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\$1.8 Billion to Prop Chilean Dictator

Ford's Fist in a French Glove

By David Frankel

Henry Kissinger has concocted a new maneuver aimed at sending imperialist troops to Lebanon. After a series of meetings in Washington, French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing publicly offered the services of his army in enforcing a cease-fire in the Lebanese civil war.

When the proimperialist regime in Lebanon was threatened during the 1958 civil war there, Washington intervened with its own forces. Today, the U.S Sixth Fleet is standing by off the Lebanese coast, but its use would doom President Ford's hopes in the 1976 election.

Speaking to reporters in New Orleans May 21, Giscard d'Estaing said he was prepared to send "several regiments" to Lebanon "within 48 hours" after a request from the Beirut government. The following day French military authorities told *New York Times* correspondent James F. Clarity that Paris "has about 20,000 men ready to respond to orders to move abroad."

It was made clear from the beginning that the French move had been solicited by the Ford administration. In a May 21 *New York Times* dispatch describing Giscard d'Estaing's offer, Flora Lewis reported, "The [French] President said he had discussed the plan with President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. He added that Syria viewed the plan favorably."

Craig R. Whitney reported from Stockholm in the May 24 *New York Times* that Washington (i.e., Kissinger) "is quietly sounding out Israel and Arab governments in the Middle East for reactions to France's offer to send a peacekeeping force to Lebanon, according to high ranking American diplomats."

The possibility of imperialist intervention was warmly welcomed by the Christian rightists in Lebanon. The radio station of the right-wing Phalangist party said the offer of French troops was "a clear indication of brotherly feelings toward Lebanon." It also reported that the proposal was one of the "main subjects" discussed by President Suleiman Franjeh and President-elect Elias Sarkis at a May 22 meeting.

According to a May 23 United Press International dispatch from Beirut, Phalangist leader Pierre Gemayel said, "There is no sincere man who would accept the presence of foreign troops on the soil of his homeland. But when the country is exposed to sabotage, destruction and parti-

tion, it would be stupid or obstinate to refuse to accept non-Lebanese forces."

The rightists know that the real purpose of any French "peace-keeping" mission in Lebanon would be to back them in their war against the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition.

France ruled Lebanon as a colony from 1918 to 1946. The French imperialists nurtured the religious divisions in the country, giving the Maronite Christians a privileged position and playing them off against the Muslim population. Before leaving Lebanon, the French forced the adoption of a governmental arrangement that virtually guaranteed future communal conflict.

Although the hypocrites in Paris now pose as disinterested peacemakers, they share a major part of the responsibility for the tens of thousands who have been killed and maimed in the current civil war.

The French president did not say whether the "peace-keepers" he would send to Lebanon would include units with experience in butchering rebellious populations in Indochina and Algeria. In any event, Flora Lewis reported in her May 21 dispatch that "... Mr. Giscard d'Estaing said that if French soldiers were sent to restore order and to end the Lebanese civil war, they would be ready for combat if necessary."

Even the most conservative Muslim politicians in Lebanon were forced to take their distance from the proposal for French

intervention. Premier Rashid Karami, for example, said May 23, "We are prepared to die in defense of our freedom and national unity. We will never go back to the days of the [French] mandate."

The reaction in Paris was reported in a May 23 dispatch by James F. Clarity. Although Gaullist leaders generally backed Giscard d'Estaing, others did not. French Socialist party head François Mitterrand warned May 23 that a French force in Lebanon would not have "the slightest chance of succeeding in its mission," and might make the situation worse.

Jean Kanapa, a leader of the French Communist party, issued a statement saying that the Communists "refuse to have our country become involved in that which would become a new version of the Vietnam War, a war which, after all, could turn into general conflict."

Both Kissinger and Giscard d'Estaing knew in advance what the reaction to their trial balloon would be. Lebanon, however, is too closely tied in with the rest of the Middle East for the imperialists to ignore the events there.

The Syrian regime has been working closely with the State Department and the Maronite rightists up until now, but it faces increasing internal strains over its policies in Lebanon. The election of Sarkis has clearly failed to bring the stabilization the imperialists have been hoping for, and Syrian President Hafez al-Assad may not be in a position to commit the number of troops required to clamp a lid back on the Lebanese caldron, even temporarily. Furthermore, any action by Damascus also involves the risk of Israeli intervention and a larger Middle East war.

Giscard d'Estaing's move is damning evidence that the Ford administration is moving toward putting imperialist troops into Lebanon. Ford's only worry is that it be done without damaging his presidential campaign. □

\$1.8 Billion—Ford Handout to Pinochet

U.S. Treasury Secretary William Simon visited Santiago May 7 following Pinochet's announcement of the token release of four leading figures of the ousted Allende government and forty-five other political prisoners.

Hailing the release as a "positive sign," Simon announced that he would ask Congress to maintain the scheduled \$90 million in economic aid to the Chilean military junta—with no cuts and no conditions.

Simon said he made the decision on the basis of assurances from the Chilean junta that human-rights conditions would be further improved.

In a brazen display of hypocrisy, Simon made no mention of the estimated 4,000 to 7,000 persons remaining in the cells of

Pinochet's political prisons. Nor did he refer to the recent United Nations report that concluded there has been "no substantial change" in the systematic violations of human rights that began with the coup in 1973. (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 17, p. 806, for a summary of the UN findings.)

Even Pinochet's release of the forty-nine prisoners was shown to be a fraud. Four former members of the Chilean congress touring the United States revealed that six of these prisoners had actually been released in January, one had been released February 6, and three were already in the United States by the time Simon arrived in Chile.

According to columnist Tom Wicker, the four Chilean exiles also listed the names of seventeen other persons who had been

arrested in Chile since the Simon visit, and said that the actual number arrested since then is far greater than those they can name. (*New York Times*, May 23.)

Washington's claim that economic aid to the dictatorship is linked to improvements in the "civil-rights area," has been exposed on other grounds as well. For one thing, the \$90 million in overt funds under discussion is only a tiny fraction of total U.S. aid to Pinochet.

Columnist Jack Anderson reported May 8 some of the hidden ways the White House has obtained funds to bolster the Chilean regime.

- Following pressure by the State Department, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation agreed to begin insuring companies that invest in Chile.

- The State and Treasury departments encouraged fourteen U.S. and Canadian banks to lend the junta \$100 million to \$125 million to pay off short-term obligations.

- U.S. advisers also urged the Inter-American Development Bank to lend up to \$125 million to Chile.

- The State Department gave Chile a \$55 million housing guarantee.

According to *Times* columnist Wicker, overall aid to the junta from the Ford administration and the international organizations it "strongly influences" totals about \$1.8 billion. □

350 Arrested in Paraguay

More than 350 persons were arrested in a wave of violent repression in Paraguay in April. According to a May 12 report by Amnesty International, many of them were severely tortured.

Among the cases cited by Amnesty International are the following:

- Miguel Angel López Perito, severely beaten, subjected to the *pileta* (near drowning) and electric-shock treatments. He is reported to have had his eardrums ruptured, feet and hand tendons torn, and his body covered with injuries—including burns.

- Juan Balbuena, subjected to the *pileta*, electric shock, beatings, burning with a red-hot iron bar, and questioning with the use of pentothal.

- Ignacio Báez has a possible skull fracture, shattered teeth, and a disfigured jaw as a result of beatings.

The pretext used by the Stroessner regime to launch the latest repression was the alleged discovery of a guerrilla network called the Organización Político-Militar (OPM—Military-Political Organization).

Paraguayan authorities have also accused sectors of the Catholic church of links to the OPM and have raided several religious centers and communities, arresting priests.

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Zionist Occupiers Shoot to Kill on West Bank

By David Frankel

Israel celebrated its twenty-eighth anniversary this May. In the occupied West Bank the anniversary was marked by curfews, beatings, "preventive detentions," and the murder of four Palestinians.

Israeli occupation troops opened the month by shooting to death twenty-two-year-old Samir Ahmed Samhan in Nablus May 1. On May 16 another resident of Nablus, seventeen-year-old Lena Hassan Nabulsi, was shot by an Israeli soldier as she was about to enter the second-floor apartment of a friend.

According to Israeli occupation authorities, Nabulsi was killed "accidentally" by a soldier who was pursuing demonstrators. But Nablus Mayor Bassan al-Shaqa pointed out that the shooting occurred half an hour after the demonstration had ended.

Eight thousand persons marched in Nabulsi's funeral procession. Two youths were wounded by Israeli troops who attacked demonstrators outside Nabulsi's home. The protesters were shot for waving Palestinian flags and shouting, "Palestine is Arab," and "Killers."

Another cold-blooded murder occurred the following day, May 17. Eighteen-year-old Abdullah Mustapha Halil Hawas, a student whose family lives in the Shuafat refugee camp, was the victim.

The official Israeli version of the incident was that Hawas was killed when two Israeli soldiers trapped in a truck opened fire to defend themselves against a stone-throwing crowd. However, according to an account by *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith, the shooting occurred after the truck had already pulled away from the confrontation. Smith reported in his May 17 dispatch:

Fifty yards further down the road they [the soldiers] passed the Kalandia Vocational Training School, a project of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. The headmaster, Nabih M. Awad, was standing at the gate with a group of students watching the fighting.

"As the truck raced by I suddenly saw an Uzi submachine gun barrel poke out of the driver's window," Mr. Awad said. "There was a burst of fire and we all dived to the ground. When I looked up I saw that one boy had been hit in the head. The truck never stopped."

Mahmoud Kurd, twenty-one, was the third Palestinian gunned down in as many days by the Israeli occupiers. He was killed in Jerusalem May 18 with three bullets in the head. Again, Israeli troops had answered stones with bullets.

In the eyes of the Israeli racists, the Palestinians are less than human and it is

perfectly acceptable to shoot them down for demanding their rights. Calling the killings "sad and even regrettable," Menachem Begin, one of Israel's more prominent right-wing politicians and a former cabinet member, said, "The solution is, our soldiers should not be stoned."

While Begin was telling the Palestinians that they would not get killed if they would sit back and accept Israeli rule, another solution was proposed by Rabbi Meir Kahane, head of the American Jewish Defense League. After his followers in Israel attacked a demonstration of Arab students at Jerusalem's Hebrew University May 19, Kahane said:

"What we have seen here is a clear and open indication of how the Arabs really feel about this state. The only solution is to transfer all the Arabs out of this country and liberated Arab lands."

A similar "final solution" was backed by Knesset (parliament) member Amnon Linn, who said that the government should consider mass deportation of men, women, and children who participate in demonstrations.

The newspaper *Yediot Aharanot* called on Defense Minister Shimon Peres "to put an end to the avalanche [of protests] by all means possible." *Ma'ariv*, Israel's other main afternoon newspaper, assured its readers, "There is no cause for pangs of conscience in Israel."

Outside Israel, however, there has been a different response. Even many staunch supporters of the Zionist state have been upset by the recent events. "Criticism of Israel by Jews and non-Jews is causing considerable uneasiness among many Jewish leaders in this country," Kenneth A. Briggs reported in the May 17 *New York Times*.

Briggs attended a conference of the strongly pro-Zionist American Jewish Committee (AJC) that concluded May 16. He quoted one participant who said, "There is uneasiness and doubt in this audience and in the wider Jewish community about some actions Israel has taken."

A conference session on Israel's image in the United States was closed to reporters. However, Bertram Gold, the AJC's executive director, pointed out in his keynote address that there has been "a noticeable erosion of Israel's image," and that "increasingly the Christian religious leadership is critical of Israel for refusing to recognize the Palestinians' demand for self-determination."

The fears of Israel's supporters are well

founded. "The State of Israel is in deep trouble," columnist Joseph C. Harsch said in the May 21 *Christian Science Monitor*. Harsch argued:

... each time an Arab youth falls to an Israeli bullet the world's perception of Israel is changed. Those who once were seen as the victims of persecution begin to be seen as the persecutors. Arabs are being killed, not Jews. The bullets come from Israeli guns. Those who fall are falling in defense of their own homeland. Their cause is to keep Arab land in Arab hands. Each Arab youth who falls becomes an Arab martyr.

The Israeli regime has responded to the international protests by attempting to suppress reports of its terror campaign. The London *Sunday Times* said in a May 16 editorial, "There has been at least one instance of a foreign correspondent of Jewish faith being invited by the Israeli authorities to consider where his loyalties lay before reporting to his foreign readers what was going on."

William J. Drummond reported from Tel Aviv in the May 14 *Los Angeles Times* that the Israeli Defense Ministry has "announced new press guidelines primarily designed to restrain foreign television crews covering Arab disturbances in the occupied West Bank."

Journalists are now allowed access to "disturbed areas" only in the company of an army escort officer. "The officer will make the decision when TV crews may take out their cameras."

Uri Avneri, a Zionist "dove," described the atmosphere in occupied Nablus in an article in the May 12 issue of the Tel Aviv weekly *Ha'olam Ha'zeh*:

In the sidestreet, a platoon of soldiers goes by. . . They are ready for battle. The inhabitants treat the soldiers as if they did not exist. The whole scene conjures up images of other countries—a French platoon in the Algerian casbah, a Portuguese platoon in the capital of Mozambique.

Each soldier holds his weapon in hand, ready for use.

Fifteen meters away, in a corner, at the onion market, a similar platoon recently went by. It was before the curfew. A number of children threw stones at the platoon. The soldiers opened fire and killed Zayid Taher Ajba, a peddler who sold homemade candies to the children. . . .

In Tel Aviv, people can joke about flying Arab children who get hit by shots [i.e., "warning" shots] fired into the air. Over here, there are no jokes. The men do not jest and the soldiers give no impression of having a sense of humor.

Here there are no illusions. The seven-day curfew was never meant for security reasons. It was a collective punishment imposed on the

casbah, an area inhabited by the majority of the Nablus residents. . . .

For the first forty-eight hours no one was permitted to leave his house. At the end of the first day the bread supply ran out. The inhabitants, most of whom are poor, did not have provisions stored up. Families numbering eight and ten members went hungry. Babies were left without milk, pregnant women with nothing to eat. . . .

And so, with brief intervals, the curfew was kept in force for seven days and nights. Each time it was lifted for one hour, the protests would be renewed. The security forces opened fire. Samir Ahmed Aref Samhan, a medical student and son of a gas station employee, was killed. Others were injured.

Sick people could get no relief. There is no pharmacy in the casbah, only a drugstore that sells local medicines. There is no doctor. It was only during the fifth or sixth day of the curfew that ambulances were permitted to enter the locked-up ghetto. Previously, anyone having a heart attack, or any woman about to give birth, was in mortal danger.

The militancy of the Palestinians on the West Bank has inspired a growing nationalist sentiment among the Arab population within Israel's pre-1967 borders. This was seen most dramatically during the March 30 general strike, when Israeli police and soldiers killed six Palestinians in the Galilee area.

Since then, William Drummond reported May 4, Arab supporters of the ruling

Israeli Labor party have steadily lost ground throughout Galilee. The government has responded with heavy-handed threats and direct intervention. Drummond gave two examples of Israeli "democracy" at work:

A pro-Labor mayor in the village of Tamra was voted out by the local council. The interior minister's local district commissioner, Yisrael Koenig, then dissolved the elected council and appointed a caretaker council, headed by the ousted pro-Labor mayor.

The pro-Labor mayor of Ibelin village was ousted last week, but within hours the new mayor received a warning from Koenig that the municipality's affairs were in disorder and unless they were straightened out immediately, the council would be dissolved.

Signs of opposition have also reappeared among the 350,000 Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. According to a report by John K. Cooley in the May 14 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Gazans report that 22 boys of the Palestina (Palestine) school in Gaza town and 7 schoolgirls of the high school in nearby Khan Yunis have been held since last March 30 when they tried to demonstrate solidarity with the general strike. . . ."

The mayor of Gaza, Rashad Shawa, charged that Israel's "censorship and news blackout here prevented all news of this getting out. Not a word about the fact that the city council and administration

went on strike appeared even in the Israeli press."

Cooley also reported an attack by Israeli troops on a group of Palestinians meeting secretly in an orange grove. One young man, Khader Jilda, was reportedly killed, and others are apparently being accused of planning guerrilla activities.

"Gaza residents say another 80 or 90 persons were arrested after this incident and one worried parent says there are strong indications the teen-agers are being beaten severely to make them confess to real or imagined resistance activity."

The Israeli regime has vowed to suppress the Palestinian protests and prevent their spread, whatever the cost. New York *Daily News* correspondent Joseph Fried quoted Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's view in a May 18 dispatch. Rabin said:

Any continuation of disturbances of public order, any continuation of activities designed ostensibly to demonstrate to the world the Palestinian desire to revolt against the Israeli administration and the ability to do so, will be a grave blow to our capacity for political confrontation in 1977 against the terrorist organizations. . . .

However, through four months of sustained protests the Palestinians have already demonstrated their "desire to revolt" and "the ability to do so." The Palestinian masses have dealt Israel a blow that it will not soon recover from. □

Eyewitness Testimony of Israeli Brutality

Arab Detainees Beaten 'Relentlessly and With Savagery'

[The following statement was sent to *Intercontinental Press* by Israel Shahak, chairman of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, with the accompanying note: "Such things occur here practically every day, but not every day can one get witnesses who would be believed by those influenced by Jewish racism."]

* * *

We, the undersigned Sylvie Garbarz, Eytan Grossfeld and Witold Jedlicki hereby declare that we witnessed the following two incidents, both of which occurred in the city of Jerusalem, on Monday, May 3, 1976, between the hours of 9 and 10 p.m.

(1) We were on Sultan Suleiman Street, walking toward the corner of Nablus Road, when we noticed a strange commotion on and around an army vehicle (a middle-sized personnel carrier not covered by any tarp) stationed on the opposite side of the street, in the close proximity of Damascus Gate. Intrigued by the sight, we crossed the street and approached the vehicle.

Sitting or standing on the platform of the vehicle there were about 12 uniformed soldiers of the Border Guard. Milling around the vehicle there was another group of soldiers, of roughly the same number: it included several paratroopers. Lying on the floor of the platform there were detainees in civilian clothes. We were in the position to see them clearly, but we could not determine their exact number. We can state, however, that there were no less than two and no more than four of them. The detainees were being beaten, kicked and stomped by at least two of the soldiers, relentlessly and with savagery.

Undersigned Grossfeld promptly identified the commanding officer and approached him with the aim of intervening on behalf of the victims. He was rudely told to move away from the scene immediately. Undersigned Garbarz pleaded with another soldier to stop the beatings; with the same effect. Another soldier, apparently more amicably disposed, explained to us that the beatings were a "matter of (venting) emotions." One of the two bystanders, siding with the perpetrators of

the beatings, attempted to convince us that "perhaps these Arabs planted a bomb." He referred to an explosion which had occurred, approximately one hour earlier, in the center of the Jewish part of the city. (Until then, we did not know about this explosion.) When undersigned Grossfeld retorted: "but perhaps they did not," another bystander said: "So what, they are Arabs anyway." All these exchanges took place in Hebrew. While they were taking place, the beating went on, uninterruptedly.

Once again ordered to walk away by one of the soldiers, we had no choice but to obey. We wish to stress that the two mentioned bystanders, whose presence could not remain unnoticed by the soldiers, were not ordered to leave. We alone were, because we attempted to intervene. But while walking away, we could see that beating went on as the car, for no apparent purpose, stayed put, instead of moving towards its destination.

(2) Some 20-25 minutes later we were in the Jaffa Gate area. In front of Jaffa Gate we noticed, from a distance of about 30-50

meters, a mixed crowd of soldiers and civilians. Suddenly, a Border Guard jeep drove up onto the sidewalk, and, moving with considerable speed on the sidewalk, approached the crowd. We clearly saw a human figure flung by the men in the crowd onto the platform of the jeep. Undersigned Grossfeld who was positioned closest to the scene, saw that the

detainee was covered with blood. Then, undersigned Grossfeld caught sight of the following event. A civilian lifted a piece of cloth from the ground and tossed it onto the jeep. A Border Guard soldier on the jeep picked the cloth up, pushed it against the detainee's face, and shoved the latter's head rapidly backward. We wish to add that in spite of darkness and our distance

from the scene, the visibility was extraordinarily good, owing to the bright illumination from the Old City walls.

Sylvie Garbarz
Eytan Grossfeld
Witold Jedlicki

Jerusalem, May 5, 1976

Argentine Junta Demands More 'Sacrifices' From Workers

By Judy White

Argentine Minister of Economy José Alfredo Martínez de Hoz flew to Mexico May 14 to attend the annual meeting of the board of governors of the Inter-American Development Bank. While there, he also met with U.S. Treasury Secretary William Simon.

Martínez de Hoz's mission was to try to restore the confidence of the capitalist financial world in Argentina now that the military has taken over. As a follow-up to negotiations at the conference, the economy minister plans to tour Western financial capitals at the end of June.

Martínez de Hoz's task is an urgent one for Argentine capital, in view of the country's \$10 billion foreign debt and lack of foreign-exchange reserves.

In demonstration of its reliability, the Videla junta has conducted a campaign of vicious political repression against the unions, leaders of the mass movement, and others suspected of possible opposition.

The heavily censored press reports continuing kidnappings and assassinations of working-class activists by right-wing gangs, while brief official communiqués cite the heavy sentences handed down for "possession of arms" and "subversive" literature.

Military communiqués simply announce the gunning down of "extremists" throughout the country. One such case, reported in the May 16 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, told of the deaths of three men and one woman in Buenos Aires:

"The confrontation took place after the terrorists placed a poster with subversive slogans on it at the sixteenth kilometer stop on the Belgrano Railroad."

At the same time, the junta has cut deeply into the rights and living standard of the working class.

On April 24, "reforms" to the Ley de Contrato de Trabajo (Work Contract Law) repealed clauses:

- Making it "illegal and discriminatory treatment not to reinstate the personnel involved in a strike or other form of direct action."

- Regulating the workday for women over eighteen years old and establishing a maximum eight-hour day, forty-eight-hour week.

- Providing for periodic readjustment of the basic minimum wage, according to changes in the cost of living.

The "reforms" also reduced by half the compensation paid to women workers who are fired because of pregnancy, ruled that no wages could exceed the ceilings established by the federal government, and gave the bosses a free hand to hire scabs.

Labor Minister Gen. Horacio Tomás Liendo spelled out other aspects of the junta's policy toward labor in a speech broadcast nationally April 30:

With regard to the policy of normalizing the trade-union structure . . . this task will be directed by the military interventor, assisted by a team made up of high-ranking military personnel from the three armed forces, with collaboration from military interventors in the professional associations, and the executive boards of associations that have been taken over. . . .

With regard to income policy . . . this policy is based on equitable payment. . . . Wages should be an adequate compensation to the Argentine people based on the quality and efficiency of their work, the effort they put in; wages should correctly meet the Argentine people's needs.

But we must understand that the country's situation, until it is normalized, justly demands sacrifices—not just affecting one sector but all of us equally.

Liendo urged businessmen to meet the economic crisis with "patriotism" and not raise prices "unjustifiably." He then returned to his central preoccupation, the campaign against trade-union "subversives":

With regard to subversives in manufacturing plants, we know that they are trying to build up an intense, active campaign of terrorism and intimidation among the laboring population.

. . . their aims: destroy the nation, paralyze the productive apparatus, install Marxist dictatorship, deny the nation's identity.

Such "subversives" are easy to spot, Liendo said. They seek "to win the ranks of labor," usually "making themselves leading proponents of labor's false demands."

This, he said, makes them "perfectly distinguishable" from "authentic labor leaders" and the "delegates really representing the union."

Some 1,000 "subversives" were dis-

covered at the biggest Renault auto plant in Argentina. They were suspended for the day of May 7 after a two-week slowdown.

The May 8 issue of *La Opinión* reported:

There was virtually no activity yesterday at the Santa Isabel Renault plant located about twelve kilometers from the city of Córdoba, despite the fact that—on different shifts—approximately 3,000 workers reported to work. The 3,000 laborers had not been affected by the suspension of some 1,000 workers imposed by the firm Thursday, May 6. About 8,500 workers have jobs in the plant.

Since strikes are now illegal in Argentina these auto workers held a slowdown to show their dissatisfaction with the plummeting buying power of their wages. The number of automobiles coming off the assembly line at Santa Isabel fell from more than 200 daily at the beginning of April to 20 to 30 at the end of the month.

Inflation during the month of April caused the cost of living to rise more than 30%. Faced with this first sign of resistance to its austerity program, the Videla regime moved quickly, softening its stance slightly. On May 8 the junta decreed a national wage increase of 15% effective June 1. The regime also raised family allowances, pensions, and retirement benefits 30% or more, and raised the minimum wage 37%.

The slowdown at the Santa Isabel plant was reported to have ended by May 11.

In addition to the campaign against "subversives," the junta has also taken a number of other steps to "increase productivity" and stop "wasteful expenditure."

- Municipal Mental Health Center No. 2 in Buenos Aires, which in 1975 conducted 65,000 psychiatric consultations, has been closed down. Other psychiatric facilities have also been closed.

- Public employees are being laid off throughout the country. On May 14 alone, Education Minister Ricardo Bruera announced the dismissal of 455 persons working in the field of education.

The junta's imperialist backers have signaled their approval. On May 11 the Argentine Ministry of Economy announced that the Inter-American Development Bank was increasing its 1976 loans to Argentina to \$300 million, up 57% from last year. □

Storm of Protest Over Death Sentences to SWAPO Leaders

By Ernest Harsch

South African authorities have taken another step in the brutal campaign to suppress and terrorize the Namibian independence forces.

On May 11, the Supreme Court in Swakopmund, on the Namibian coast, found Aaron Mushimba and Hendrik Shikongo, two members of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), guilty of participating in "terroristic activities." The next day both were sentenced to death by hanging.

In pronouncing the sentence, Justice J.J. Strydom said that the defendants were guilty of supporting persons who favored "the overthrow by force of the South African-installed South-West Africa administration." He then declared, "This evil of terrorism must be torn out by the roots—law and order must be maintained."

Strydom denied the two SWAPO members the right to appeal the verdicts or sentences. As they left the courtroom, Mushimba and Shikongo gave clenched-fist salutes.

The death sentences brought an immediate storm of international protest. Luxembourg Premier Gaston Thorn, the current chairman of the European Economic Community's Council of Ministers, sent a cablegram to South African Prime Minister John Vorster May 16 on behalf of the EEC calling on him to spare the lives of Mushimba and Shikongo.

Sean MacBride, the United Nations commissioner for Namibia, declared May 15 that since Pretoria was illegally occupying the country, it had no right to try the Namibians. "If the death sentences imposed on Mr. Aaron Mushimba and on Mr. Hendrik Shikongo are carried out," he said, "all those directly involved in the executions will be guilty of murder. Those indirectly involved will be guilty of conspiracy to murder. . . ."

"It is desirable that the international community should react firmly and urgently against this further act of aggression and provocation by South African authorities in Namibia."

Together with four other SWAPO members and sympathizers, Mushimba and Shikongo were tried under Pretoria's draconian Terrorism Act. Under the act, virtually any activity from "obstructing the free movement of traffic" to "embarrassing" the regime can be labeled a "terrorist" action.

Shikongo was formally charged with providing transportation for three persons alleged to have been involved in the

Free Shikongo and Mushimba!

[Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for U.S. president and vice-president, sent the following message to South African Prime Minister John Vorster May 24.]

We demand the immediate release of SWAPO members Hendrik Shikongo and Aaron Mushimba. The only thing these two men are guilty of is partici-

pating in the just fight for the independence of Namibia and the right of the Black people of Namibia to control their own country and their own lives. We oppose your attempt to destroy SWAPO and to terrorize the people of Namibia into accepting white minority rule over their country. We join in the international protest to demand that these two freedom fighters and all other Namibian political prisoners be set free.

August 16, 1975, assassination of Ovambo-land Chief Minister Filemon Elifas. Mushimba, who is SWAPO's national organizing secretary, was charged with allegedly giving money and a radio to someone who advocated the overthrow of the South-West African administration. He was also accused of purchasing a Land Rover that was to be used in an attack on South African forces.

The death sentences were the first to be imposed under the Terrorism Act in either Namibia or South Africa itself.

Two of the other defendants in the trial, both nurses, were sentenced to prison. Rauna Nambinga was given a seven-year prison term for allegedly giving \$12 to and meeting with persons who advocated the overthrow of the South-West African administration. Anna Ngaihondjwa was sentenced to five years on a similar charge. A third nurse, Naimi Nombowo, was acquitted.

The current crackdown against SWAPO began after the assassination of Elifas, which the South Africans used as a pretext for the arrest of about 200 leaders, members, and sympathizers of SWAPO and the Namibia National Convention.

Many of the political prisoners were later released, but six were brought to trial in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia, on December 1. Because of demonstrations outside the courtroom, the trial was adjourned and moved to Swakopmund. When it reconvened in Swakopmund February 16, about 300 protesters gathered outside. They were attacked by police with clubs and dogs.

During the trial, Victor Nkamdi and Axel Johannes, SWAPO general secretary for Namibia, were each given twelve months in prison for refusing to testify.

Nkamdi, who has been detained since

September, said that at one point he was made to stand for four days and nights without sleep and was forced to sign a false statement. Kaino Malwa, a state witness, said during cross-examination that she had been tortured by the police, who suspended her by a chain from her right wrist so that only her toes could touch a block of wood. She said that she was also forced to sign a false statement.

Reuben Hauwanga, a SWAPO leader who was released from prison in February, was also subjected to torture. According to the April 9 issue of the Paris weekly *Jeune Afrique*, Hauwanga said that while he was undergoing interrogation at Ogongo, he heard screams from one of the buildings.

"It was obvious that the victim was suffering greatly," Hauwanga said. "The voice was that of our national leader, Aaron Mushimba. The next day they took me to the room where he was tortured. I saw a piece of Aaron's shirt. It was stained with blood."

Two of the torturers named by Hauwanga, South African Security Branch Lt. Col. Willem Schoon and Lt. G. Dippenaar, testified at the trial.

The Vorster regime has tried to use the trial as a means of discrediting SWAPO. According to a May 12 report from Johannesburg by London *Times* correspondent Nicholas Ashford, "Much of the trial, which had strong political overtones, was devoted to an examination of the nature of Swapo rather than of the charges against the original six defendants. The state maintained that it was a militant organization determined to 'liberate' Namibia by force."

By branding the Namibian independence fighters "terrorists," Pretoria may be preparing the way for the banning of SWAPO. □

Portuguese CP to Run Its Own Presidential Candidate

By Gerry Foley

After some weeks of hesitation and apparently unsuccessful negotiations with military figures, the Portuguese Communist party announced May 18 that it was putting forward its own candidate for president.

To run against Gen. António Ramalho Eanes, whose candidacy is supported by the Socialist party as well as by the main bourgeois parties, the CP chose Octávio Pato, its most well known figure after the general secretary, Alvaro Cunhal.

Pato is the conciliatory face of the CP leadership. He collaborated with the SP deputies in the Constituent Assembly, and is widely believed to favor a liberalized approach like that of the Spanish and Italian CPs.

In the news conference at which he announced Pato's candidacy, Cunhal made it clear that his party was running a civilian candidate only as a last resort. He said that the CP "had stressed the advantage of having a military officer as president, since according to the constitution, the president is chairman of the Council of the Revolution and chief of the armed forces. The CP has not changed its point of view on this."

However, Cunhal continued: "In view of the likelihood that several officers now holding high positions will run for president, and in view of the complexity of the situation and the lack of clarity that the positions of reactionary parties have introduced into the process, the Central Committee of the CP has decided for the present not to support any military candidate. This, however, does not stand in the way of the party supporting a military officer once one is elected president of the republic."

The point about the role of "reactionary parties" apparently referred to the support given to Eanes by the Partido Popular Democrático (PPD—Democratic People's party, the liberal bourgeois party) and the Centro Democrático Social (CDS—Social Democratic Center, the right-wing bourgeois party).

These parties have been quick to back the candidacy of Eanes, who masterminded the military operations that crushed the November 25 ultraleft coup attempt. As a result of the defeat he inflicted at that time on the sections of the military allied with Gen. Vasco Gonçalves, many members and supporters of the CP were ousted from the positions they had gained in the state apparatus and mass media.

The bourgeois parties, as well as the SP, obviously expect that Eanes, if he is elected, will complete the job of cutting down the CP. This is likewise seen by the CP ranks and intellectual cadres who suffered directly from the post-November 25 purges. They are not prepared to go along with supporting Eanes.

If the CP did not run its own candidate, the campaign of the Trotskyist candidate, Arlete Vieira da Silva, for working-class political independence and against the workers parties subordinating themselves to generals would have a greater impact on the CP ranks.

It would also inspire campaigns by the other left groups, especially the Maoists, aimed at appealing to discontented CP members.

Nonetheless, the CP leadership seems to have sought some kind of deal with Eanes right up to the last minute. Cunhal met with the general in the morning of the day he announced Pato's candidacy. Furthermore, Cunhal's reference only to the "reactionary parties" introducing "uncertainty" by supporting Eanes avoided any criticism of the general himself.

In reporting the CP candidacy, the Soviet news agency Tass stressed: "He [Cunhal] made it clear to journalists that this decision had been reached only after consultations CP leaders had with the country's political-military figures, consultations with possible presidential candidates called for by a Central Committee directive."

The CP's objectives in the presidential election, Cunhal said, were the following:

"To help consolidate, stabilize, and advance the democratic process; to prevent the revival of an anti-Communist holy alliance and to promote the unity of the working class and a rapprochement of the democratic forces, in particular the CP and the SP; to help to maintain the alliance of the people with the armed forces and the unity of the armed forces on the basis of the liberating principles of April 25 and to put into practice and defend the constitution; and to create conditions that will help make it possible to realize the aspiration the people expressed in the recent elections for the formation of a left majority in the Assembly of the Republic and formation of a left government including the CP."

Cunhal's statements revealed rather clearly the position the CP found itself in and what tactic it decided to adopt. The bourgeois parties, the military, and the SP

leadership were determined to "normalize" the country and they were no longer willing to cooperate with the CP. They thought the time had come for reducing it to a marginal role in Portuguese politics. In a certain sense, they were right. The CP has been in the government for two years, long enough to seriously damage its standing with the masses because of its opportunism.

However, as the results of the April 25 elections showed, the majority of the Portuguese working people still want a workers government, which for the present would have to be based essentially on the big reformist parties. Apparently the victory of the workers parties in these elections inspired the CP leaders to put up at least a limited fight rather than capitulate unconditionally to Eanes.

Unable to make a deal with the military, the leaders of the bourgeois parties, or the Social Democrats, the only place the CP could turn for support was to the working class. The one card it had left was the possibility of exploiting the opposition of the militant workers to Eanes and the desire of the toiling masses for a workers government.

The SP leaders' alliance with the bourgeoisie was exemplified in a particularly odious way by their backing Eanes for the presidency.

Since the CP resorted to thuggery to hold its positions in the state apparatus, the media, and the unions against the challenge of the SP, the Social Democratic leadership has been able to encourage most SP rank-and-file members to think that a political alliance with the CP is out of the question. It is not so easy, however, to get them to support a "tough" general as a guarantee of "democratic order."

In Oporto, where the SP has tended to move toward the left, leaflets have already been distributed in the name of party members attacking the decision to back Eanes. The national leadership has denounced these as a maneuver aimed at splitting the party. But there are a number of reports of opposition to supporting Eanes among the SP ranks.

After all, the SP gained much of its support, and was able to win its political struggle with the initially much stronger CP, largely because it appeared to be resisting military dictatorship and military tutelage over the working class.

The CP now has an opportunity, if it dares take it, to turn the issue of democracy and working-class independence

against the SP leadership and its craven decision to back a general for president.

Since the SP leaders decided to back Eanes in hope of receiving acquiescence from the military for an SP minority cabinet, an effective way to block this scheme would be to deny the general the broad mandate he needs to play the bonapartistic role cast for him. The legislative election results show that this is possible.

Under the pressures of the situation, it is hard to predict how hard or how effectively the Stalinists will fight. What they have in mind is a limited maneuver, and they have already boxed themselves into a position from which it is hard to oppose Eanes effectively.

Furthermore, the restrictions on campaigning for the supposedly nonpolitical office of president, restrictions agreed to by both the SP and the CP, are severe. All "political propaganda" is supposed to cease after May 27, the final date for registering candidates. The month preceding the June 27 elections is presumably reserved for patriotic reflection. Of course, if the CP chooses to fight this, such an absurd regulation cannot be enforced. But the rule can limit access to the media for the smaller left parties.

If the CP is to make an impact on SP supporters, it will have to revamp its Stalinist image and soften its organizational "toughness." Obviously the leaders are reluctant to do this, as their choice of a candidate shows. If their aim had really been to advance working-class unity, they could have run an independent figure respected in SP circles as well.

Running Pato suggests a step toward reconciliation with SP workers, but it is a halfway approach. A candidacy by a top CP leader leaves the party open to the charge raised in the May 19 *Jornal Novo* that the campaign is intended only to hold the CP ranks firm.

Nonetheless, regardless of the CP leaders' intentions, an independent campaign does offer the working class a pole to rally around. Moreover, the fact that this candidacy objectively goes against the plans of the bourgeoisie and can attract support outside the party faithful should be a strong incentive to local leaders to move away from their sectarian stance and begin discussing and working in a comradely way with other forces. □

Greek Unions Set Strike to Protest Antilabor Law

Most of the unions in Greece called for a mass walkout on May 24 and 25 to protest a government proposal that would limit the right to strike. The proposal, if adopted, would prohibit both "political" and wildcat strikes and would make it illegal for workers to occupy their workplaces or to prevent other workers from crossing a picket line.

Riot Police Crush Protest Against Forced Sterilization

Muslim Demonstrators Gunned Down in Delhi



GANDHI: Blames "insidious rumors" for slum dwellers' protests.

Indian riot police, using automatic weapons, metal-tipped bamboo sticks, and tear gas, attacked a crowd of up to 5,000 protesting Muslims in Delhi April 19. The clashes, which lasted for several hours, left at least 10 persons dead and at least 100 injured.

The protest began when the authorities attempted to bulldoze the shacks of slum dwellers. The Gandhi regime offered to relocate them only if they underwent "voluntary" sterilization. This offer enraged the Muslims, who oppose Gandhi's moves toward forced sterilization on the grounds that they violate the tenets of Islam. A number of family-planning clinics in the vicinity were destroyed during the clashes.

According to a report in the May 6 *Le Monde*, the semiofficial Indian press agency Samachar asserted that those involved in the protest were "credulous people" who had been abused by "insidious rumors spread by members of a banned organization." Samachar claimed that persons with bad intentions had spread the rumor that young couples and unmarried persons were being forcibly sterilized.

While the agency denied these rumors, the charges of forced sterilization by some government officials responsible for carrying out Gandhi's program have become so

widespread that the government can no longer deny them. In Delhi, for example, the minister of health declared that the government was going to take measures not only against those spreading false information, but against those "too zealous" functionaries judged to have used force to carry out sterilizations.

Although the Indian government announced April 29 that it would not make sterilization compulsory on a national level, it explained its decision was being made on purely technical grounds—that it did not have the administrative or medical infrastructure to implement such a law. Health and Family Planning Minister Karan Singh made it clear that the government would not stop any state from passing such legislation.

At the same time, Gandhi is doing her utmost to pressure Indians into "voluntary" sterilization. A report in the May 2 *New York Times* provided some examples of how this works:

"A municipal bulldozer knocks down a slum resident's shack, and as he surveys the rubble, he is told that he can have a clean new house on a bigger plot in the suburbs if he will undergo a vasectomy.

"A large corporation is instructed by the Government official from whom it gets its licenses to start producing a list of newly sterilized employees every month.

"An illiterate servant, called to a meeting at his children's school, comes home fearing that if he does not get himself sterilized, the school will stop his son's education, which he prizes."

Because of tight government censorship, it is not clear how widespread the opposition is to the sterilization plan. But there are signs that trouble may be developing, and not just in Delhi.

Le Monde reported that in the state of Uttar Pradesh the police have been authorized to "fire on sight" at anyone suspected of creating unrest in religious communities. "Rightly or wrongly," the *Le Monde* report said, "some readers deducted from this that the situation was tense in that region also." □

Brazilian Candidates Told to Avoid Issues

The Geisel dictatorship has ordered that candidates who campaign on radio and television in this year's municipal elections give only their name, occupation, and ballot number, refraining from all discussion of political issues.

According to a report in the May 20 *Washington Post*, Justice Minister Armand Falcão said the new rule was intended to avoid "confusing the voters."

150,000 March in Paris May Day Action

By Rebecca Finch



Rouge

Part of women's contingent in Paris May Day demonstration.

PARIS—One hundred fifty thousand workers, immigrants, soldiers, women, and students marched here May 1 at the call of the CGT and CFDT¹ trade unions. It was one of the largest and most imposing May Day actions in recent years, according to the report on the demonstration in the May 4 *Le Monde*.

Contingents from virtually every sector of the labor movement came out in an inspiring demonstration of the potential power of a united working class. Truckers, printers, sewing-machine operators, auto workers, public-service employees, and watchmakers carried banners identifying their union locals and demanding wage increases and an end to unemployment.

Spanish exiles, Iranians, Greeks, Palestinians, Moroccans, Tunisians, Senegalese, Chileans, Uruguayans, and Irish marched with colorful, handmade signs bearing

slogans that called for an end to imperialist domination, the overthrow of brutal dictatorships, and freedom for the world's tens of thousands of political prisoners.

Contingents from Corsica, Brittany, and Occitania—regions of France where fierce struggles are being waged by workers and farmers, and where national consciousness is deepening—carried their national flags.

Darting out from a nearby subway station, where they had changed from civilian clothes to military uniforms, 175 soldiers and sailors formed a compact contingent. As hundreds of young persons organized two tightly knit lines of marshals around them, onlookers and demonstrators cheered and clapped, and shouted, "Soldier, in uniform you're still a worker!"

For the first time in a May Day demonstration, a contingent of doctors joined in, carrying a banner calling for the dissolution of the reactionary Conseil d'Ordre.

The *Le Monde* report estimated that 6,000 persons marched in the contingent organized by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League), French section of the Fourth International. The demonstrators carried

red flags and a green lead banner that called for solidarity with workers in Spain, Portugal, and Italy. Their slogans centered on the need for a united political offensive against attacks by the French government on the working class.

The vast action was a powerful echo of Karl Marx's call to the workers of the world to unite. But if it inspired those who watched its four and a half hour passage with a vision of the potential strength of a united working class, the demonstration also spoke volumes about the dangers that await a working class divided by a leadership that collaborates with the bourgeoisie, and that refuses to wage an uncompromising struggle for the most oppressed and exploited.

In at least two instances, either during the preparations for the demonstration or during the event itself, the CGT and CFDT engaged in maneuvers that demonstrated the most backward chauvinism or outright sectarianism.

The first incident involved the students who have been on strike in the universities for almost twelve weeks. At an April 27 national coordination meeting, the strike committees, which have been leading the vigorous campaign against efforts by the government to impose a selection and tracking system in the universities, called on the students to form a contingent in the May Day demonstration.

As part of the continuing effort to try to win the support of the organized labor movement for their struggle, leaders of the strike committees approached the CGT and CFDT with a request to organize a contingent in common with the unions. Two days before the action, the unions refused the request, giving permission only for the Communist party-dominated UNEF (Renouveau)² and the PSU³-led MAS⁴ to appear inside the union-organized contingents.

The MAS leaders, many of whom have participated in the strike, rejected the unions' maneuver to divide the students and called on its followers to join the strike-committee contingent instead.

On the day of the demonstration, several confrontations developed when the UNEF (Renouveau) tried to take the head of the student contingent. This failed, and the UNEF (Renouveau) and its high-school

2. Union National des Etudiants Français (Renouveau) (National Union of French Students [Renewal]).

3. Parti Socialiste Unifié (United Socialist party).

4. Mouvement d'Action Syndicale (Union Action Movement). The MAS is a new student union led by members of the PSU and the French Socialist party. Its predecessor was the MARC (Mouvement d'Action et de Recherches Critiques—Movement for Action and Critical Research).

Lack of Union Support Weakens Student Strike

The refusal of the CGT and the CFDT to cooperate with the students, as well as their sectarian attempt to impose the UNEF (Renouveau) and the MAS as the leading representatives of the student movement, is an extension of the betrayal by the CP, SP, and the unions of the general strike in education. The strike action affected all the campuses in France at its highest point.

From the beginning the students sought to win the support of the unions for their struggle. The strike committees called on the Communist party-led SNESup¹ and the CFDT-affiliated SGEN,² the two university professors unions, to join them. Although some locals responded, their national leaderships refused and countered only with proposals for limited, one-day actions. This was the main obstacle to extending the strike throughout the entire school system in France.

In addition, the student committees also regularly elected representatives to meet with the representatives of the CGT and the CFDT to ask for their participation in the big demonstrations that were held on an almost weekly basis throughout April. The unions' response was always the same—they claimed to support the struggle but advanced flimsy excuses for not calling on their members to join the mobilization.

The failure of the unions to support the struggle has been a formidable obstacle for the strikers. Despite the largest student demonstrations since

1968, the campaign could not be extended and won without support from the organized working class.

Thus, while many universities and some high schools and technical schools are still out on strike, the pace of the mobilization has slowed noticeably, and some students are beginning to go back to class.

For many of those participating for the first time in such a struggle—and this campaign has involved thousands of such youths in it—it was a bitter lesson in what can be expected from the class-collaborationist leaderships of the reformist workers parties and their cohorts in the union apparatuses. The CP and SP have made a conscious decision not to rock the boat between now and the 1978 legislative elections. The trade-union leaderships, which in France are closely tied to the reformist workers parties, followed that strategy.

Although always careful to give verbal support to the struggle, or even to join in the strike in a partial way, the UNEF (Renouveau) and the Stalinist and Social Democratic union leaders carefully avoided any steps that might have provoked a political crisis for Giscard d'Estaing's minority government.

When Alice Saunier-Seïté, French secretary for the universities, announced April 27 that she was willing to make some concessions, but not to change the fundamental content of the reform, UNEF (Renouveau) began to call on the students to return to the campuses, "to take up the struggle in forms more appropriate to the present period." The SNESup locals that had supported the strike began voting un-animously against it in the general assemblies.

This is the background against which the CGT and CFDT tried to shut out the student strike committees from the May Day demonstration and give first place instead to the UNEF (Renouveau) and the MAS. —R.F.

of the organized feminist movement with all the struggles of the working class, and helped refute the Stalinist propaganda that feminists were against the working-class movement.

About 1,000 women showed up on the afternoon of May 1, bearing colorful banners protesting low wages, unemployment, and crimes against women. In a display of sexist chauvinism and brute force, 100 burly CGT marshals attempted to block the women from taking their agreed-on place in the demonstration.

According to the women's statement that was published in the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, the marshals refused all discussion, and instead shouted the grossest type of insults, tore up banners, and began a physical fight. (According to *Le Monde*, one woman had to be taken from the contingent because of injuries.) It was only the intervention of CFDT members and even some women CGT members that put a stop to the attack and allowed the contingent to move forward.

The action as a whole, however, clearly showed that the economic and social crisis has brought new sectors of the working class into motion in France. The banners, signs, and slogans reflecting the militant fight by immigrant workers, a reawakening of the student movement, fierce regional struggles that have taken on a national character, and a growing feminist consciousness were all indicators of the deepening radicalization of the working class. □

Kissinger Denounced in Ghana as 'Enemy of African Freedom'

Secretary of State Kissinger had planned to visit Ghana during his tour of Africa but was told April 27 that he was unwelcome in that country, ostensibly because its head of state, Gen. I.K. Acheampong, was ill.

The cancellation of the visit, however, was preceded by a series of student demonstrations against Kissinger. The National Union of Ghana Students described Kissinger's planned visit as "an avenue to propagate American foreign policy which is anti-African." H.O. Akrofi, the president of the student union, told a news conference that the manner in which Ghana was added to Kissinger's itinerary at the last minute "smacked of the general contempt Dr. Kissinger, and indeed the US, has always displayed towards Africa."

A group of forty-four lecturers from Ghana's three universities also urged that the visit be canceled. The May 10 *West Africa* quoted them as saying that the visit would amount to "welcoming one of the highest representatives of the enemies of African freedom."

Other groups that condemned the scheduled visit were the Ghana Peace and Solidarity Council and the African Youth Command.

counterpart, the UNCAL,⁵ marched behind the strike committees.

But if this attempt by the unions to undercut the authority of the strike committees was sectarian, it was not as crude as the hoodlum-type treatment meted out to the feminist contingent. A coordinating committee of Paris feminist groups from

high schools, universities, neighborhoods, and enterprises called on women to join the demonstration "to assert the struggle of women against the superexploitation and oppression they are subject to alongside the whole working class."

The statement called on women to join either their own union contingents or the feminist contingent, which had negotiated an agreement with a CFDT local to march in its trade-union contingent. The participation of feminists in the demonstration was a positive way to assert the solidarity

5. Union Nationale des Comités d'Action Lycéens (National Union of High-School Action Committees).

Protests Mark Opening of Simeoni Trial



Rouge

EDMOND SIMEONI

The trial of Corsican nationalist leader Edmond Simeoni and eight of his associates opened May 17 in Paris. Fifteen Corsican unions and professional associations protested the trial and called for marking the day with job actions and strikes.

The Corsican nationalists are charged with "participating in an armed band opposing state authority." Of the nine, however, only Simeoni is being held in jail.

The charges stem from the occupation of a French-settler-owned vineyard last August by Simeoni's group, the Action pour la Reconnaissance de la Corse (ARC—Action for Recognition of Corsica). Since French withdrawal from Algeria, many former settlers with capital have set up vineyards and wineries in Corsica.

The wine produced by these operations has been of a notably low quality. Some of it, according to the May 18 issue of *Le Monde*, was fabricated so ingeniously that "there weren't any grapes in it at all."

There have been a number of scandals about substandard wine. The first was the case of the "wine chemists" in February 1974. In July, COVIREP, a company that markets Corsican wine in the French state, was forced to turn over its books for inspection. It had been used by the crooked big wine producers as a cover. After the investigation started, COVIREP's credit system collapsed, dragging many small producers into debt and ruin.

On August 21, Simeoni and other members of the ARC occupied the Depeille vineyard in Aléria. Their objective was to

press demands for the release of one of their members charged with getting into a fight with police, for the arrest of the fraudulent wine producers and the confiscation of their property, and the redistribution of the big vineyards to the most disadvantaged local farmers.

On the first day of the trial, Simeoni said he had expected the French government to deal with the occupation as a "limited operation" and was surprised that the reaction of the authorities was so violent.

In the early morning hours of August 22, the vineyard was surrounded by 1,200 militarized police with armored cars mounted with machine guns. In the afternoon, a delegation serving as intermediaries in negotiations with the deputy governor was fired on at a police barricade. The chairman of the local Young Farmers Association was killed.

At 4:15 p.m., the police stormed the

building held by the ARC team, shooting and firing tear-gas grenades. Two cops were fatally wounded in the attack. One ARC member had his foot shot off.

The nationalists surrendered. Simeoni issued a statement saying: "I deplore the deaths of the two policemen, as I do our own casualties. They are the victims of the total stubbornness of the authorities who are interested only in protecting the swindlers."

Simeoni had underestimated the chauvinism of the Paris authorities. The minister of the interior of the French state, Michel Poniatowski, made this clear in his statement on the events, which was cited in the May 18 *Le Monde*:

"The leaders of ARC have thus succeeded in their criminal design, making blood flow on the island of Corsica . . . Their mad enterprise, which is aimed at destroying national unity, can under no circumstances be tolerated. It would lead to grave disorders that would dangerously compromise the future of this French *département* to which considerable efforts have been devoted and will be devoted."

This declaration leaves no doubt that the trial of the ARC activists is designed to crush the Corsican nationalist movement.

Audiences Applaud Charlie Chaplin's Message

A First in Barcelona—"The Great Dictator"

By Joanna Rossi

BARCELONA, May 17—An old film has become the talk of the town in Barcelona. Charlie Chaplin's *The Great Dictator*, released in 1940, has only recently made its way past Spain's censors. The film has become an event, one of the signs of the ferment in this country.

Certainly on most days here, things appear pretty much as usual. Smartly attired crowds shop along the Ramblas, the fashionable avenue in downtown Barcelona. Stickers on the buildings proclaim, "Juan Carlos, rey de España" (Juan Carlos, king of Spain).

But the surface appearance can be deceptive. The Spaniards who today crowd the outdoor cafes of the Ramblas are debating political issues—amnesty, the government's proposed "reforms," the strikes, the May 1 demonstrations, freedom for the trade unions, and the legalization of political parties. Magazines and newspapers feature articles on these topics. Newly launched magazines carry articles on the emerging women's liberation movement and on a wide range of other topics, from homosexuality to press censorship. An enterprising slogan writer has added a touch to the Juan Carlos sticker, changing it to read, "Juan Carlos

(the last) king of Spain."

Last week marked the appearance of the first daily newspaper in the Catalan language since the installation of the Franco regime. A week and a half ago in Madrid, student audiences cheered speeches given by Ernest Mandel. Yesterday the large Barcelona daily *La Vanguardia Española* ran a story on the forthcoming visit to Spain of Peter Camejo, candidate of the Socialist Workers party in the American presidential elections.

The way audiences respond to *The Great Dictator* indicates what is going on below the surface. The film shows a country suffering under the tyranny of the dictator Hinkel. Scenes portray the Jewish ghetto being terrorized by the political police and Nazi thugs. Another scene shows Hinkel (played by Chaplin) raging before a crowd that there can be no liberties, no freedom in his country.

By a twist of fate, a lowly Jewish barber, a look-alike of Hinkel (also played by Chaplin), is mistaken for the dictator, and must deliver a speech in his name. The barber begins the now-famous speech ending the film:

I'm sorry, but I don't want to be an emperor.

That's not my business. I don't want to rule or conquer anyone. I should like to help everyone. . . .

The way of life can be free and beautiful, but we have lost the way. Greed has poisoned men's souls—has barricaded the world with hate—has goose-stepped us into misery and bloodshed.

In Spain today these words have a stirring effect.

Soldiers! Don't fight for slavery! Fight for liberty! . . . You, the people, have the power to make this life free and beautiful—to make this life a wonderful adventure. Then—in the name of

democracy—let us use that power—let us all unite. Let us fight for a new world—a decent world that will give men a chance to work—that will give youth a future and old age a security.

A majority of the audience the afternoon I saw the film burst into applause. □

Encouraging Gains Scored by Australian SWP

Big Shift to Labor Defeats Liberals in New South Wales

Voters in the Australian state of New South Wales (NSW) gave a stinging rebuff May 1 to the Liberal government of Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser. Fraser's allies, headed by Eric Willis, were turned out of office in the state election, and the Australian Labor party (ALP) formed its first government in NSW in eleven years.

The ALP won 50.28 percent of the vote—a 7.8 percent increase since the last NSW election in November 1973. This swing reflected the discontent of Australian workers over mounting inflation, unemployment, and cutbacks in social services.

The Liberals had hoped to avoid the wrath of the voters by calling the election early. An April 1 editorial in the *Sydney Morning Herald* pointed out, "The Federal Budget later this year will be tough, especially for Government (Federal and State) spending, and may well provoke some public hostility. Why not, therefore, get in as far ahead as possible?"

However, instead of pinning the Liberals on their record of attacks on the working class, the ALP attempted to downplay the real issues in the campaign. State ALP leader Neville Wran made his attitude clear when he said at an April 12 rally opening his campaign, "This is not a time for new or extravagant promises. . . ."

It was left to the Australian Trotskyists in the Socialist Workers party (SWP) to present a fighting program corresponding to the needs of the working masses. The SWP ran three candidates, Deb Shnookal, Nita Keig, and Geoff Payne, in working-class districts in the Sydney area.

In a radio interview April 5, Nita Keig explained:

We recognise that the Labor Party has the support of the overwhelming majority of working people in this State and in this country. We think that people look to it because it is the political party of the trade unions and as such we give it our support. We will be campaigning on a platform of Vote Socialist Workers and Elect a Labor Government.

A special four-page election manifesto was printed as a supplement in *Direct Action*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the SWP, and thousands of copies were distributed. The manifesto said, in part:

The living standards and democratic rights of

working people in Australia are in acute danger right now. The Fraser Government in the Federal sphere and its Liberal-National Country Party allies in NSW and other States have launched a conscious, planned campaign to cut wages, slash welfare, eliminate many forms of public services and maintain high rates of unemployment. . . .

The Socialist Workers Party believes that Willis and Fraser can be beaten. But half measures won't do it. We're running in this election, in the seats of Balmain, Phillip and Marrickville, in order to put the kind of fighting policies needed to demolish the Liberals right up front in the campaign.

Campaign rallies for the socialist candidates were held in each of the three districts where they were running and on the three university campuses in the Sydney area. Also, rallies were held to kick off and to close the campaign.

According to official figures, Nita Keig polled 3.2 percent of the vote in Balmain; Deb Shnookal won 2.3 percent of the vote in Phillip; and Geoff Payne won 2.7 percent of the vote in Marrickville. In Balmain, candidates of the Communist party of Australia (CPA) and the Socialist party of Australia were both on the ballot. Both were outpolled by the SWP's Nita

Keig, who had earlier debated the candidate of the CPA.

In its evaluation of the campaign, *Direct Action* pointed out in a May 6 editorial that despite the attempts to dodge the real issues in the election:

The voters . . . indicated their opposition to Fraser's attacks on our standards of living. Labor leader Wran himself was forced to comment on election night that NSW has the highest unemployment rate of the mainland States and the people of NSW voted accordingly. . . .

The Fraser Government is obviously becoming more and more unpopular. The six weeks that elapsed between the Victorian and NSW elections were sufficient for a much bigger swing to the Labor Party. The result—if repeated in a Federal election—could mean the removal of Fraser's Liberals.

But a new Labor government in either Sydney or Canberra will only share the experience of the Whitlam Government which was rejected at the polls on December 13 because of its failure to act in the interests of working people on such matters as unemployment and inflation.

What is needed now, more than ever, is a change in Labor's policy. The success of the NSW Socialist Workers Party candidates in their first State election shows that many people are looking for a new socialist alternative. □

Congolese Labor Leaders Arrested

The only labor federation in the Congo Republic, the Confédération Syndicale Congolaise (CSC—Congolese Union Federation), called a general strike March 25 to protest the high cost of living and planned administrative reforms affecting state employees. Early on the morning of March 25, pickets appeared at the major enterprises in Brazzaville and halted activity in some sectors of the economy in the capital for several hours.

Police quickly intervened, arresting some of the trade-union leaders while they were giving speeches. Among those arrested were Anatole Khondo, the general secretary of the CSC and a member of the Central Committee of the Parti Congolais

du Travail (PCT—Congolese Labor party, the ruling party); Charles Madzou, assistant general secretary of the CSC; Ekamba Elombé, permanent secretary of the CSC; and Jean Jules Okabando, a leader of the Union of Congolese Socialist Youth.

Calling the strike "illegal," Jean-Pierre Thystère Tchicaya, a leader of the PCT, announced the expulsion of the labor leaders from the party. He denounced them as "agitators . . . who will not give up their work of undermining" the government.

President Marien Ngouabi, who was touring the countryside, rushed back to the capital and condemned the strike leaders as "opportunists, situationists and bandits." □

May Day Rallies in Japan Score Lockheed Scandal

By Ernest Harsch

The continued furor in Japan over the Lockheed scandal was a prominent element in this year's May Day demonstrations.

According to the May 2 Tokyo *Mainichi Daily News*, about 3.5 million persons attended the May Day rallies, marches, and demonstrations throughout the country. The sponsors of the actions had expected a turnout of 7 million persons, but the weather was poor.

The four major labor federations organized rallies in sixteen prefectures. The central rally, held in Yoyogi Park in Tokyo, was addressed by leaders of the four opposition parties in the Diet (parliament): Tomomi Narita, chairman of the Japan Socialist party (JSP); Sanzo Nosaka, chairman of the Central Committee of the Japan Communist party (JCP); Bunzo Ninomiya, vice-chairman of the Komeito (Clean Government party); and Ikko Kasuga, chairman of the Democratic Socialist party (DSP).

The main slogan of the rally was "Let's protect livelihood, rights and peace through the unity of workers." According to the *Mainichi Daily News*, Makoto Ichikawa, the chairman of Sohyo,* the largest labor federation in Japan, "called for a unified struggle of the workers and people, adding that the conservative controlling class had bared its anti-people nature symbolized by the Lockheed case."

The leaders of the JCP, JSP, DSP, and Komeito called for a full investigation of the Lockheed bribes, the ouster of the Liberal Democratic party (LDP) government of Prime Minister Takeo Miki, and the victory of the opposition parties in the general elections later this year.

After the rally, the participants paraded through Tokyo along six different routes. Conspicuous among the placards were those calling for a full investigation of the scandal. Similar placards were also predominant at the May Day rallies in Osaka, Kobe, and Kyoto. In Kobe, demonstrators carried an effigy of a Lockheed TriStar aircraft swallowing a government official.

In response to the massive protests against the attempted cover-up of the payoffs, the Miki government has been forced to make an appearance of taking some action against those already known to be involved.

On May 10, Yoshio Kodama, Lockheed's chief influence peddler in Japan, was



S. Yamafuji/Asahi Evening News

TANAKA: "I have been the target of criticism, of pointed fingers."

indicted for violations of the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Control Law. He was charged with failing to seek official approval for the transfer into Japan of \$1.46 million in May and June 1973. Although Lockheed officials have revealed that Kodama received a total of \$7.1 million for the purpose of bribing government and business figures between 1958 and 1975, he will not be charged for any crimes committed before 1973 because of the three-year statute of limitations.

Kodama is the most powerful Japanese figure directly connected to the scandal so far. He is a prominent leader of the ultraright and has close ties with many top leaders of the LDP. In fact, he helped bring at least three prime ministers to power and helped finance the formation in 1955 of the LDP, the only significant bourgeois party in Japan. Known as the "Godfather," he is also a powerful underworld boss.

Among the LDP leaders who may be implicated in the payoffs are Deputy Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda, Finance Minister Masayoshi Ohira, LDP General Secretary Yasuhiro Nakasone, and former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka. All four are leaders of important LDP factions.

According to the May 14 Tokyo *Daily*

Yomiuri, Kichitaro Hagiwara, board chairman of the Hokkaido Colliery and Steamship Company, admitted at a news conference in Sapporo that he has been a close friend of Kodama's since 1949 and that he was involved in some of Kodama's dealings. He also said that Kodama aided Tanaka in his election as LDP president, and thus as prime minister of the country, in 1972.

Tanaka, who was forced to resign in November 1974 for his involvement in a different financial scandal, has denied any connection to the Lockheed payoffs. On April 25, speaking to 500 persons at his family home in Sakata, he complained, "I have been the target of criticism, of pointed fingers."

The "investigations" being carried out by police, revenue, and Justice Ministry officials are primarily for show, however. In the three months since the names of Kodama and a few others were revealed in Washington during testimony by Lockheed officials, no new information has been disclosed by the American or Japanese governments.

In fact, Japanese officials obviously hope that it will be a long time before additional names are released. *Washington Post* correspondent John Saar reported in the May 12 issue, "An official of the national tax agency estimated it would take five years of full-time work by the entire staff of 170 investigators to fully probe the Lockheed affair."

Moreover, on April 27 Foreign Minister Kiichi Miyazawa declared off limits to the investigators the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's possible involvement in the scandal. His statement was made in reply to a demand by Koichiro Ueda of the JCP that the government probe the CIA's role. JSP Chairman Narita has also charged the CIA with involvement in the payoffs.

The JCP and JSP charges followed disclosure by reporter Tad Szulc in the April 10 issue of the American weekly *New Republic* that the CIA had a "working relationship" with Kodama since the late 1940s. In the April 2 *New York Times* Ann Crittenden stated that the CIA had reportedly given money to Kodama on several occasions, as well as to various ultrarightist groups and to the LDP.

The April 28 *Asahi Evening News* reported that former Assistant Secretary of State Roger Hilsman said he was told that the CIA had given funds to one or more Japanese political parties.

In his *New Republic* article, Szulc also linked the CIA to Deak & Co., a New York-based firm of international money dealers that helped Lockheed funnel some of its bribes into Japan. In light of this, Szulc concluded that the CIA may have used the Lockheed bribes as a covert channel for its aid to Japanese ultrarightists.

The White House refusal to disclose further information on the scandal does nothing to dispel this suspicion. □

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

Greece—One Million Attend Funeral of Alexandros Panagoulis

"Nearly a million persons massed at the funeral of Alexandros Panagoulis, who was murdered by agents of native reaction and American imperialism," the Greek Trotskyist paper *Ergatike Pale* said in its May 8 issue.

Panagoulis became a hero of the Greek resistance to the junta when he was imprisoned and tortured after he tried to assassinate the dictator George Papadopoulos in August 1968. He was killed in an automobile accident May 1, when his car was forced off the road and crashed against a wall. His funeral was held May 5 in Athens.

Since parallel police gangs have arranged traffic accidents in the past to assassinate left-wing figures, public opinion assumed that his death was another such murder. The hero of the militant young left, Gregoris Lambrakis, was killed in 1963 when he was run down by a motorcycle. When the victimized Communist journalist Boultepsis was released from prison in the early 1960s, the magistrate who ordered the release, Judge Satzetakis, also died in a mysterious traffic accident.

At the time of his death, Panagoulis was in the process of publishing material from the files of the political security forces. This fact also created suspicion.

Parastate gangsterism, bound up with the Greek intelligence system and the CIA, was an important element in preparing the way for the dictatorship of the colonels. As a result, the Greek people are highly sensitive to any hint of reactionary intrigue. Furthermore, Panagoulis was one of the few symbols of resistance to the junta's take-over. So, his death touched a deep chord in the Greek working masses. His funeral also gave them an opportunity to protest the increasing repressiveness of the Caramanlis regime.

"An enormous crowd came out," *Aughi*, the voice of the "interior" faction of the Greek CP, said in its May 6 issue. "It was the biggest crowd ever seen in a funeral procession." The "interior" paper, of course, tended to portray the demonstration in a romantic and nationalist light. But it also reported the militancy of the masses of demonstrators: "When the priest chanted, 'Give the last kiss' [the end of the funeral service], the slogans began:

"'One in the grave, thousands in the struggle.'

"'Americans out.'"

Aughi continued: "It was not a funeral. It was a mass outpouring. Thousands of clenched fists were raised, thousands of hands held up flowers, bouquets, flags,



PANAGOULIS

and placards. From the throats of thousands came the shout: 'Satzetakis, Lambrakis, and now Panagoulis. The Americans are the murderers of the peoples,' and 'Down with the new terrorism.' Below Syntagma Square, the sea of people waited for the coffin to pass, singing, 'New Battles Herald the Coming Struggle.' . . . 'Out of NATO for good and all.'"

The Greek Trotskyists made their presence known in the demonstration, *Ergatike Pale* said: "Our slogans were the following: Down with Caramanlis's terror; Lambrakis, Sideres, Panagoulis, who will be Caramanlis's next victim? The Polytechnic [the November 1973 student rebellion that struck a mortal blow to the dictatorship] was the beginning, Caramanlis's time will come."

On the leaflet it issued for the funeral, the Greek section of the Fourth International raised the slogans: "Everyone into the struggle against Caramanlis's terror," "Out of NATO for good and all," "Everyone into the struggle for our democratic rights."

The crowds around the Trotskyist marchers picked up their slogans, *Ergatike Pale* reported. The Trotskyists also took

the opportunity to raise protests against the death of the high-school student Sideres Isidhoropoulos, who was killed by an automobile while trying to escape from police who wanted to arrest him for pasting up posters for the May Day march.

No matter how long it takes the facts to come out about Panagoulis's death, the May 5 demonstration in Athens shows that the use of parallel police gangs perfected by the CIA and its client reactionary regimes in the 1960s can become counterproductive.

In a whole series of countries—Argentina, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, and Brazil, among others—murder gangs organized by the police have become an increasingly important part of the repressive apparatus.

The hope was that murders and assaults carried out by these ultraright gangs would not have the same impact on public opinion as open police repression. For a while, this expectation was generally borne out.

But now in Greece, parallel police repression has had the result that any mysterious death of a leftist is immediately interpreted by the masses as a political murder.

Few open acts of repression could have touched off a more powerful upsurge than the mysterious death of Alexandros Panagoulis. □

Correction

In our May 3 issue, an editorial note introducing the article "Panama at the Crossroads" (reprinted from the March 4 issue of *Inprecor*) stated that we had revised the translation at some points to bring it into conformity with the Spanish text, which we assumed was the original.

We have since been informed that the original text of the article was in French. This accounts for the differences that appeared in the two English translations, none of which altered the substance of the article.

Documents discussed at 1974 Tenth World Congress of Fourth International, 128 pages, 8½ x 11, \$2.50

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Ford, Reagan, Torrijos, and the Panama Canal

[The following interview was given to *Intercontinental Press* April 11 by two Panamanian revolutionists. One of them, Arturo Alegría, is representative of the youth that have been attracted to Trotskyism. The other, Pedro Bermúdez, represents the current of revolutionists who reject any compromise with the Torrijos regime, which, for example, is unconditionally supported by the Panamanian Stalinists.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. Some days ago, Omar Torrijos attacked Reagan's statements about the kind of policy the United States should follow toward the Panama Canal. The former governor of California and present U.S. presidential hopeful objects to having the new treaty include, among other concessions being negotiated now, returning most of the Canal Zone to Panama. Torrijos says that statements like that help out the Panamanian far left, that if the United States adopts such a policy, guerrillas and terrorism are going to spring up in Panama.

What is your opinion of these statements?

Alegría. The Torrijos government wants to make it clear to the current government of the United States that this regime is willing to make concessions on the question of the Panama Canal, so long as the United States helps it to stay in power.

Reagan's statements go against the current policy of Torrijos. In answering Reagan, Torrijos stated that he was ready to repress the left. It is the left that has called demonstrations like the one last September 23 in front of the U.S. embassy, in which more than 5,000 students took part.

We believe that the Torrijos regime is willing to negotiate with the U.S. government and is supporting Ford's nomination. Kissinger, for example, has come out in favor of a different policy than Reagan—Ford's opponent for the Republican nomination.

By answering Reagan, Torrijos hopes to give Kissinger and Ford a boost in the primary elections.

His proimperialist policy is demonstrated by his failing to lift a finger to mobilize the masses against imperialist domination.

Bermúdez. Basically, I think that any statement by Torrijos must be assessed in

the context of what his government represents. The revolutionary left groups have characterized it as a bonapartist government. This has clear class connotations that I don't think need be spelled out.

However, the fundamental thing is that the Torrijos government has survived a little more than seven years by encouraging, in a clearly demagogic way, the people's interest in liberating the Canal Zone enclave.

Because of its own interests and ties with imperialism, our bourgeoisie is not in a position to propose the total liberation of the Canal Zone. Instead, it is trying to get certain features of the enclave eliminated—the most obnoxious ones—without going to the root of the question and without adopting the most fundamental demands of the people's movement.

In this sense, Torrijos is not interested in getting rid of the military bases in the Canal Zone, to cite only one example. The presence of a colonial enclave and military bases in the Canal Zone serve his manifold aims. In various ways the National Guard, a force at the service of the Panamanian bourgeoisie, is tremendously bolstered by the U.S. military presence and gets a tremendous boost from the existence of North American bases in the Canal Zone.

From this standpoint, Torrijos's ability to satisfy the demands of the people is severely limited. Added to this is the fact that our country is tremendously dependent—mainly on North American imperialism—and that the government has clearly shown its inability to free itself from that dependency.

The government's reform program is designed fundamentally to sow illusions in a capitalist government. Keeping all this in mind, you can get an overall view of the real character of this government, and finally, of the objective content of Torrijos's statements. In this sense, the statements and direct attacks on the revolutionary left only reflect the fact that the left is giving expression to the very essence of the people's movement. That is, it is giving expression to the demands to which the people's movement has historically given form and which sum up its interests—the demand for expelling the North American military bases, for eliminating the colonial enclave, and for nationalizing the canal.

These are the aims the people's movement has put forward throughout its history. And insofar as Torrijos is objectively incapable of raising this banner, he will have to attack the revolutionary left, which has raised this flag and which is beginning to focus the mass movement around those very demands.

As for Reagan, I think one thing is clear. There is a tendency in the United States that reflects purely and simply the bankruptcy of the imperialist apparatus. That is, it is a response by a section of U.S. capitalism that has had to stand by and watch a rise in the revolutionary movement as a whole—over and above the conflicts within it—and a decline in imperialism's capacity to impose its rule.

From this standpoint, the position taken by Torrijos in his statements—that there is agreement between Reagan and the revolutionary left—is totally stupid. Demagogues traditionally have resorted to trite formulas identifying what they call the far left with what they call the far right. This is really the sort of thing that could put you to sleep. This kind of demagogic formula never has any substance whatever.

The point of convergence between Reagan and us, what Torrijos may have in mind, is that we both call for the overthrow of his regime. But that is where the convergence ends, since we call for replacing the Torrijos government with a revolutionary government and for establishing socialism in our country.

Alegría. Torrijos says that Reagan helps the far left, but more than that, Torrijos is giving a boost to Reagan and the most reactionary elements in the U.S. government by his statements that guerrillas and terrorism are going to pop up in Panama.

Q. How does all this fit into the attacks by Torrijos against the left?

Alegría. Torrijos wants to eliminate any kind of opposition. He has gone so far as to make an amalgam between leftist and rightist elements in the so-called plot that was the pretext for deporting thirteen persons.* At the same time, he wants to silence opponents of his government's policy on the canal. He wants to clear the way so that he can negotiate a new treaty with Ford free from any domestic pressures.

Q. What is the difference between Torrijos's policy and what is contained in the old treaty on the Canal Zone?

Alegría. The old treaty stipulates that the canal belongs to the United States in

*The April 26 issue of *Intercontinental Press* contains a statement from the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners that reports the case of Dr. Miguel Antonio Bernal, who was exiled by the Torrijos government in February.

perpetuity. Torrijos says this should be changed—so that it would belong to the United States only until the year 2000!

The revolutionists' policy is to demand the immediate withdrawal of the military bases and an end to imperialist domination. We don't want a single soldier or a single base here. We ask that the transfer of the canal itself from the United States to Panama be carried out in the shortest possible time.

Bermúdez. I would say that the treaty the current Panamanian government under Omar Torrijos is negotiating presents quantitative changes from the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty [of 1903]. It seems to me that modifications were called for, since the situation has changed over time. Moreover, the fact is that there is ferment within the people's movement that, in one way or another, obliges Torrijos at least to change the formalities under which domination is exercised.

That is, the changes that may be put into effect are in no way qualitative ones. There are changes, for example, designed to disguise and alter the external appearance of the domination.

Eliminating imperialist ownership of a large part of the Panamanian territory in the hands of the imperialists, reducing this to a minimum, is strictly a quantitative change, not a substantive one.

While the amount of land the North American imperialists are to rule is changed, it is also true that the war-making capacity of the United States is different from what it was. U.S. military capacity has increased, and they no longer need such a large number of conventional forces to maintain colonial-type domination over the Canal Zone.

That is one side of the picture. The other is that there has been a change in the form of negotiations. Why? Because in one way or another Torrijos is taking advantage of the weakness of the left. He is taking advantage of the fact that we still cannot carry through a solution in Panama, and of the low level of politicalization among the majority of the people, even of broad sectors of the working class.

Q. What kind of military bases are there in the Panama Canal Zone?

Alegría. There are fourteen known bases, with all types of military equipment. Some people think that one of them is equipped with Polaris-type nuclear rockets. In all, there are more than 15,000 soldiers on these bases, not counting the 30,000 "civilians."

Seventy percent of the territory controlled by the North Americans is taken up by military bases. Among the most important of these are the United States Army School of the Americas at Fort Gulick, where about 30,000 individuals from the armed forces of the Latin American countries have been trained. Pinochet and



FORD: Counting on Torrijos to defuse mass ferment over U.S. control of canal.

Leigh, among others, were trained there. Also stationed at Fort Gulick are 1,000 members of the Eighth Special Action Forces, better known as the "Green Berets." At Quarry Heights there is the headquarters of the U.S. Army Southern Command, which coordinates all military activity by the secret services and supervises all North American military aid programs for Latin America. At the Albrook Air Base there is the Inter-American Air Force Academy. At Fort Sherman there is the U.S. Army Jungle Warfare School, and at Fort Clayton, the Cartographic School of the Inter-American Geodetic Survey. These last two specialize in counterinsurgency.

Q. So the Canal Zone is an imperialist base of operations for all Latin America?

Alegría. The United States's most important embassy for all Central America is in Panama.

Panama, for example, does not have its own currency. It differs from Puerto Rico only in that it is not officially a colony. The Torrijos government with its nationalist façade is currently being used to divert the mass mobilizations.

Torrijos is the trump card of the Ford government. The United States needs a new treaty in order to present a new image to the Latin American governments; and it will be a new treaty favorable both to the United States and to Torrijos, since each needs the other.

Bermúdez. As revolutionists we stand

for the total elimination of all forms of imperialist domination, which is what is represented by a North American military presence in the Panama Canal Zone, and call for the total elimination of any militarization of the Canal Zone.

There is much evidence, sufficient evidence, I would say, revealing the role this U.S.-held enclave has played in the U.S. military plans throughout Latin America and even on other continents. To mention one case, there was the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965. For the most part, the occupation forces that smashed the Dominican people's aspirations for liberation were sent into action from the Canal Zone.

Quite substantial forces are being trained in the Canal Zone, including mercenaries who are encharged with carrying out attacks on the Cuban revolution.

Because U.S. control over the Canal Zone is absolute, this territory is used for the biggest reactionary training and education center the United States has in Latin America. In fact, the Canal Zone serves as a military springboard for the aggressive operations of imperialism on the Latin American continent, as a base from which to thwart the aspirations of the peoples of our continent to liberate themselves.

Q. Would you like to add anything more?

Alegría. We cannot go along with negotiations such as those Torrijos is carrying on with the United States. The masses must be kept fully abreast of the negotiations and they must be conducted openly.

The masses have not gained anything at all during the seven years of the Torrijos government, although this government is supported by the Kremlin, the Communist party of Panama, and the Cuban leadership.

Finally, whatever North American revolutionists can do on the question of the domination of the Canal Zone is very important. The best example I have are the March 18 statements by Peter Camejo [candidate of the Socialist Workers party in 1976 American presidential elections]. He demanded that the troops and North American rule be terminated immediately.

Bermúdez. I would like to add something to clarify a little for the readers, for people who see this interview, that in Panama there are forces that are fighting for the liberation of our country, and that we do not see the problem of the canal in isolation. We have another concern along with our interest in the canal, a concern that is not of second- or third-rate importance. It is primary and fundamental. That is the task of national liberation and carrying out a socialist revolution in our country. □

Two Defeats for the Banzer Regime

A detailed and informative account of the worker and student struggles that have taken place in Bolivia since January was printed in the April 29 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The wave of struggles, Luis Roca C. reported, began among workers at the largest shoe factory in the country. At its peak, it marked the most serious crisis for the Banzer dictatorship since it seized power in August 1971.

Sketching the background to the conflict, Roca said that although the Manaco factory employs only slightly more than 1,000 shoe workers, this sector has been "an advanced bastion of defense of the interests and rights of the proletariat" since the Banzer regime came to power.

Thus, when Manaco bosses began to "introduce 'reforms' in the factory aimed at increasing production," there was immediate resistance. It began in the cutters workshop, in Circle 423, Roca reported.

Sixty machines were functioning there and the management eliminated ten of them; thus, the work pace was stepped up in consonance with the reduction in the number of machines, an attempt to achieve the same production as before.

The workers' protest against the speedup was ignored by Manaco bosses, and on January 13 Circle 423 went on strike.

Four days later, the rest of the factory joined the strike.

Labor authorities declared the strike illegal and ordered the shoe workers to return to the job within twenty-four hours. "When the deadline ran out, the company laid off 820 workers, denying them all the social compensation provided for by law in cases of indefinite layoff," Roca said.

Support for Manaco workers came from the Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia (FSTMB—Trade Union Federation of Mine Workers of Bolivia), which declared a twenty-four-hour strike, idling 45,000 miners on January 26. The FSTMB also declared a boycott of all Manaco shoe outlets in the mines.

The struggle spread to other sectors of the population. In La Paz and Cochabamba, 20,000 students joined the twenty-four-hour strike. Workers in some large manufacturing plants in La Paz ousted government-appointed union delegates and formed rank-and-file committees. Construction workers and printers organized an assembly of workers, peasants, and students to map out a campaign of



BANZER: Protests escalated after he deported student "subversives."

solidarity with Manaco workers. The bosses responded in customary fashion:

Manaco tried to intensify the repression by calling on the army. But the government was afraid and hesitated. Then the Manaco employers played their last card, ordering a total lockout. On the night of January 26 the employers made known their intention to close down the factory and transfer it to another location. Rather than intimidating the workers, this maneuver exacerbated the conflict and entailed new consequences. The Federation of Private Enterprise [Federación de Empresarios Privados] of the city of Santa Cruz asked Manaco to set itself up in that city; it offered the company political guarantees and assurances in addition to economic benefits. Thus, a new regional problem was stirred up going beyond the relations of capital and labor and involving other sectors of the population as well. The response of the workers was not long in coming: "Let the bosses get out of the factory; the equipment stays; not one screw will be moved!"

The nationalization of Manaco and the creation of a cooperative were demanded, with the support of broad layers of the people. . . . On January 27 the employers gave in and canceled the massive layoffs. The workers went back to the job without any sanctions being taken against them, with the exception of thirteen of them who were accused by the Manaco management of being extremist agitators. . . . on January 29 a definitive agreement was reached favorably resolving the case of the thirteen workers. . . .

The Manaco conflict inspired university students, Roca noted.

They were struck by the strength of the mass movement and they considered themselves participants in the struggle. With the triumph of the Manaco proletariat the students gained confidence and launched a frontal battle, coordinated on a national scale.

Students at the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés de La Paz went on strike to protest the arrests of striking shoe workers and to demand democratic rights in the university. Government authorities labeled the strike "subversive" and arrested six student leaders, along with Col. Manuel Ayoroa Montaña. On February 5 this group was deported to Paraguay.

The student strike continued and was met with violence by the Banzer regime. Far from putting a damper on the struggle, however, government repression touched off protests of solidarity in other universities in Cochabamba and Sucre. In the following days, 230 students were arrested, but the struggle continued to broaden until all nine of the country's universities were on strike.

The miners federation declared a twenty-four-hour strike in all mining districts for February 21 to protest the repression against the students.

Peasant federations in the provinces of Omasuyos, Los Andes, Ingavi, and Camacho condemned the government action and called for other sectors of the population to mobilize in support of the students' rights.

The National Confederation of Liberal Professions and the Episcopal Conference added their voices to the protests.

When the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés and the Universidad de Potosí were closed down by the Banzer regime and additional student leaders and military officers critical of the government were deported to Chile, the conflict escalated.

Three thousand students in Cochabamba went on hunger strike. They were joined by students at Catholic University. The Manaco shoe factory declared a twenty-four-hour strike. On February 26 the miners federation announced new measures of solidarity with the students.

The government began to retreat. On February 27 fifty-three students were released from jail and the regime agreed to open discussions on the students' grievances.

However, it required another student hunger strike, a three-day strike of miners at Catavi-Siglo XX, and threats by the miners federation of a national mobilization to force Banzer to finally give in to the students' demands on March 6.

A nine-point agreement promised the release of the remaining student prisoners, the opening of a process of democratization of student leaderships in all universities, government guarantees for the functioning of representative bodies of the students, an adjustment of closing and opening dates for coming semesters, and

greater student participation in university functioning.

The impact of this wave of struggles will be felt for a long time, Roca concluded:

The conflicts at Manaco and the universities express a new stage in the political maturity of the Bolivian masses. The defeat of the dictatorship during these mobilizations builds the confidence of the masses in their own strength. Nevertheless, there is still a long way to go. The level of political maturity is very uneven. . . . A struggle has already been launched to assure the functioning of a trade-union movement, with democratically elected leaderships, in order to breathe new life into the COB [Central Obrera Boliviana—Bolivian Workers Federation] and the other national trade-union federations. This mobilization to force the dictatorship to respect the democratic rights of the masses constitutes the primordial task. Nevertheless, this struggle is linked to the fight for other social and economic gains, especially the elimination of the wage freeze and the defense of the living standard of the masses. In reality, these two demands are part of the struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship. . . .

Throughout the two mobilizations, that of Manaco and that of the students, it became evident that the struggles could not be won, no matter how firm the strikers stood, unless the conflicts were broadened and new forces were drawn in. It is necessary to assimilate the methods used to extend a conflict that is initially local and to popularize it in order to win the support of other sectors of workers and students. In addition, the primary objective of the students must be to make their university problems known so that they may be discussed by the worker masses in order to obtain their support. That is the current stage of the struggle. Further stages will produce a more centralized mass movement with a single leadership and a common program that takes up all the partial struggles and offers them a perspective of political power. Revolutionary Marxists must prepare themselves for this by integrating themselves into the mass movement and by acting as its vanguard. □

Russell Foundation Wins Tax Suit

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has won a victory in its fight against harassment by the British government. In a May 5 statement, the foundation announced that Inland Revenue has decided not to pursue a £35,000 tax claim against the organization.

Crediting the campaign by its supporters for this victory, the foundation said it would have been forced to liquidate most of its assets if it had been compelled to pay the exorbitant claim.

The foundation rose to international prominence with its 1967 inquiry into Washington's war crimes in Vietnam. In 1974 it conducted another tribunal, focusing on repression in Chile and the White House role in the overthrow of the Allende regime.

In January of this year, international protests forced British authorities to back off on an order to demolish the foundation's headquarters in Nottingham.

Interview With Freed Peruvian Prisoners

Cuentas Credits Release to International Protests

Protests in Peru and abroad brought about their release, Peruvian mine workers union leader Hernán Cuentas and labor lawyers José Oña Meoño and Ricardo Díaz Chávez said in an interview in the May 6 issue of the Lima newsmagazine *Marka*.

As Díaz put it, Morales Bermúdez's decision to free them, along with mine workers union leader Víctor Cuadros and two other labor attorneys—Genaro Ledesma and Arturo Salas Rodríguez—was "a product of the pressure of the workers, nationally and internationally. We do not think there has been another period like this one with regard to the solidarity that has developed."

Cuentas added, "I would like to emphasize the extremely important role played by organizations of the workers movement internationally, especially in Mexico and France, where we had magnificent support. I have some French newspapers here that refer to the constant demands of French organizations at the Peruvian embassy. There was even a delegation of students, headed by their teacher, from the school where my son studied, who went to the embassy."

These two leaders of the Federación Nacional de Trabajadores Mineros y Metalúrgicos (National Federation of Miners and Metalworkers) and the federation's attorneys had been held since December 1975. They were never brought to trial.

Marka asked what they felt was behind their arrests.

Oña's opinion was that the arrests were "a precautionary move by the government in view of the crisis that was to take shape

following [Minister of Economy Luis] Barúa's steps in January¹ and later the promulgation of decree laws allowing the government to dismiss workers in the fishing industry, on the newspapers, and in mining."

Cuentas pointed out:

It is no accident that they struck against us immediately prior to and at the same time that they were preparing this entire package of measures. It is not accidental that they chose the miners, as shown first by the jailing of the leader of the Federación Nacional de Trabajadores Mineros. Nor is it accidental that this aggression centered on labor lawyers linked to the mine workers.

We have to understand that the bourgeoisie and the imperialists—insofar as they have to make a common front to attack the gains made by the workers—know that their first obstacle is among the miners. They just declared a state of emergency in mining and suspended the laws preventing the bosses from firing miners.²

The bourgeoisie needs to extend these steps to the Peruvian workers movement as a whole. Now that we are out of confinement, we all have a big responsibility to make understood the importance these steps taken against the mine workers have for the working class in general. □

1. On January 12 Barúa announced a program of "national reactivation," which among other things raised prices of food and fuel and cut the education budget by almost \$34 million.

2. On April 9 the Morales Bermúdez regime declared a state of emergency in the mining industry, authorizing companies to fire striking workers, with prior permission from the labor and mines ministries.

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Protests Escalate in French Wine-Growing District

By F.L. Derry

The movement of small peasant wine-growers in the southern French region known as the Midi has escalated into a formidable protest against the economic policies of the French government and the European Common Market.

On April 29, the latest in a series of actions was held, involving the peasants, local merchants and shopkeepers, students, the CGT and CFDT,¹ and many representatives of the various Occitanian groups in the area. *L'Humanité*, the daily newspaper of the French Communist party, estimated the central demonstration in Montpellier to number 100,000 participants.

The day of protest was called "Région Morte" (Dead Region) to emphasize the effects of the central government's economic policy on the area. The ability of the peasants to draw in the entire population was demonstrated by the general strike that took place that day.

In the department of Gard, 50% of primary-school teachers and 40% of secondary-school teachers went out on strike, as did 50% of the merchants in Carcassonne. Throughout the region, municipal services from garbage collection to public buses were shut down.

The slogans for the demonstration were the following: "Defense of the regional economy," "Down with the repression," "Defend the standard of living," "Create employment," and "No to the exodus." The last slogan refers to the continuous population drain as young persons are forced to leave the region in search of jobs.

Above all other slogans chanted at the demonstration, however, was "Free Tisseyre." Albert Tisseyre, a local peasant, is being held by police on the charge of murdering a CRS² colonel during a demonstration March 4. One peasant was killed by the CRS during that demonstration, but no charges have been placed against his murderer. Evidence has been presented that Tisseyre could not possibly have fired the shot that killed Colonel Le Goff, but he is being held anyway.

The regional character of the movement

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

2. Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité, the state security police.

has been emphasized by the spread of Occitanian nationalism, which appeals for unity of the whole population of the region against the policies of the central government and the Common Market.

The problem of the small southern winegrower is directly tied to major changes taking place in French agriculture as a whole. In the eighteen years since the opening of the Common Market, 1.25 million French farms have disappeared (55% of the total in 1958).

In 1958, only 20% of French farms were larger than twenty hectares (one hectare equals 2.47 acres). Today, more than half the remaining farms are this size or larger.

In 1958, one-third of French farms had only 5% of the agricultural land and supported half of the entire agricultural population. It is this layer of small peasants that is being crushed by the French government's continuing drive to modernize agriculture.

In 1958, more than a quarter of the active population in France was engaged in agriculture. At the same time, the comparable figure for Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands was less than 15%.

Clearly, if French capitalism were to survive and remain competitive with its neighbors it had to take drastic steps to reorganize agriculture. Today, the number of working peasants in France, not counting agricultural laborers, is down to 8% of the active population.

In a series of articles beginning in the April 28 *Le Monde*, Alain Giraud explained what this transformation has meant for French capitalism:

In 1958, when the Common Market opened, France had to import more meat, fish, fruit, vegetables, grain, dairy products, and eggs than it exported. Agriculture did not produce enough. . . .

Today France generally produces a surplus in agricultural goods—a quarter of its production is exported. Only the United States exports more agricultural products than our country.

The rationalization of French agriculture was accomplished with the aid of policies formulated by the Common Market. Not all sections have been affected in the same way, however. The large-scale mechanized wheat, corn, and sugar-beet farms in northern France have flourished. The new markets opened by the Common Market have allowed them to produce on a hitherto unheard-of scale with little threat of overproduction.

Those areas of France where high-quality "exportable" wines are grown have

also been aided by the Common Market. Those that have been hit hardest have been the small dairy farms in Brittany and the small, lower-quality vineyards of Provence and Languedoc in southern France.

Languedoc is in a particularly difficult situation. The economy of the region is a virtual monoculture based on wine. One-half of all the wine produced in France comes from this small region. Of the nearly 250,000 farms in the area in 1929, only 106,000 remained in 1970. Almost all of these were very small vineyards.

A "viable" family farm should have about ten hectares in vineyards, but fully 87.1% of those in Languedoc have less. In fact, nearly one-third of the farms have less than one hectare. Their owners must find other work, and one out of five farmers now works in factories, wine-processing plants, and on other jobs. By 1970, 34,000 of them had been forced into working as salaried agricultural laborers. Those who cannot find work are in extremely difficult circumstances—35,000 farmers make less than the legal minimum wage.

On the other end of the scale is the rapid growth of the giant, commercially run vineyards. While only one out of eight farms has the more than ten hectares needed for a family farm, the big growers control 55.2% of the vineyards. Thus, Languedoc is a land of extremes. The small farms are among the smallest and the large ones among the largest in France. These giant commercial vineyards import seasonal, migrant farm laborers from Spain, Portugal, and northern Africa.

This lopsided land distribution has given the area a rich tradition in militant peasant revolts. All such movements are more or less modeled after the most famous of them, the "revolt of 1907." Gordon Wright, in his book *Rural Revolution in France* (Stanford University Press, 1964) described this revolt and the conditions leading up to it:

From 1900 to 1907, wine prices lagged so badly that most growers were forced to sell at a loss. The desperate situation in the Midi led in 1907 to the most violent peasant disorders that France had known since the Revolution. Passions were whipped up by a curious agitator named Marcelin Albert, a bearded messiah who left his small vineyard to lead a taxpayers' strike, to arrange the mass resignation of mayors and town councils in several hundred communes and to harangue crowds that (according to some estimates) reached half a million.

The current movement is part of a series of such revolts that began after the Second World War. They have been recurring regularly, every few years, since the foundation of the Common Market. Major movements developed in 1963, 1967, and 1971. The present movement began in March 1974 and is thus the longest, as well as the deepest, such revolt since 1907.

The 1963 and 1967 movements were directed against the importation of Algerian wine, which was blamed for the low prices at the time. Local committees called *Comités d'Action Viticoles* (CAV—Winegrowers Action Committees) were formed, which engaged in a campaign of direct action to forcibly halt the imports. Train tracks were blocked and often destroyed by the peasants.

André Cazes and other founders of the *Comités d'Action Viticoles* outlined their point of view in a number of interviews that appear in a recent book, *La Révolte du Midi* (La France Sauvage, 1976):

We were prepared to acknowledge that after having pillaged Algeria, France should participate in its reconstruction. We were ready to accept—and we said so publicly—that France should buy Algerian wine for these same reasons. What we would not accept was that only the winegrowers of the Midi should foot the bill. It seemed logical to us that the *entire nation* should assume the consequences of this policy. [Emphasis in original.]

The 1967 movement was built around the dominating figure of one man, André Castera. As a resurrection of the almost legendary figure of Marcellin Albert of the revolt of 1907, he moved around the countryside speaking to immense meetings of peasants. However, he chose to enter the lists of the 1968 legislative elections—not as a socialist, as are most of the peasants of the area, but as the candidate of the Gaullist UDR.³ He was defeated even in his own small village.

The other leaders of the CAV drew several lessons from the destruction of the movement in the election campaign. They believed that it was a mistake to allow one person such as Castera to become the center of the entire movement. They decided that it was a mistake to engage in "politics," particularly in elections. "Direct action" was to be their tool to unite the peasants. In this they were very much like the anarchist "revolutionary syndicalists" who dominated the French trade-union movement before the First World War.

However, their most important conclusion from this experience was that the peasants by themselves were not strong enough to make the necessary changes. They began to look for a way to mobilize the towns and cities in the region. Jean Vialade, one of the leaders of the CAV, gave a speech in 1968 in which he called

for going beyond a movement of the peasants alone. Part of the speech was reprinted in *La Révolte du Midi*:

They are trying to destroy everything that is ours; they want to destroy an entire civilization, our origins, our history. What is left for us? The street. . . . We are not defending privileges but our rights. If it is necessary to go to prison we will, but we will remain proud of what we have done for our region. It is no longer a struggle of one class but of an entire region. . . .

When the next upsurge in the peasant struggle began in 1971, the peasant leaders argued that it was the fate of the entire region, not just that of the winegrowers, that was at stake. Languedoc was now considered to be the "last colony" of France.

In 1971, Common Market agricultural policy became fully effective. Inexpensive Italian wine flooded the French market and prices fell sharply. In the demonstrations that began that year, the peasants were for the first time able to mobilize significant forces in the towns. The demonstrators included thousands of small merchants, unemployed youths, and high-school students. Many of the small shopkeepers and artisans who took part were organized in the CID Unati, a national "small merchants" association that is generally extremely conservative.

Workers and their organizations did not take part in these demonstrations. They did not enter the movement until February 5 of this year, when both the CFDT and the CGT joined in massive regional demonstrations.

The concepts of regionalism, which were adopted by some peasant leaders in 1967-68 and spread very widely in 1971, provided the unifying force welding together a diversity of social forces into one struggle. In 1971, this "regionalism" began to develop into a sort of "nationalism," which was spread by supporters of the traditional Occitanian nationalist movement.

There is a long history of Occitanian nationalist groups, but until recently they have never reached out to masses of people. The concept of Occitanianism is based on the historic division of most of France into two major language groups.

The northern, Paris-based Franks, who had conquered the south in the Middle Ages, spoke the "Langue d'Oil," from which current French is derived. But most of France south of the Loire River spoke "Langue d'Oc." This was still true throughout the nineteenth century. Since its inception in the Great Revolution, the central government has campaigned for the gradual suppression of Langue d'Oc.

Langue d'Oc, like Langue d'Oil, was actually a collection of many local languages and dialects that gradually coalesced. There are still several major dialects of the old Occitanian language spoken in France: Provençal in the south-east, Gascony in the southwest, and



Reprinted from *Lutte Ouvrière*

Map shows historic language divisions in French state.

Langue d'Oc "proper" in the central part of southern France.

The current region officially known as Languedoc (roughly the Mediterranean coast from Montpellier to the Spanish border) is thus only a small part of the area affected by Occitanianism. Occitanian nationalists have created a single written version for the various dialects.

Until the Second World War, Occitanianism remained on the cultural level and was generally dominated by reactionaries. Its leaders were monarchists, followers of the well-known ultrarightist Charles Maurras. The movement that began in the postwar period has little or no continuity or ties with its prewar predecessor.

The Institut d'Etudes Occitanes (IEO—Institute of Occitanian Studies), formed in 1945, was also a strictly intellectual movement. Its statutes note that it was "at the service of French culture," of which Langue d'Oc was a part.

In 1962, a split-off from the IEO formed the Comité Occitan d'Etude et d'Action (COEA—Occitanian Committee for Study and Action). This organization was more interested in studying the social and political situation of the region, rather than just questions of literature and culture. It developed a few ties to the peasants and to some left organizations, but remained a small group of intellectuals. The revolutionary events that shook France in May and June 1968 also shook the members of this group from their lethargy.

In 1968, many Groupes d'Action Occitans (Occitanian Action Groups) were formed to propagate the ideas formulated by the COEA. These groups were explicitly Occitanian nationalists. For them Occitania was little more than a French colony.

3. Union des Démocrates pour la République (Union of Democrats for the Republic).

They were also activists, attempting to build a mass movement.

Many of the young students who formed these groups were from peasant families, and it was in this direction that they turned their attention. Traveling theater groups of actors and singers toured the small villages, performing in the local language. The songs and plays, such as *Mort et Resurrection de M. Occitania* (Death and Resurrection of M. Occitania), were frankly political. They clearly had an important effect.

When the winegrowers' struggle revived in 1971, the Occitanian nationalists had already influenced a number of peasant leaders. Many peasants, looking for a way to unite the whole region and to mobilize other groups behind their banner, welcomed the new concepts of Occitanian nationalism. When 20,000 peasants met at Montpellier on February 27, 1971, the wall behind the speakers was painted with slogans in Occitanian: "Païsan occitan, lucha o creba" (Occitanian peasant, fight or die), "Viticultor, l'Etat francès t'encuola" (Winegrowers, the French state is screwing you), and the Occitanian slogan that became central to the new movement: "Volem viure al país" (We want to live in our country).

Daniel Chatelain and Pierre Tafani point out in their recent book⁴ on the different national minorities in France:

Some leaders of the winegrowers movement would no longer hesitate to declare publicly that they are Occitanians, without however going so far as espousing the socialist leanings of Lutte Occitan (a leading Occitanian nationalist group formed in 1971). They have discovered in Occitanianism a new cement of class collaboration among the "smalls" and the "biggs," which they are using to further their own ends.

The reality seems to have been, however, that Occitanianism has served as the "cement" between the most militant wing of the peasants, based on the Comités d'Action Viticoles, and the workers and small shopkeepers of the towns.

The workers have entered the movement for the first time this year because they have been convinced that there is a "community of interest" between them and the peasants; that this common interest centers on a militant struggle against the giant commercial wine distributors, the French government, and the Common Market. This common struggle includes the defense of the regional economy, the central axis of which is the growth, production, harvesting, and distribution of wine.

As it has developed so far, this "class-collaborationist cement" has led to the biggest confrontation yet between the workers and poor peasants of the area on the one hand, and the French government on the other.

4. *Qu'est-ce Qui Fait Courir les Autonomistes?* [What Makes the Autonomists Run?] (Paris, Editions Stock, 1976).

André Cazes pointed out in *La Révolte du Midi*:

The gap between workers and peasants was immense. . . . For the worker, we were the capitalists . . . for the winegrowers, the worker was a king, highly paid with an assured wage and always on strike. . . . the salary of a worker is higher than that of most winegrowers.

The workers' participation in the demonstrations of February 5 and April 29 this year indicates that decades of hostility and suspicion between workers and poor peasants can be overcome.

There are still, of course, many important political questions that stand in the way of such an alliance. One is the question of wages for agricultural laborers. However, since many of the poorest and most militant of the peasants are themselves part-time farm workers, it is possible that this question will not be an insurmountable obstacle. Only the large commercial vineyard owners would be consistently opposed to the interests of the agricultural laborers.

Plant Declared Bankrupt by French Court

Lip Workers Renew Occupation of Watch Factory

Workers of the Lip watch factory in Besançon occupied their plant May 4, after the business was declared bankrupt by a Paris court.

The Lip workers conducted a nine-month struggle in 1973 to prevent the projected dismantling of their plant. That year, they occupied the factory, appropriated \$2.5 million worth of watches as security for the negotiations with the government, and continued to produce watches to pay their wages.

Their struggle won wide support in the French working class and inspired several large demonstrations to protest government action in sending 3,000 CRS (riot police) agents to evict them. The workers then continued to produce watches in a nearby school gymnasium. The Lip struggle provoked widespread discussion of the need for nationalization of the plant.

A negotiated solution reached between the union locals and the government placed the factory in the hands of other investors, and several hundred workers were laid off. Rumors have circulated for months that the business was having financial difficulties. The bankruptcy decision was no surprise to the workers, who began some weeks ago to pass out leaflets in Besançon seeking support among the townspeople.

In the May 5 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, Suzette Triton pointed out the need for the Lip workers to advance slogans that can be taken up by

Another, and potentially more troublesome, problem is that of Italian wine. The French peasants have been demanding that imports of Italian wine be restricted, and the Communist party and the CP-dominated trade-union federation, the CGT, have embraced this demand from its most reactionary standpoint—that of French national chauvinism. The Social Democratic federation, the CFDT, has remained totally silent on the question.

It remains to be seen if the French peasants will learn to aim their fire at the Common Market, the French government, and the giant commercial distributors of wine, and not at the even more oppressed peasants in Italy.

The difficult task of constructing a militant and uncompromising alliance between the masses of workers and small peasants in the area is complicated by the reformism of the mass organizations of workers in France. The recent series of demonstrations shows, however, that such an alliance can be built. □

other workers in France who are facing the same struggle.

"At stake today in the battle of the Lip workers," she said, "is the future of the workers of a branch of industry, of a region, of all struggles around unemployment. This is why it is essential that the Lip workers launch initiatives that objectively affect all those who are engaged in struggle. *A battle for nationalization, without indemnity, and under their control, would reach out to all those who are in the same situation and could indeed become an axis of battle for other enterprises.*"

Triton denounced the lack of action on the part of the leaderships of both the Socialist and the Communist parties. So far the SP and CP have refused their support to the Lip workers and have posed only the victory of the Union of the Left electoral coalition as the solution to unemployment in France. □

Nattering Nithead Knows

"SPIRO T. AGNEW, the disgraced ex-vice president, said in a rare television interview in New York that his ex-boss, former President Richard Nixon, had made his recent trip to China in an attempt to regain shattered dignity, and had failed."—*San Francisco Chronicle*.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



Nuclear Expert With Tongue

"One of the problems nuclear development is faced with is that scientists—too clever—have made instruments so sensitive they can detect radiation to the millionth part, a measure that in no way can be construed as a health hazard. If our tongues were as sensitive as these radiation detectors, we could easily taste one drop of vermouth in five carloads of gin."—Dixie Lee Ray, former chairwoman of the Atomic Energy Commission. (As quoted by the *San Francisco Chronicle*.)

French CFDT Calls for Three-Year Nuclear Moratorium

The French trade-union federation CFDT has called for a three-year moratorium on the construction of all new nuclear generators. The union's weekly journal, *Syndicalisme CFDT*, has published a series of articles pointing to the serious safety hazards involved in France's planned conversion to nuclear-produced electricity.

"It is necessary to struggle against the extension of the nuclear program," one of the articles said, "because the current projects are to be carried out in conditions unacceptable to the employees most directly concerned and conditions dangerous for all of France." The CFDT called for a halt to new construction to allow a national debate on nuclear power. It also called for placing the entire nuclear sector, from the mines to the reactors, under public control, thus removing the influence of profit-hungry corporations.

Slight Drawbacks Discovered in U.S. Air-Quality Standards

The Environmental Protection Agency is "very uneasy" about whether air in the United States is safe to breathe, columnist Jack Anderson reported May 23.

According to an as yet unpublished congressional report Anderson examined, the EPA is worried about "the adequacy of the margin of safety" provided by current air-quality standards. Among the items of concern are the following, Anderson said:

- "If sulphur dioxide pollution were only slightly worse than the standards allow

... people could die of air poisoning. Pollutants other than sulphur dioxide, the report adds, could leave a 'slim' or 'non-existent' safety margin for the aged, sick, pregnant and infants."

- "... the national standards 'are not designed to protect against genetic mutation, birth defects or cancer which may be associated with air pollution.'"

- "The sulphur dioxide in the air is costing farmers uncounted millions in crop damage."

Such crop damage comes partly from "acid rain," which is formed when sulphur dioxide mixes with the moisture in the atmosphere.

One study, Anderson said, "shows that the acid rainfall has increased a disturbing 270 per cent between 1956 and 1973 in the eastern section of North America. In some small areas of the northeast, the average acidity of the polluted rain is equivalent to tomato juice."

Jaws

"Your dentures may be radioactive, tests by the Food and Drug Administration reveal. The FDA has found that uranium used in false teeth to simulate the fluorescence of natural teeth emits more than the government's 'recommended levels' of radiation."—*Moneysworth*, May 24.

Plutonium Waste on Ocean Floor 'Not Yet Any Health Hazard'

Plutonium and cesium have begun to leak from 67,000 fifty-five-gallon drums of radioactive waste dumped in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans between 1946 and 1970, oceanographer Robert S. Dyer reported May 19. However, he said, the contamination "has not yet translated itself into any health hazard."

In a paper presented earlier to the International Atomic Energy Agency, Dyer reported that some of the 47,500 barrels dumped off the coast of California had been crushed, apparently by water pressure, and also showed considerable signs of corrosion.

Samples of sand from this dumping site showed contamination by plutonium—considered the most toxic substance

known to science—"from 2-25 times higher" than expected, he said.

The examination of the Pacific site also found sable fish in the vicinity of some of the radioactive barrels. Sable fish is an important commercial food fish caught off the coast of California.

Be Sure to Pick Out the Bones

Agriculture Department officials in Washington assured consumers May 20 that only a "small amount" of finely ground bone would be added to ground and processed meat products prepared under a new method.

The department plans to allow meat processors to use mechanical deboning equipment that strips all the meat from neck bones, ribs, and backbones, saving an estimated one billion pounds of meat.

The machines strip off and mix in some extra bone, too, but federal officials believe this is no cause for concern. According to a May 20 United Press International dispatch, "they said that consumers could not tell the difference in taste or feel. . . ."

Nuclear Power Barons Claim Another Victim

SHIRAHAMA, Wakayama (Japan)—An elderly man who sold land to a development company without knowing that it would be used as a site for a nuclear power station has committed suicide.

Sakujiro Koide, 71, was found hanged in a storehouse at his home at Ichie, Hikigawa Town, Wakayama Prefecture, about 5:30 a.m. Sunday.

Police said that he left a note apologizing to his neighbors for the sale.—*Mainichi Daily News* (Tokyo), May 4.

Careful With Those Butts

"No Smoking" signs may have to be posted along the banks of the Tlalnepanitla River near Mexico City, columnist Harry Ring reported in the May 14 *Militant*. "The water is so contaminated with human and chemical waste," he said, "that it's highly flammable. The river is so toxic that inspectors had to take antitetanus shots."

AROUND THE WORLD



130 AAA Murder Victims Since Argentine Coup

More than 130 persons have been assassinated by the right-wing terrorist AAA (Alianza Anticomunista Argentina—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance) since the March 24 military coup in Argentina, according to a May 10 report by Amnesty International.

The statement said there are no reliable estimates on the number of political prisoners, with reports varying between 9,000 and 30,000.

Problems in obtaining details on the political repression were exacerbated by an April 22 decree banning domestic reporting of kidnappings, deaths, or detentions, except when the reports are official military communiqués.

Although foreign correspondents were not included under the ban, the expulsion of Swiss correspondent Luc Banderet one week later for alleged "illegal activities against state security" was a clear warning that unofficial censorship is being imposed.

Amnesty International reported that the status of refugees in Argentina is still very precarious. Even those living in United Nations quarters have been arrested or intimidated. In addition, the junta has prepared a "blacklist" naming persons who must not be given asylum.

President of Chad 'Uncovers' French-Algerian-Libyan Conspiracy

Gen. Félix Malloum, the head of state of Chad, has accused several "French left-wing parties" of sending aid to the Front de Libération Nationale (Frolinat—National Liberation Front), an antigovernment force that carries out guerrilla actions in northern Chad. According to a report in the May 3 issue of *West Africa*, Malloum also accused the Libyan and Algerian regimes of backing Frolinat.

Soviet Dissidents Protest Torture in Uruguay

Forty prominent Soviet human-rights activists have signed a petition protesting the use of torture against political dissidents in Uruguay.

The petition drive was conducted by the Amnesty International group in Moscow and was part of a three-month international effort launched by Amnesty International

in February. Participants in the campaign gathered tens of thousands of signatures on similar petitions in more than fifty countries.

The petitions forwarded to Uruguayan President Juan María Bordaberry from the Soviet Union contained, among others, the signatures of noted dissidents Andrei Sakharov, Pyotr Grigorenko, Andrei Amalrik, and Aleksandr Ginzburg.

A cover letter signed by Valentin Turchin, chairman of Amnesty's Moscow group, called on Bordaberry to permit a visit by an independent international body to investigate allegations of torture. He also explained to the Uruguayan president, "Regrettably the petition does not have the signatures of Andrei Tverdokhlebov, secretary of the Moscow group of Amnesty International, or Sergei Kovalyov, a member of the group, since they are both under arrest for their activity in defense of victims of political repression."

French Police Kidnap Malian Labor Leader

Moussa Konate, a trade unionist from the West African country of Mali, is still missing a month after he was arrested by French police, according to a report in the May 10 issue of the London weekly *West Africa*.

Konate represented the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT—General Confederation of Labor) at meetings of immigrant workers in France. French police in April arrested sixteen immigrant labor leaders.

The French leaders of the CGT have protested to the Ministry of the Interior that Konate was "literally abducted" by police.

Manoel da Conceição Describes His Imprisonment in Brazil

Manoel da Conceição, the Brazilian peasant leader forced into exile in Switzerland in March after spending much of the last eight years in Brazilian jails, described his final detention in a statement printed in the April 24 *Le Monde*.

Conceição was arrested October 28, 1975, in a working-class area of Osasco, near São Paulo. He had been living and working there with his family since his previous release from prison in May 1975.

The arrest coincided with the roundup of 100 journalists and workers. It was during this period that journalist Vladimir Herzog was reported by the Geisel regime to have "committed suicide" in prison. A student named Estrela, who was killed by Brazilian authorities, was said to have "disappeared."

"I would have met the same fate," Conceição said, "had it not been for the fact that numerous neighbors witnessed my arrest and immediately sounded the alarm."

The intervention of the archbishop of São Paulo, Conceição's attorney, many international civil-liberties organizations, and a mass protest movement inside Brazil saved him.

"Until November 10 they had me in a place called the 'refrigerator'—two meters long, one meter wide, and three meters high," he reported. "They kept me there totally naked, without my artificial leg. I heard the screams of prisoners being tortured, especially at night. After the first torture session, the police said that my case had now been taken from them, since the courts had not been able to convict me. When I was unconscious after the beating and electric shocks, they locked me up with common prisoners and incited them to finish me off.

"After forty-four days in prison I was released without any charges against me."

'Undisciplined' Zaïrean Troops Attack Villagers in Congo Republic

Zaïrean troops carried out a raid on Mbamou Island in the Congo Republic April 24, killing two Congolese, burning villages, and taking forty-seven Congolese prisoners. The prisoners were released after a Congolese military mission met with Zaïrean President Mobutu Sese Seko to protest the raid. Mobutu insisted that the attack was carried out against orders by "undisciplined elements."

Massive Unemployment in Puerto Rico

Teodoro Moscoso, the head of Puerto Rico's Economic Development Administration, has admitted that the real unemployment rate on the American island colony is "near 45 percent."

Moscoso made the admission April 12 before officials of the U.S. Federal Energy Administration, which was holding hear-

ings in Puerto Rico on a proposal to give special treatment to petrochemical plants operating there.

Moscoso said there was massive hidden unemployment, with only 42 percent of the persons fourteen years of age or older included in the labor force. The comparable figure for the United States is 60 percent.

Official unemployment in Puerto Rico—not counting so-called discouraged workers—is 21.9 percent, the highest ever recorded in the island's history. The 45 percent unemployment figure is the highest acknowledged by a top government official during the current depression.

Moscoso added that it would take Puerto Rico five years to return to "our normal [unemployment] rate of 12 percent."

Severe Food Shortage in Luanda

Luanda is suffering a grave food shortage, according to a May 21 report from the Angolan capital by *New York Times* correspondent Marvine Howe.

Most of the shelves in supermarkets are empty, and the only stocks left are powdered milk, Danish cream, powdered coffee, spices, pudding mix, and hair lacquer. What food is still available sells at extremely high prices. A head of cabbage costs more than \$6 in the central market. Long lines form at dawn at bread shops, but by midmorning they are sold out.

One of the reasons for the shortage is the lack of adequate transport to ship meat, fruit, and vegetables from the countryside to Luanda.

Peruvian Regime Grants Amnesty to Urrutia and García

Carlos Urrutia and Luis García, leading members of the editorial board of the Peruvian newsweekly *Marka*, were granted amnesty May 11, along with two other prominent journalists and thirty political prisoners.

Urrutia and García had been accused of "insulting the armed forces" and "treason" by the Morales Bermúdez regime in late March and were forced to go into hiding to avoid arrest.

The magazine they edit has been outspoken in its defense of Peruvian political prisoners and in its criticisms of the anti-working-class policies of the Peruvian regime.

Togolese Secessionists Arrested in Ghana

Shortly after the regime of Gen. I.K. Acheampong in Ghana banned two Togolese secessionist groups in March, ten persons were arrested in the Volta Region near the Togoland border.

The two banned groups are the Togolese Liberation Movement (Tolimo) and the

National Liberation Movement of Western Togoland (NLMWT), which call for the secession of the Volta Region from Ghana and its incorporation into neighboring Togoland.

The 300-mile-long region became part of Ghana in 1956 (one year before the country gained its independence) after a United Nations-supervised referendum was held on the issue.

The Togolese regime has never accepted that decision and has given aid to the Togolese secessionist groups in Ghana.

According to the May issue of the London monthly *Africa*, the ruling Supreme Military Council has been unable to

suppress the secessionist groups. In August 1975 the regime offered an amnesty to all persons connected to the secessionist groups, but only three Togolese leaders accepted the offer.

The decree banning Tolimo and the NLMWT outlaws being a member of, attending meetings of, or giving money to the groups. Violation of the decree is punishable by a fine or five years imprisonment or both.

Brig. Emmanuel Utuka, commander of the Border Guards and a member of the Supreme Military Council, called an emergency meeting of the chiefs in the Volta Region and warned them not to aid the secessionists.

Thousands March in U.S. for Women's Rights



Ginny Hildebrand/Militant

More than 8,000 persons marched in Springfield, Illinois, May 16 demanding that the state senate ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. The demonstration, called by the National Organization for Women, drew supporters of women's rights from across the United States, including contingents from many trade unions. Other actions in support of the ERA, which would outlaw all discrimination based on sex, were held in Denver, Colorado; Seattle, Washington; and San Jose and Los Angeles, California.

The UGT Congress—a Success for the Spanish Workers

[On April 15 the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT—General Union of Workers) opened its first congress on Spanish soil since 1932. Although the Social Democratic federation is illegal, the Juan Carlos regime did nothing to stop the congress or to prevent several hundred delegates from attending.

[Nicolás Redondo, a forty-nine-year-old metalworker, was reelected as general secretary. He is also organization secretary of the PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español—Spanish Socialist Workers party).

[The following interview with him was granted to Carmelo Cabellos and appeared in the May 15 issue of the Spanish newsmagazine *Mundo*. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. What is your balance sheet and political assessment of the Thirtieth Congress of the UGT held in Madrid?

Answer. In the minds of all—and this has been repeatedly emphasized by members and others—our Thirtieth Congress was a great success because of where it was held, the way it developed, the participation of the ranks and international representation, and the scope of the resolutions that were adopted.

Politically the congress represents a significant step toward trade-union freedom and the other fundamental rights denied to the workers since 1939. By mobilizing all the resources at our command, we have forced back the legal limitations imposed by the regime, benefiting the entire workers movement. After this congress it can be asked, What sense is there to the CNS's¹ totalitarian claims? What is certain is that the government showed its incapacity to react to the accomplished fact represented by the initiative we took.

In addition, with regard to the UGT itself, the Thirtieth Congress has provided an irrefutable proof of our standing in the working class. Moreover, it has made it possible for us to increase considerably the hearing we get in the country, and it has provided an excellent platform to extend

and strengthen the UGT organizationally throughout Spain.

Q. How would you describe the UGT? What model for a socialist society does it stand for?

A. At various times, and concretely in its recently adopted political resolution, the General Union of Workers has defined itself as a free working-class, democratic, independent, united, internationalist trade union—in short, a revolutionary trade union.

The trade unionism the UGT is fighting for entails transcending capitalist society through the abolition of the ruling class and its exploitative role of today. Our socialism stands for freedom and democracy, for workers self-management. It is not bureaucratic and it involves full participation of all the workers in developing, adopting, and carrying out decisions at all levels.

Q. What does the "trade-union break" involve?

A. For us, the strategy of a trade-union break is the route leading to trade-union freedom, the conquest of which is the main goal of UGT action at present. A trade-union break implies the dismantling and abolition of the CNS-OSE apparatus, whose trade-union character has always been denied by the country's working class and, of course, by the UGT, as well as by the international trade-union movement.

Q. What is the meaning of the UGT's definition of itself as "revolutionary"?

A. The revolutionary character of the UGT flows from the final goal of the organization, which is—as we already said—the substitution of a classless, socialist society for capitalist society. That is why our struggles cannot be limited to merely economic or reformist actions, because we judge that these alone would not go beyond correcting or slowing down certain aspects of capitalism, without attacking their foundation.

Q. Will the UGT stick to its decision not to participate in elections or proposals made on the basis of the current trade-union setup?

A. Yes indeed. The Thirtieth Congress of the UGT has just ratified emphatically

what has been an ongoing policy of the UGT since 1939—a total rejection of the CNS, a position we have consistently carried to its ultimate consequences, that is, not to participate in any of the mechanisms or proposals of that apparatus.

Q. It has been said that the UGT would participate in a trade-union constituent congress. Could the congress called by Martín Villa² be a starting point? What are the essential conditions for such a constituent congress?

A. The congress the government could call would fall within the CNS framework, which we are fighting head on. A possible trade-union constituent congress is something else again. It is favored by certain working-class forces as a step toward one big trade-union federation. Those who propose this have recently altered their plan, calling for it to take place after trade-union freedom is won. It seems to us premature to speculate on exactly what the workers themselves will decide when freedom is gained. Now is not the time to deal with fictional trade-union situations; what is needed is to join forces in the fight for the break that will convert into reality the trade-union freedom we have been talking about.

Q. Trade-union freedom, plural trade unions, and trade-union unity. How do these concepts fit together and by what process will the workers achieve unity? Would the UGT renounce its separate identity in favor of such unity?

A. Trade-union freedom implies freedom of affiliation, freedom to form trade unions, and freedom of trade-union action. To us, the concept of unity and our call for it must inevitably flow from the maintenance and guarantee of these three previous conditions, one of which obviously includes the right of the workers to decide freely if they want one or several trade unions, one or several federations. In short, the UGT position is that it is up to the workers to decide. And, of course, we are going to do everything in our power to convince the working class of the value of unity, offering them, furthermore, a General Union that seeks to defend their interests and advance their aspirations, and in which all workers—without any

1. Central Nacional Sindicalista (National Federation of Syndicates), the government-sponsored trade union. Also known as Organización Sindical Española (OSE—Spanish Syndicate Organization).

2. D. Rodolfo Martín Villa, minister of trade-union relations.

discrimination—can take part in the struggle if they so desire.

It should be added that it is almost impossible to predict whether the Spanish workers in their majority, once trade-union freedom is regained, will join together in a single organization or whether, to the contrary, they will fan out among the different trade-union federations that already existed under the state of illegality. If the second were to happen—with a situation similar to that in France or Italy—the UGT would direct all its efforts toward promoting a process of unification. What the UGT cannot and will not renounce is its concept of trade unionism with the characteristics we spelled out before.

Q. The UGT has proposed the establishment of "workers coordination." Would this come under or be part of a common strategy with the "Democratic Coalition," to which the UGT belongs at present?

A. The workers coordination proposed by the UGT is intended to unify the action of the different forces in the workers movement with a view toward achieving the trade-union break. From our point of view, without an organic tie necessarily linking this platform and the Democratic Coalition, it is clear that the aims of both—a trade-union break and a democratic break—are closely related. In addition, the understanding among the trade-union organizations participating in the Democratic Coalition should enable them to sense still more easily within this platform the weight of the interests of the working class.

Q. Are discussions or contacts with other opposition trade-union organizations going on about this?

A. Yes, indeed. Discussions have been going on among the different opposition forces that are influential in the trade-union arena. The hope is that these contacts will soon yield the results we all want.

Q. What is the trade-union strategy of the UGT in the context of the current economic situation?

A. The UGT condemns the fact that it is the workers who pay—through lockouts, inflation, etc.—for the consequences of the current economic crisis. On this point, the Thirtieth Congress decided to have the appropriate bodies draft a platform of

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 Communist party and Socialist party participated, respectively.

general demands to fit the present situation, which the rank and file of the organization should approve within a few weeks. It must be pointed out that the



Mundo

UGT LEADER NICOLAS REDONDO

economic problems of the country are fundamentally the result of the internal contradictions of the capitalist system as a whole, and that in our case they are considerably aggravated by the crisis of the politico-economic and social structures.

Q. How can the current economic problems be remedied?

A. For us the reestablishment of a framework of political and trade-union freedoms is an indispensable condition for beginning to be able to pose the problems with the possibility of finding solutions. The UGT's remedies, which you mention, are spelled out in the program of minimal demands of our organization, which is going to be updated in the coming months. In very general terms and over and above the concrete demands that we pose in each sector, it is a question of establishing democratic planning and of progressively advancing workers control at all levels.

Q. How viable is workers self-management in the socioeconomic situation in Spain?

A. Workers self-management will become viable insofar as the workers control we just mentioned becomes a reality, along with the corresponding projection of some additional overall socioeconomic goals in accordance with the interests of the working class.

Q. I would like to know your position on

some questions that affect the Organización Sindical,¹ like its capital worth, the obligatory nature of unionization, and its possible strength in a free, democratic situation.

A. In the first place, we demand the restitution of the capital worth usurped by the OS and other state bodies in 1939 from the workers organizations and fundamentally from the UGT. Secondly, everyone knows that the current worth of the CNS is almost exclusively a product of the dues that are taken from the workers as an obligatory tax. Moreover, it is indisputable that this wealth belongs to the working class and not to the bureaucracy that administers it and enjoys it.

Compulsory unionization goes against the very concept of trade-union freedom that I already referred to. For us, a trade union is defined as an organization the workers freely embrace to defend their class interests. The CNS as such will cease to exist at the very moment of the trade-union break. What could appear perhaps in a situation of trade-union freedom is a trade union in the service of fascist or reactionary interests—like the French CFT or the Italian CISNAL⁴—which are clearly minority organizations that are unanimously rejected by the workers movement as a whole. □

4. Confédération Française des Travailleurs (French Confederation of Workers); Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Nazionali Liberi (Federation of Italian Trade Unions).

Greek Torturers Given Reduced Sentences

In a retrial ending April 22, twenty-nine Greek officers were found guilty of torturing political prisoners under the military dictatorship.

Brig. Christos Belkas, the prosecutor, summed up his case by stating, "This system of terror was aimed at the physical and mental extermination of imprisoned regime opponents, the degradation of human dignity to the point of driving prisoners towards suicide.

"They tried to destroy the self-respect of prisoners in order to curb their resistance by forcing them to stand up for days, by ruthless beating, burying in pits, starvation, and thirst. All the medieval tortures were revived."

Despite the grave nature of their crimes, however, eleven of the officers had their earlier sentences suspended, and the eighteen others had their prison terms reduced. Three of the officers, who commanded a military police torture camp in Athens, were given sentences ranging between seventeen and twenty-two years.

Joint Electoral Platform of Portuguese LCI and PRT

[The following platform for the June 27 presidential election in Portugal was issued May 9 by 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 adherence to the Fourth International). The LCI and PRT are running Arlete Vieira da Silva, a former leading activist in the Communist party and a veteran of the underground movement, as their presidential candidate. The translation of the platform is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In the April 25 elections this year, the Portuguese workers voted massively for the workers parties and organizations, for the SP and the PCP [Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party].

By keeping the bourgeoisie in the minority position in which it already found itself in the Constituent Assembly, the men and women of the working class have clearly expressed their determination to defend and extend the gains they have made over the two years of the revolutionary process in Portugal. They used the limited means offered them by the elections to oppose the fascist terror of the hangmen of the PIDE [Policia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado—International State Security Police, the political police], to oppose the reconsolidation of capitalism, to oppose the tutelage of the generals, the repression against the workers, and the restriction of their democratic freedoms.

The results of the elections for the Assembly of the Republic, coming in the aftermath of the downfall of the dictatorship, represent a victory for the working masses.

In giving a majority of the vote to the two big workers parties with which they identify, the workers pointed out clearly the road to follow to extend this victory into the presidential elections—an SP-CP unity candidate.

Whatever disagreements they might have with the orientation of these parties, every working-class activist would support such a candidacy, because in the present stage of the class struggle it would best embody workers unity and independence of the workers movement from the political representatives—civilian or military—of the bourgeoisie.

But the capitalists and the military, with the active or passive complicity of the SP and CP leaderships, are trying to rob the Portuguese workers of the fruits of the victory they won on April 25, 1976.

Are the members of the SP, the CP, as well as the members of all other currents

in the working class and those independents who support the working class but belong to no party, the forces that won the majority in these elections, going to hitch their wagon to a general whose past and whose present, whose statements and whose actions, testify to his complete faith in the capitalist order? Have the millions of men and women who voted for the workers parties, and especially the SP and CP, placed their confidence in Ramalho Eanes, Pinheiro de Azevedo, and Costa Gomes to guarantee a future without exploitation and without oppression?

The leaders of the SP and the CP know full well that they have not. That is why they are carrying out their maneuvers behind the scenes, especially within the Council of the Revolution. However, we cannot have any doubts about the objective of these maneuvers. The leaders of the SP and the CP want to take advantage of the confidence the majority of the workers still place in them in order to deliver those who trust them bound hand and foot to a general, who will certainly not wait very long before using this support against the aspirations of the working masses.

This policy of the SP and CP, which the LCI and the PRT fought against in the legislative elections, represents a grave threat to the class independence of the workers and to the future prospects of their struggles.

The LCI and the PRT appeal to all the Portuguese workers, to all the organizations of the workers movement, and especially the SP and the CP, to put forward a workers-unity candidate in the presidential elections. This is absolutely necessary so that, by voting for their own candidate, the workers can continue to express the will they demonstrated on April 25, 1976, in electing a left majority to the Assembly of the Republic. Although we would probably have differences with the platform of such a candidate, the LCI and the PRT would add their votes to the votes of millions of working people, the votes of the masses that would assure the election of such a candidate against any bourgeois opponent, in or out of uniform.

In presenting a candidate of their own right now, the LCI and the PRT do not want to bar the way to a workers-unity candidate but rather to keep this road open up to the last minute.

The presence of a workers candidate on the ballot is a guarantee offered by the LCI and the PRT to all workers that in the absence of a candidate put up by the SP or the CP—or still better a joint SP-CP candidate—they will be able to vote for a working-class candidate not linked to the bourgeois parties or to the state apparatus or to the military hierarchy.

Our two organizations are ready to discuss our candidate's platform with all

forces in the workers movement, or to discuss the platform of any other candidate such forces might want to put forward.

However, the LCI and the PRT consider the following points, for which their common candidate stands, as the minimum conditions for guaranteeing class independence from the bourgeoisie and for helping effectively to strengthen the vitally needed unity of the workers:

a. Our candidate will back the formation of a government representative of the will of the workers as expressed in the recent elections for the Assembly of the Republic. By voting for the SP and the CP, the masses of Portuguese working people reconfirmed their support for these two large parties of the working class, and for a government without capitalists or generals.

In line with this position, our candidate promises, if elected, to call on SP General Secretary Mário Soares, or an SP leader chosen by this party, to form a government representative of the will of the majority of the working people, that is, a government without capitalists or generals, based on the left majority in parliament, on the SP and CP uniting to advance the struggle, and on the mobilization of the working people.

In taking this position, our candidate does not accept the programs of the SP and CP but to the contrary states her determination, despite political differences, to respect the will of the toiling masses expressed in the 53 percent of the vote won by the workers parties.

b. Respecting the will of the working people means breaking all ties to the bourgeoisie. In casting their ballots for the workers parties, the toiling masses voted against class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, its parties, and its institutions, both civilian and military. Respecting the will of the working people means calling on the SP and the CP to break off their collaboration with the bourgeoisie and to tear up the anti-working-class pact they signed with the Council of the Revolution and the main bourgeois parties.

Our candidate promises to fight to assure that the government, as well as the left majority in the Assembly of the Republic, can govern and legislate freely, without any of the restrictions or obligations that the pact threatens to impose on the government and on this majority as a result of the exceptional powers accorded to the Council of the Revolution and the office of president of the republic.

c. Our candidate will stress the need for the unity of the workers movement and its organizations against the working people's common enemy—the bourgeoisie in or out of uniform. During her campaign she will stress the need for such a workers united front, for which the SP and the CP bear the

major responsibility, in the struggles in the assembly and in the government.

Our candidate will tell the SP and CP workers that only their parties' breaking with the bourgeoisie and the anti-working-class pact and uniting in action, only a government of the largest workers parties resting on a mobilization of the workers united in action, can clear the way for the working people to fight back against the present capitalist crisis.

In supporting an SP-CP government that will represent the broad masses of the working people through their two large parties, our candidate will explain that this can be an important step forward toward unity and class independence for the workers. The presence of CP ministers in the cabinet, no more than that of SP ministers, is not a guarantee in itself of the anticapitalist character of the government. But at least this will force the CP and SP leaderships to accept the responsibilities they jointly bear toward the workers.

For this reason, if the SP forms a government, our candidate will respond to the attempts of the SP leadership to "govern by ourselves" by *challenging* them to establish such a government without capitalists or generals.

In any case, the essential precondition for forming such a government is that both the SP and the CP break with the pact between the Council of the Revolution and the parties and that, instead of collaborating with bourgeois forces as it has done up to now, the SP support the unity of the workers and their organizations. This means an SP-CP agreement to defend the interests of the working masses.

d. But the emancipation of the working class can only be an act of the workers themselves. Their liberation from exploita-

tion and oppression does not depend more or less on a good president of the republic but on their day-to-day struggle against the capitalists, their state, and their parties and generals.

Beginning right now, the working people in the cities and in the countryside have to formulate immediate demands that if won can safeguard their standard of living against the capitalist crisis. The demands that have been raised by a number of slates in union and Workers Commission elections can and must provide the basis for drawing up a detailed emergency plan of struggle for all working people.

Such demands include, among others:

- An immediate wage increase of 2,000 escudos a month [approximately US\$67] for all workers.

- A minimum wage of 6,000 escudos [approximately US\$200] a month.

- A sliding scale of wages and hours to counter the rising cost of living and unemployment; to divide the existing work among all available hands.

- A ban on firings; institution of a program of public works.

- Opposition to the bosses' attempt to impose their authority in the plants and on the big agricultural estates; defense and extension of the nationalizations, of workers control, and of the agrarian reform.

- Opposition to the authoritarian military code and support for the democratic rights of soldiers.

- Opposition to terrorist attacks on the organizations of the working people; workers self-defense.

- Opposition to the exploitation and oppression of women. Equal pay for equal work. Liberation of women from domestic tasks—child-care centers, laundries, and restaurants subsidized by the state. Free

abortion on demand.

e. Our candidate will support the calling of a democratic congress of all the unions to discuss and democratically formulate a plan of struggle. Besides this, such a congress must, through free discussion among all tendencies in the workers movement, transform Intersindical into a genuinely united and democratic federation of workers. Moreover, this congress should demand that the government take responsibility for carrying out the plan of struggle discussed and adopted by the workers.

f. Along with this, our candidate will point out the need for coordinating and centralizing the Workers Commissions regionally, by industry, and on the national level. Such coordination and centralization is an essential precondition to enable the masses to extend their anticapitalist mobilization and to pool their experience in workers control and workers self-defense. The aim is to raise this mobilization to a higher level, so that through their organs of power the masses can overthrow the bourgeois state and begin to run the society in a socialist way with socialist planning of the economy.

In presenting a common candidate in the presidential elections, the LCI and the PRT recognize that they are taking a step forward in their joint activity that should lead our two organizations in the shortest time possible to unite their forces to build the Portuguese section of the Fourth International. □

Bodies of Ten Torture Victims Discovered off Coast of Uruguay

The bodies of ten persons were found in the waters off the coast of Uruguay in the four weeks prior to May 19. All the bodies showed signs of severe torture—mutilations apparently caused by fragments of steel and bruises from beatings. One of the two female bodies showed signs of having been raped.

Uruguayan authorities have claimed to be totally mystified by the discovery and say they are unable to identify the bodies.

However, the Paris-based Comité de Défense des Prisonniers Politiques en Uruguay (Committee to Defend Uruguayan Political Prisoners) has identified the first five victims found. They were Uruguayans who had been living in Buenos Aires.

After the March 24 coup in Argentina, three of them—Ricardo Gil, an economics professor; Luis Ferreira, a trade-union activist; and Elida Llvarez, who had left Uruguay in December 1974 for political reasons—returned to Uruguay. On March 28, the committee reported, they were arrested at the Uruguayan port of Colonia.

Two of the other murder victims were identified by the committee as Ary Cabrera, an activist in the bank workers union, and Eduardo Chisella. They had been arrested in Argentina during early April.

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Mexican CP Leader Explains Policy of 'Broad Alliances'

[As part of its coverage of the Mexican presidential election, scheduled for July 4, the Mexico City weekly *Revista de Revistas* interviewed leaders of various political groups, publishing their remarks in its May 5 issue.

[Of particular interest is the interview with Arnaldo Martínez Verdugo, general secretary of the Mexican Communist party. His remarks help clarify the joint electoral platform signed January 12 by the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist party, the Political Committee of the Socialist League (Militant Tendency), and the Secretariat of the National Committee of the Movement for Socialist Organization.

[The full text of the joint electoral platform, in both Spanish and an English translation, was published in the March 1 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

[The translation of Martínez Verdugo's comments is by *Intercontinental Press*.]



Revista de Revistas

MARTINEZ VERDUGO

Arnoldo Martínez Verdugo, general secretary of the Partido Comunista Mexicano, said:

"In face of the political crisis our country is undergoing, we think that unity of the left is the formula through which all those who seek a democratic solution to such crises can wield more effective influence. We see a very clear motivation that should encourage all people on the left, all those who are for democracy, to find points of agreement and bring to bear the weight of this historic current in the search for a democratic solution."

The Communist leader insists that a political crisis like the one he describes could evolve toward either of two outcomes. "One is a democratic solution; the other is a hardened authoritarianism. And there are forces seeking the latter solution."

To orient the situation toward the first alternative, he adds, the main thing is that not only can the forces on the left be united but also the democratic forces. The former he defines as those that have a revolutionary program and tactics. The latter, he says, are those seeking to reform the system in a positive way, in a democratic way.

"This is the plan," he said, "of what at our last congress we called a policy of broad alliances. The fundamental role in it, clearly, is played by the forces of the left, which have to be the key to an authentic democratic transformation in our country. But we specify that other forces and institutions must also be taken into account.

"Among these, for example, we include

the forces that are rejuvenating the church. For any meaningful change in the country, they must be taken very much into account and be included in any strategy for the formation of a new bloc of forces, which is what the left should aspire to."

Martínez Verdugo also mentioned among those that should be considered in a policy of broad alliances, as proposed by the PCM, the university, the "patriotic democratic" forces in the army, and even some progressive sectors of businessmen.

"In such a plan would you include some elements or sectors of the PRI?"¹ he was asked.

"Yes," he quickly responded. "There are some tendencies in the PRI that can be considered to be an official left and that are now becoming reactivated. They must be taken into account. They too can provide important support. Rafael Galván is a member of the PRI and nonetheless it has been possible to forge a relationship of unity with him in the workers movement. Of course, I am not talking about all of the PRI."

The PCM general secretary went into the situation of the Mexican left, which, he said, "is still passing through a period of fragmentation that has caused much harm." He thinks the main factor that has prevented unification is to be found in the tactical conceptions held by some sectors.

"Fundamentally," he said, "it seems to me that the difference lies in the attitude taken toward the governing bloc. For example, the PPS² sticks to the tactical concept that caused the failure of the left starting in 1940; that is, the so-called 'patriotic front,' as they formulate it. This consists of unifying the democratic and left forces around the government and under the leadership of the government.

"I think what is wrong with that tactic is it does not take into account the changes that have taken place in the governing bloc, above all starting with the Miguel Alemán government.³ It does not take into account that the interests of the big bourgeoisie began to prevail in the government. Nor does it take into account that state capitalism began to be transformed into monopoly capitalism, above all from the time when the state sector placed itself at the service of the private monopolies. And this meant that the Mexican state no longer represented the interests it was able to represent during the Cárdenas government,⁴ for example.

"In our opinion, what the left should propose now is a struggle for a democratic leadership of the state, for a democratic leadership in national affairs, which requires that the forces on the left join together under their own leadership and not depend on the state apparatus."

Martínez Verdugo makes it clear that forming a grouping of the left like that would not mean the adoption of a sectarian position. The unified left, he explains, could establish effective alliances, agreements with government forces, "so long as it acted in accordance with its own policy, its own tactics, and its own strategy, and not as an auxiliary of the government, which is how the government would like to have the democratic and left forces act.

"As long as the concept is not extended of the left advancing its own alternatives, its own solutions to the economic and political problems of the country, and as long as the left does not act autonomously, it will be difficult to unite the left," he warned.

Then he bemoaned the fact that due advantage has not been taken of the conjuncture presented by the presidential succession.

"Faced with the presidential campaign, the left had big possibilities to present an alternative and to utilize its strength.

2. Partido Popular Socialista (People's Socialist party).

3. Miguel Alemán was president of Mexico from 1946 to 1952.

4. Lázaro Cárdenas was president from 1934 to 1940.

1. Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary party), the ruling bourgeois party.

However, it ended up neutralized because the PPS decided to follow its same tactic of supporting the official candidates, and the PST⁵ opted for a similar position.”

5. Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party).

Interview With Portuguese SP Leader Kalidas Barreto

[The following interview with a leader of the left wing of the Portuguese Socialist party was given to Charles Michaloux. It appeared in the May 8 issue of *Rouge*, the daily newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), French section of the Fourth International. The introduction is by Michaloux. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Kalidas Barreto joined the Socialist party in May 1974 and was a deputy for the district of Leiria in the Constituent Assembly. He has been active in left politics for much longer. In 1969, he participated in the Leiria committee of the “Democratic Opposition,” which included members and sympathizers of the SP and the PCP [Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party]. In 1970, in the underground, he helped to form a branch of Intersindical [now the CP-controlled national union federation, at that time a coordinating body of unions] in the textile industry at Castanheira de Pera in the Leiria region in central Portugal. Now he is the president of the wool-mill workers in that city and a member of the National Secretariat of the textile union federation, since its recent congress the first industrial union in Portugal.

Kalidas Barreto was not on the SP slate for the Assembly of the Republic elections on April 25, 1976. Was this a purge against the left in a party where you have to keep quiet instead of making the kind of rousing speeches he often made from the podium of the Constituent Assembly? He replied, smiling: “I am more useful where I am.”

Kalidas Barreto is forty-five years old. A large moustache covers part of his jovial face. He considers himself “a working-class militant above all.” And as such he agreed to answer the questions we asked him on behalf of *Rouge*, in particular, the question we think is decisive about the possibility of his running for the presidency of the republic.

Question. The election results for Portugal and the islands of Madeira and the Azores have just been published. What is your opinion about them?

Answer. Obviously I’m satisfied. First of all, because the Socialist party won.

“Concretely, what formula does the PCM propose to achieve a unification of the left?”

“Even now, despite the different positions adopted by the forces on the left toward the electoral campaign, we think an effort can be made so that before the campaign ends the forces of the left will

Secondly, because they were a victory for the left, unquestionably. The right suffered a crushing defeat. It’s going to have to junk its election slogans. The CDS [Centro Democrático Social—Social Democratic Center, the right-wing bourgeois party] claimed that it represented “the alternative for 1976.” The PPD [Partido Popular Democrático—Democratic People’s party] claimed, “Portugal is with us.” The country has shown to the contrary that it is for a socialist alternative. It has said that it doesn’t want a return to fascism, and so it rejected the right.

The left already has 147 deputies out of 259 (106 for the SP, 40 for the PCP, and 1 for the UDP [União Democrática do Povo—People’s Democratic Union, Mao-syndicalist]). And when the émigré vote is tallied it may get 1 or 2 more;* it has a particularly good chance in Europe.

Q. You say that it was a victory for the left, but the SP leadership hasn’t said very often in these past weeks that the PCP was part of the left.

A. It hasn’t denied it either. It has said, it is true, that the PCP is not democratic. In fact, throughout the revolutionary process, the PCP has taken incorrect positions. It has assumed rigid and sectarian attitudes that have greatly harmed the revolution. We were sure that after April 25, 1974, the conditions were favorable for transforming the country into a sort of

*Some 105,708 Portuguese living outside the country registered to vote. The émigré vote was divided into two districts—Europe and elsewhere. In Europe, where a total of 57,341 persons voted, the SP got 23,824 votes and won one seat. The PPD got 16,644 votes; the CP, 5,212; the CDS, 3,555; the UDP, 407; the Christian Democrats, 475; the Frente Socialista Popular, 183; the Movimento de Esquerda Socialista, 165; the Aliança Operária e Camponesa, 83; the Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado, 69; the Partido Popular Monarquico, 52; and the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (sympathizing group of the Fourth International), 128.

In the district that included places outside Europe, the PPD got 21,317 out of a total of 48,367 votes. The CDS got 13,483; the SP, 2,571; the Christian Democrats, 1,277; the CP, 562; the UDP, 130; the Partido Popular Monarquico, 123; the Movimento de Esquerda Socialista, 36; the Aliança Operária e Camponesa, 21; and the LCI, 3. The PPD got two seats for the émigré vote.—IP

succeed in drawing up a common program. To do that, we suggest the convocation of a national assembly of left forces. That would be a start.”

Finally, Martínez Verdugo made the pronouncement:

“When the left really unites, there will be chances for a change in this country.” □

democratic Paris Commune. But instead of presenting the kind of united front that would have made this possible, we offered the right the sad spectacle of constant drift and division.

Q. How do you explain this division?

A. SP workers were driven out of factories by members of the PCP, working the way they do in union meetings and factory assemblies. I had a chance many times to see how the PCP clagues operated in assemblies, shouting and whistling to keep SP activists from speaking. And these purges, these sectarian attitudes, created reflexes that were just as sectarian among the most recently politicalized workers. The result is that real barriers were set up inside the working class itself.

Q. Is this irremediable?

A. No, the situation is changing, people’s way of thinking is evolving. The attitude of the political leaderships is one thing, but unity by the workers against the common enemy is another. The workers feel more and more that such unity is indispensable for victory in their struggles. And so we see such unity developing in most day-to-day battles.

Q. But don’t you think the SP shares the responsibility for this situation equally with the PCP?

A. Throughout the process some SP leaders have taken positions and initiatives with which, of course, I disagree completely. But in fact, these things have been overshadowed, one could almost say provoked, by what I would sum up as the “putschism” of the PCP.

Q. Putschism? Do you mean the barricades the PCP and Intersindical called for against the SP rallies in Oporto and Lisbon?

A. Exactly. I felt deeply insulted when a rally called by my party was termed a “march of reactionaries,” for whatever reason. This explains the tens of thousands of personal reactions of SP workers. They didn’t want unity with the PCP after that. When Mário Soares says that it is the ranks of the SP who reject an alliance with

the PCP, that is not a falsehood.

Q. But what about Soares's condemnation last summer of a "parallel power" being set up against the "legal power" embodied in institutions such as the Constituent Assembly? That was a defense of the bourgeois state against the workers state that was just beginning to emerge.

A. Personally, I'm for "people's power." In fact, we were the first ones to support the CTs [Comissões de Trabalhadores—Workers Commissions], when the PCP leadership was denouncing them and condemning the strikes at TAP [Portuguese national airline] and in the postal service at the end of 1974.

In this climate of division, obviously many criticisms can be made of the SP leadership. But, like it or not, the SP leaders have been elected democratically in a congress. Good or bad, our leadership was elected in a genuinely representative congress. I haven't seen anything like this at the congress of the PCP. This is why, if you want unity, you have to appeal to these leaders also; because in a certain way, they represent the ranks of the SP.

Q. To go back to the elections, what do you think their consequences are going to be on the governmental level?

A. I think the SP is going to form a minority government based on its 35 percent of the vote. If for the moment a formal alliance with the PCP is unrealizable, I think the PCP can support—and I don't mean sign a blank check—the formation of such a government and back all the measures it takes that favor the working class and the working people.

Q. And the measures that don't favor the workers, are they going to be supported by the PPD?

A. The SP alternative has nothing to do with the PPD. An SP government should not govern to suit capitalism. From my standpoint, the SP must be a left party that defends the interests of the workers. Under these conditions, it can be supported, at least tacitly, by the PCP. As for alliances, the situation can change later.

Q. An SP-PCP government nonetheless is the only solution today for the governmental crisis, which was heightened by the elections.

A. I agree. But in the period after April 25, 1974, this became more difficult. If the PCP had not tried to control everything bureaucratically in these last two years, the positions would not have become so hardened.

In the near future, this can change. If it doesn't, with the division that exists, it's

hard to see how we can keep the country to the left.

Q. During the election campaign, Socialist party leaders said that the SP's governmental program doesn't involve destroying capitalism. On April 27, Soares said: "It has to be explained to the working class and their union leaders that they must limit their demands in accordance with realism." So, when is the socialism you are fighting for supposed to come about?

A. The collectivization of the major means of production is socialism. So, the SP's program is not socialism. But workers control over the management and operation of factories, the workers control that exists in some factories in this country, is a school for socialism. This is already an advance along the road to socialism, even if socialism has not been achieved yet. This is the situation we are in today.

Q. What about political power for the working class?

A. Everything depends on the mobilization of the workers, on their advances. As I see it, an SP government should favor this. If we support the nationalizations, workers control, and the agrarian reform, and if all the gains of the revolution are extended, we will be able to go forward. Naturally, this is going to take time because the level of consciousness of the workers is still too uneven. The majority of workers have to be convinced that socialism will not mean poverty and restriction of freedoms. They have to be sure that socialism here will not be "Albanian-style socialism," you might say.

Q. The upcoming presidential elections raise this question in a forceful way. Is the workers movement, through its big parties, the PCP and SP, going to support a general, that is, a bourgeois candidate? Why not a civilian candidate?

A. Yes, that would be better. The best thing would be a candidate put forward by the workers movement.

Q. Some people think you would make a good presidential candidate.

A. Me? You think I could be president of the republic? I am more useful where I am, in the working class, as an activist doing everything he can to unite the class and assure its victory.

Q. But the emancipation of the workers doesn't depend on how well a president does his job in the formal sense. As a workers candidate, you could help to unite the workers for struggles more decisive than those in the electoral arena. Fundamentally, this isn't very different from

your objectives in your trade-union work.

A. I don't think I have the abilities to be president. Those who are thinking about my being a candidate must not know about my many weak points. But I am a worker militant. The struggle can take different forms—pasting up posters, being active in a union, or doing political work such as that you mention. I agree. If I can help to consolidate the unity of the workers, I will be where I am needed. If people want me because they think I can be useful to that end, I would consider such a possibility. I am at the service of the working class. Above all, I want to promote the unity of the workers. □

MPLA Seeks Tighter Control Over Angolan Armed Forces

A plan published in the Angolan press May 21 called for the Central Committee of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) to assume direct political control over the armed forces. The plan was distributed to the newspapers by Commander Bakaloff, the national political commissar of the armed forces.

Later in the day, President Agostinho Neto, who is also commander in chief of the armed forces, issued a statement canceling the report, saying it had been made public "precipitately and without my knowledge." He did not indicate, however, that he disagreed with the plan.

A few days earlier, Defense Minister Iko Carreira described some of the conditions within the armed forces that may have prompted the MPLA to consider instituting more direct control over the troops. Carreira said that there was a "certain anarchist feeling" in the armed forces and a "tendency for absolute egalitarianism" in which troops showed little respect for their commanders.

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