Big Ditch" [la Gran Zanja].

La posición de Reagan sobre las negociaciones que Ford está conduciendo con el régimen de Torrijos fue resumida en un discurso el 28 de febrero en Florida: "Lo compramos, pagamos por él. Es nuestro y debemos decirle a Torrijos que nos vamos a quedar con él."

En respuesta, Ford levantó el cargo de que clamar por el uso de la fuerza para mantener el control del canal es "irresponsable." Anteriormente había advertido que una actitud como la de Reagan iba a desencadenar la guerra de guerrillas en la Zona del Canal.

Al mismo tiempo, Ford negaba el cargo que se imputa en torno a que está planeando "regalar" el canal y la Zona del Canal. En una conferencia de prensa el 10 de abril dijo que Washington "nunca renunciará a sus derechos sobre la defensa del Canal de Panamá y nunca renunciará a sus derechos a operar éste, hasta donde concierne a Panamá."

Además, como señaló David Binder en un despacho publicado en el *New York Times* el 29 de abril: "El Sr. Ford, hasta ahora, ha omitido mencionar el hecho de que este país [los EUA] de hecho no ejerce soberanía sobre la Zona del Canal."

Las negociaciones entre Washington y Panamá comenzaron en junio de 1974. Trataron sobre la cantidad de territorio que permanecería bajo jurisdicción norteamericana, la cantidad de bases militares que permanecerían en la Zona del Canal durante los próximos treinta o cincuenta años—que son en lo que se estima que durará la vigencia del nuevo tratado—y la renta que Washington pagaría.

La Casa Blanca estima que "el tiempo de vida útil del canal" va a expirar dentro de unos treinta o cincuenta años, debido a que muchos buques de nuevo tipo son demasiado grandes para sus esclusas y debido a

que los patrones del comercio están cambiando. Washington tiene dos objetivos centrales con las negociaciones:

1. Dar la apariencia de respetar el derecho del pueblo panameño a determinar qué va a pasar con la Zona del Canal, mejorando así su imagen internacional.

2. Minar la resistencia a su presencia militar.

El representante del Departamento de Estado Robert Funseth indicó lo anterior durante una conferencia de prensa el pasado 15 de abril: "Lo que importa es tratar de llegar a un acuerdo que dé una mayor seguridad a los intereses de operación y de defensa que tenemos actualmente."

El régimen de Torrijos, por su parte, está preocupado por la oposición que existe entre los panameños a la presencia de Washington en la Zona del Canal. En una entrevista televisada por la cadena de la CBS el 16 de abril, el Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Panamá, Aquilino Boyd, declaró:

"Me temo que es muy explosiva la situación que estamos viviendo en Panamá, y personas como Ronald Reagan, de una manera muy irresponsable, están agotando la paciencia en mi país. Pienso que debemos quitarle el detonador a esta situación explosiva, pero por medio de negociaciones: negociando en los próximos doce meses un nuevo tratado sobre el canal que sería justo para ambos países."

A pesar de que Torrijos ha posado como un oponente del imperialismo yanqui, les ha aclarado tanto a Ford como a Kissinger que esta palabrería está destinada principalmente para el consumo doméstico. En meses recientes ha exilado a tres eminentes críticos izquierdistas de su régimen, incluyendo al Dr. Miguel Antonio Bernal. Bernal, profesor de derecho en la Universidad de Panamá, es bien conocido por su postura en favor de que el canal sea devuelto y por que se retire la red de bases militares norteamericanas. □

Angola: el MPLA Monta Cacería Contra la Izquierda

Por Ernest Harsch

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 10 de mayo bajo el título "Angola—MPLA Stages Witch-hunt Against the Left." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Actualmente se está llevando a cabo la ola más grande de arrestos políticos que se haya realizado en Luanda desde que Angola obtuvo su independencia. Enfrentado con crecientes críticas a su política por parte de estudiantes y trabajadores en la capital, el Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) comenzó una cacería de sus opositores políticos a principios de abril.

Antes de que terminara el mes, más de cien personas habían sido arrestadas por la policía política del MPLA, la Direcção de Informação e Segurança de Angola (DISA).

La señal oficial para echar a andar la represión fue dada por el Ministro del Interior Nito Alves. Según el diario *Jornal Novo* de Lisboa, en su edición del 9 de abril, Alves ordenó a todas las "comisiones populares" provinciales, municipales y de barrio estar "vigilantes" y entregar a las autoridades a todos los miembros de Revolta Activa (fracción de oposición en el MPLA) y de la Organização Comunista de Angola (OCA: una agrupación pro maoísta).

"Debido a que son la piedra angular de la reacción," declaró Alves, "esta operación es vital para la defensa de la revolución, para la consolidación de nuestra posición política y para nuestro progreso."

Continuó diciendo: "Todos aquellos individuos obviamente reaccionarios—aquéllos que se sabe que pertenecen a la OCA, sea como consejeros, escritores o propagandistas, o aquellos que hasta ahora han sido apasionadamente leales a Revolta Activa, o que hayan mostrado tal actitud—deberán ser arrestados de inmediato."

La cacería comenzó incluso antes de la declaración de Alves. Un informe en *Jornal Novo* del 7 de abril dijo que la DISA estaba en alerta con respecto a personas que estuvieran distribuyendo propaganda antigubernista: "Los cateos arbitrarios y los arrestos son ahora una característica constante de la vida en la capital angolense."

"Como generalmente se sabe, todos aquellos que estén bajo sospecha de



NETO

fomentar relaciones, aun puramente personales, con la fracción de los hermanos Pinto de Andrade [Revolta Activa] han sido sistemáticamente arrestados."

El Padre Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, quien fue detenido el 18 de abril, era la más conocida de las figuras políticas arrestadas por el MPLA. Ex canciller de la Archidiócesis de Luanda, es el hermano de Mário Pinto de Andrade, uno de los principales fundadores del MPLA. Según René Pélissier, en su contribución al libro *Angola* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1971), jugó un papel importante en ayudar al MPLA a establecer algunas de sus primeras células en Luanda a fines de los cincuentas.

Andrade fue encarcelado por el coloniaje portugués en junio de 1960 después de protestar por el arresto de Agostinho Neto, que actualmente encabeza al MPLA y que es el Presidente de la República Popular de Angola. Andrade pasó más de diez años en varias cárceles portuguesas. En 1962 fue electo presidente honorario del MPLA.

Después de ser liberado, se convirtió en uno de los dirigentes de la fracción Revolta Activa, que se opone a la dirección de Neto en el MPLA. El 11 de mayo de 1974 firmó la "Plataforma de los 19," que denunciaba a la dirección de Neto como "presidencialista" y lanzaba acusaciones de "tribalis-

mo y regionalismo" en contra del funcionamiento del MPLA.

Un corresponsal de la revista *Economist* de Londres, en su edición del 3 de abril, escribe que Revolta Activa no había cooperado con la dirección del MPLA desde que se formó el gobierno. "Tiene un fuerte contingente en la universidad y entre aquéllos que son liberalmente conocidos como los intelectuales del movimiento," informaba el corresponsal.

Entre otros de los dirigentes de Revolta Activa que han sido arrestados por el MPLA están Gentil Viana, un ex consejero de Neto; Rui Castro Lopo, ex comandante de la segunda región militar del MPLA durante su guerra de guerrillas en contra de los portugueses; Manuel Videira, un doctor que sirvió en el frente oriental del MPLA durante la guerra de guerrillas; y Hugo de Menezes, uno de los firmantes de la "Plataforma de los 19" y miembro del comité dirigente del MPLA en 1962.

Según el informe de *Jornal Novo* del 7 de abril, el MPLA incluso ha comenzado a practicar la quema de libros. La policía, dijo, "quemó la mejor biblioteca de libros revolucionarios de todo el país, simplemente porque había sido instalada por Maria do Céu Carmo Reis, una ex activista del MPLA quien está intelectualmente aliada con la así llamada Revolta Activa."

La represión también tocó a dirigentes de otros grupos políticos que se oponen al MPLA y que han surgido en las llamadas *muçeques* de Luanda, las grandes barriadas que rodean a la ciudad.

El *Jornal Novo* del 20 de abril informó

Es Fácil Suscribirse

Compañeros de habla hispana en los Estados Unidos, Canadá y México: ¡Es fácil suscribirse! Envíenos \$12 con su nombre y dirección para recibir **Intercontinental Press** semanalmente durante seis meses.

Lectores de otros países hispanos pueden escribirnos y pedirnos los precios de suscripciones por correo aéreo o marítimo.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS
P.O. Box 116, Village Station
New York, NY 10014, U.S.A.

que "muchos jóvenes comunistas" han sido detenidos y que han sido llevados a los campos de prisión que están en las afueras de la capital. Una declaración emitida por la OCA levantaba el cargo de que "el MPLA ha arrestado a decenas de militantes revolucionarios sobresalientes." (*Journal Novo*, 23 de abril.)

Entre los que han sido pescados, la OCA dijo, hay miembros del Secretariado del Organismo Coordinador de las Comisiones Populares de Barrio de Luanda, Sirgado, y Nogueira, así como otros activistas de la OCA, tales como Henrique Guerra, quien pasó muchos años en las prisiones portuguesas y que era amigo de Joaquim Pinto de Andrade.

La OCA fue formada a principios de 1975 y llevó a cabo su primer congreso en octubre. Poco después del congreso comenzó a publicar *Jornal Comunista*, que denominaba al MPLA como partido burgués y denunciaba su política represiva y antiobrera.

La OCA también se opuso a los rivales del MPLA en la guerra civil: el Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA) y la União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA).

La OCA fue claramente influenciada por el maosismo. Denunciaba al "socialimperialismo" soviético en Angola y llamaba por que fuera establecida una "democracia popular." Su posición en cuanto a la guerra civil, sin embargo, era distinta de la de Pekín. Mientras que el Partido Comunista Chino—en aras de su estrecha disputa burocrática con el estalinismo soviético—dirigía la mayor parte de sus críticas hacia la intervención soviética en Angola, la OCA denominaba como enemigo principal de los pueblos angoleños al imperialismo norteamericano y a sus aliados. (*Jornal Comunista*, octubre de 1975, número 2.)

Una declaración emitida por la OCA a finales de abril llamaba por el "retiro del ejército de ocupación cubano y todas las fuerzas extranjeras de Angola."

Alves levantaba el cargo de que los miembros de la OCA podrían haberse "infiltrado" en los ministerios gubernamentales. Neto, según la edición del 3 de abril de la revista *Economist*, declaró: "Concientemente o no, hay agentes del imperialismo dentro de nuestro movimiento. Alaban a un país socialista que nunca nos ayudó durante la guerra civil. Alaban a China. . . Aquellos que persisten son traidores."

Miembros de los Comités Amílcar Cabral (CAC) también han sido arrestados durante la reciente cacería. La mayor parte de sus dirigentes está actualmente en prisión. El MPLA comenzó a arrestar miembros de los CAC, así como a otros jóvenes activistas, en octubre de 1975. Los arrestos, así como la prohibición del periódico de los CAC, *Poder Popular*, fueron llevados a cabo a manera de una

campaña contra "los partidarios de Trotsky y Bakunin."

Personas que trabajan para el programa popular de radio "Kudibenguela" (Nuestra Lucha) han sido detenidas también. El MPLA suprimió el programa hace tres meses, provocando una manifestación de cerca de 600 estibadores y estudiantes de escuelas secundarias el 6 de febrero. Los manifestantes exigían que el programa fuera devuelto al aire y pedían que los blancos y *mestizos* fueran retirados del gobierno.

El MPLA ha tratado de justificar sus acciones represivas pretendiendo que sus oponentes políticos son "racistas," "divisionistas" y "agentes del imperialismo."

En el *Washington Post* del 1 de abril, la corresponsal Caryle Murphy citaba a Lucio Lara, secretario general del MPLA, diciendo: "El enemigo formó grupos con nombres bonitos como 'Comunista' para aparentar estar más avanzados que el programa del MPLA y después puso a estas organizaciones, que han sido creadas absolutamente por la CIA y que tienen un lenguaje loco e incoherente, para insultar al MPLA punto por punto."

"Insultar al MPLA" se ha convertido aparentemente en un delito capital.

En su llamado para que fueran entregados todos los miembros de Revolta Activa, Alves dijo que "no se van a construir campos de reeducación. Por supuesto, hay algunos que pueden ser recuperados por medio de la reeducación y la persuasión. Pero los intransigentes, los más necios, los más obstinados, tendrán que ser eliminados."

La respuesta del MPLA a sus oponentes políticos está en concordancia con su política antiobrera global. Desde que llegó al poder en Luanda, ha buscado "disciplinar" a los trabajadores por medio de romper sus huelgas, introducir la aceleración de los ritmos de producción y sofocando a cualquier dirección independiente de los trabajadores que haya surgido.

La declaración de la OCA citada en el *Journal Novo* del 23 de abril declaraba: "El encarcelamiento de nacionalistas y demócratas bien conocidos que pertenecen a Revolta Activa, que han sido amenazados con la ejecución, tales como Gentil Viana, Joaquim Pinto de Andrade (ex presidente honorario del MPLA), Liceu Vieira Dias y Manuel Videira (entre otros), representa un paso más en la ola de represión que ha sido lanzada por el MPLA en contra de revolucionarios y en contra de todos los demócratas y patriotas angoleños."

La OCA hacía un llamado a "todas las fuerzas revolucionarias y progresivas" a que demostraran su solidaridad con la campaña por la libertad de los presos políticos.

La decisión del MPLA de recurrir al uso de medidas represivas en contra de los disidentes políticos que se encuentran a su izquierda indica que teme que los socialistas planteen un reto a su curso hacia la

acomodación con el imperialismo. También indica la existencia de una insatisfacción substancial entre la población de Angola.

Según un despacho desde Luanda por Caryle Murphy en el *Washington Post* del 1 de marzo: "Las crecientes expectativas de la población angoleña negra han sido frustradas aún más por la crisis económica creada por meses de guerra civil. Las medidas de austeridad del gobierno y sus llamados a una más alta productividad no han gozado de popularidad."

En el *Washington Post* del 1 de abril, Murphy informaba que un periódico clandestino, *Jornal de Operário*, ha levantado el cargo de que el MPLA ha estado haciéndole concesiones al imperialismo norteamericano, al invitar a la Gulf Oil Company a que vuelva a iniciar sus operaciones en Cabinda. También atacaba al MPLA por "haberse vendido" a Moscú y por haber permitido a los cubanos convertirse en los "nuevos colonizadores" de África.

"Los izquierdistas," dijo Murphy, "han formado varios grupos clandestinos y han pedido que el Movimiento Popular forme inmediatamente un gobierno 'de los trabajadores y campesinos.' El mes pasado aceleraron sus actividades de propaganda entre los trabajadores y en los barrios pobres de Luanda." □



Inter-continental Press available in microform
...from

Xerox University Microfilms
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

Xerox University Microfilms
35 Mobile Drive
Toronto, Ontario,
Canada M4A 1H6

University Microfilms Limited
St. John's Road,
Tyler's Green, Penn,
Buckinghamshire, England

PLEASE WRITE FOR COMPLETE INFORMATION