

# Intercontinental Press

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## The Death of Mao Tsetung

## The Death of Mao Tsetung

By Les Evans

The death of Mao Tsetung, though not unexpected, has stirred consternation in high places across the globe. In Peking, of course, he was the symbolic embodiment of his party's monolithic power. He permitted no figures of remotely equal stature to exist within his apparatus. This can only have bequeathed a certain uneasiness to his bureaucratic successors who will now try to fill his oversized shoes.

Beyond China's borders, Mao was the architect of China's role in the major realignment in world politics over the last half decade that goes by the name of détente. This shift from verbal denunciation of Western imperialism to alliance with it against the Soviet Union earned Mao the unfeigned gratitude of imperialist foreign offices and state departments from Tokyo to Washington and from Bonn to London. At the same time it shocked and disoriented thousands or even millions in the capitalist world who had looked to Peking for aid in their struggles for national liberation and socialism.

Mao liked to see himself portrayed as an intransigent communist revolutionary and champion of the toilers. In the cold war propaganda of the 1950s and early 1960s, Washington seemed to many to share this opinion. But by the time of his death the chieftains of imperialism eulogized Mao Tsetung almost as one of their own.

Gerald Ford called Mao "a remarkable and very great man," adding that the chairman "had the vision and imagination to open up the doors to the United States." It was indeed Mao's Open Door policy that won the hearts and minds of his former foes.

Henry Kissinger praised him for having "created a durable relationship" between Peking and Washington, "based on mutual confidence and perception of common interests."

United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim in his tribute to Mao declared that he had led "an untiring search for the achievement of international understanding and world peace."

Prime Minister Takeo Miki of Japan sent a message of condolence avowing himself to be "shocked and grief-stricken."

The principal fear in imperialist circles seemed to be not that Mao's policies would be continued after his death, but that they might be abandoned by his successors. James Reston, writing in the September 10 *New York Times*, the day after Mao's death, asked:

"Will Peking follow the line of the Shanghai Communiqué, cooperating with Washington? . . . Or—and this is the anxiety here—will new Chinese leaders try to put together the Sino-Soviet alliance and confront the free world with a solid Communist bloc in the Eurasian continent from Vladivostok to Berlin?"

Spokesmen for the capitalist "free world," despite undying enmity for the social gains of the Chinese revolution, were quite willing to overlook Mao's autocratic rule over the Chinese masses and paint him up as a democrat of some kind. Daniel Southerland, writing in the September 10 *Christian Science Monitor* under the headline "Mao gave China self-respect," had this to say:

"Much more than Lenin had been, Mao was prepared to involve the ordinary people in the political process and bring them into action against the administrators and organization men in order to check abuses of authority."

It should not really be surprising that the pundits of the bourgeoisie should see something familiar and comfortable in Mao's "realistic" foreign policy and manipulated, top-down "democracy." Nor that they instinctively feel that Lenin's proletarian democracy and revolutionary internationalism are something different, something that they can never make their peace with.

Mao's collaboration with the capitalist powers of the world serves to define his place in history and to dispel his claims to represent a revolutionary or proletarian current. It was not an accidental turn but flowed from the petty-bourgeois social character of the bureaucratic caste in China that Mao represented, and was the goal of Chinese CP foreign policy from the day Mao Tsetung became party chairman in 1935.

The "opening to the West" that so upset many of Mao's supporters arose from no evolution on Mao's part but from the adoption of a more flexible tactical stance by American imperialism. Joseph Hansen, the editor of *Intercontinental Press*, pointed this out at the time of the first open step toward the new alignment back in 1968. Peking, at the height of the murderous American aggression in Vietnam, had sent a message to Nixon on November 26 offering "peaceful coexistence," the class-collaborationist policy perfected by Stalin. Hansen commented in the December 16,

1968, *IP*:

"It would seem that it would be of considerable mutual advantage to Peking and Moscow to close the breach and establish a common front against the common imperialist foe. Neither of the bureaucracies sees it that way, however, and each blames the other for the situation. Worst of all, in their rivalry each seeks an understanding with imperialism at the expense of the other. . . .

"If the démarche meets with a favorable response, there can be no doubt that the Mao regime would move further along this line with a readiness that might astound not a few observers."

Two and a half years later, with the announcement of Nixon's visit to Peking, Mao's opportunist course was unveiled for everyone to see. In assessing its meaning in the July 26, 1971, *Intercontinental Press*, Joseph Hansen summed up Mao's career and its final chapter. His words are worth recalling today as an obituary for Mao Tsetung:

" . . . why the change at this particular time? . . . The reason is quite clear. The Mao régime has indicated to Nixon that it is willing to help him in Vietnam. In short, Peking is in the business of betraying revolutions in the tradition of the master betrayer whom they hail as their guide and teacher—Stalin.

"The proofs could not be more palpable. Peking came out foursquare against the people of Bangla Desh who rose almost unanimously against the dictatorship of Yahya Khan. Peking supplied arms and money to the dictator to crush the rebellion; and openly denounced the people of Bangla Desh for striking out for their freedom.

"Peking followed precisely the same course in the case of the rebellion in Ceylon. Chou himself went to the most brazen lengths to associate Peking with the Bandaranaike regime and against the rebels. He put money on the line in the form of a most generous loan; he offered arms to be used against the rebels; and he denounced the rebels.

"Not even Nixon could misunderstand that language—if he had not completely grasped the meaning of Mao's consistent policy over the years of seeking alliances with 'progressive' sectors of the colonial bourgeoisie, a policy that helped pave the way in Indonesia for the debacle of 1965 and the slaughter of as many as a million Indonesian Communists. . . .

"Those most stunned by the current diplomacy of the Mao regime are the currents in the left that have been favorably disposed toward Maoism. The ultraleft posture of the Mao regime was mistakenly interpreted by them to be genuinely revolutionary. They were taken in by the willingness of Peking to offer training to prospective guerrillas and to supply them with small arms in certain countries. The

ultraleft language of 'Mao Tsetung Thought' bolstered this false interpretation. . . .

"One of the most ironic aspects of Mao's decision to make a deal with U.S. imperialism is that this was one of the main charges leveled against his opponents in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Mao is now doing precisely what he accused Liu Shao-chi of wanting to do.

"To find a parallel it is necessary to go back to the Soviet Union of the thirties, when Stalin butchered a generation of revolutionists and potential political opponents on frame-up charges of plotting to make a deal with German imperialism, only to end up making a pact with Hitler himself.

"Like Stalin, Mao represents a bureaucratic caste. This formation in China is not identical in all its features to the one in the Soviet Union, but it is basically similar. Its chief characteristic is that it places its own narrow, nationalistic interests above the interests of the world revolution, including the interests of the Chinese revolution.

"This was not seen by many analysts, primarily because of the persistence with which U.S. imperialism rejected dealing even with this conservative caste. Washington's refusal to recognize China helped maintain the revolutionary aura of the Mao regime.

"The Peking government undertook defensive measures that sometimes had revolutionary consequences, outstanding examples being the military defense of China at the time of the Korean war and the accompanying expropriation of capitalist holdings within China.

"It was notable, however, that at home Mao sedulously blocked and rooted out any tendency toward proletarian democracy; while abroad he relied in the main on alliances with the treacherous colonial bourgeoisie. . . .

"This course was in conformity with the nature of the social formation represented by Mao.

"The veneer of ultraleftism was not in contradiction to this; it constituted a necessary part under the circumstances."

In the year before his death, there were mounting indications that masses of the Chinese people were dissatisfied with the chairman's rule and anxious to assert their own voice in the government of China. The strikes in Hangchow in the summer of 1975, reports of resistance among the millions of city youth arbitrarily sent to the countryside, and finally the massive protest demonstration of 100,000 in Peking's Tien An Men Square in April are the best-known examples. These are the first signs of the coming political revolution in China, when the workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals will unseat Mao's bureaucratic heirs and take the reins of power into their own hands. □

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## Demonstrations Spread Across South Africa's Cape Province

By Tony Thomas

Demonstrations by Coloureds (people of mixed African, Asian, and European descent) spread across South Africa's Cape Province in early September, meeting massive repression. Hundreds of protesters have been arrested, and on September 9 and 10 alone, riot police shot down twenty-four persons.

On September 7, police in Cape Town attacked thousands of Coloured demonstrators in the downtown area, killing at least four persons and injuring many others.

A dispatch in the September 8 London *Financial Times* described the scene:

Police gunfire and the booms of thunderflash sticks that riot squads threw in the air to make crowds retreat echoed throughout the teargas-blanketed central business and shopping districts of Cape Town.

A crowd of about 1,000 coloureds at one point formed on the Parade, a large square near the city hall. A senior police officer read the riot act to the demonstrators and gave them five minutes to disperse. The crowd yelled obscenities at the policemen and refused to move.

About two dozen riot police in camouflage fatigues then poured out of four trucks and launched a baton charge that sent the demonstrators scattering—until they regrouped.

On September 8, police opened fire with shotguns after using tear gas and clubs to disperse groups of demonstrators in Coloured townships near Cape Town.

In downtown Cape Town, cops fired on demonstrators who were protesting the regime's decision to close down Coloured high schools in the Cape area. The police used shotguns and tear gas after an attack with staves failed to turn back hundreds of Coloured demonstrators.

Riot police also attacked a crowd of 500 students at the Coloured University of the Western Cape.

Black demonstrations took place at Stellenbosch, a city twenty miles east of Cape Town. Police sealed off the Coloured townships of Ida's Valley and Cloeteville, after alleged stoning incidents on the night of September 7.

On September 8, Blacks in Kimberly, the center of South Africa's diamond industry, joined the protests.

Sixteen youths were killed in Manenberg, a section of Athlone, a Coloured township less than ten miles from Cape Town. According to a report by John Burns in the September 10 *New York Times*, all were victims of police rifle and pistol fire. The cops claimed that the youths were looting stores that had been burned earlier by Coloured protesters.



MALCOLM X: Source of inspiration for anti-apartheid demonstrators.

In Paarl, a city thirty miles from Cape Town, hundreds of youths stoned shops and cars, according to Burns. One youth was reported killed.

Deaths were also reported in Eisesries, a township on the eastern outskirts of Cape Town, and in Grassy Park, a township to the south of the city. At Kimberly the police clashed with a crowd of about 700 Black students.

On September 10, the police arrested hundreds of Coloured students at Port Elizabeth, a city 420 miles east of Cape Town, breaking up peaceful sit-ins on the rugby fields at St. Thomas and Paterson high schools.

The Port Elizabeth police reported 350 persons had been arrested. Coloured witnesses put the number at 550.

The upsurge shocked the South African regime, which has sought to divide the Coloureds from Africans and Indians.

"You have to understand that in the framework of separate development [i.e., apartheid], the coloreds have traditionally been the most favored," a white South African columnist told *New York Times* correspondent Michael Kaufman.

The recent demonstrations have shattered the illusions held by whites that the Coloureds would not unify with Africans. "The most astounding thing for us here,"

the columnist told Kaufman, "has been to watch colored and black youths standing together, saying exactly the same thing."

A Coloured intellectual told Kaufman that the new generation of Coloured youth "are not only rejecting the entire system of separate development, they are also rejecting our traditional leaders."

A young Coloured woman told the *Times* correspondent, "A few years ago, I think, most coloreds wanted very much to be like whites. Our people had small advantages over the blacks and we were easily led into rejecting our black patrimony."

Now there is a mood of solidarity with Africans. The woman said, "We know we are all the victims of a system that must change and that is our only demand, an immediate end to inequality."

Kaufman described the political ideas of Coloured students he interviewed:

Some of the students talked of a continuing wave of protests. Some thought that labor action such as strikes, which are illegal in this country, might develop. None talked openly of armed struggle. A few called themselves socialists but in a style they drew much more from the United States civil rights movement than from any African liberation struggle.

When asked which revolutionary figures they most admired, most mentioned Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. None mentioned Samora Machel or Kwame Nkrumah. Quite a few noted the influence of Adam Small, a mild-mannered colored poet . . . whose works in Afrikaans and English speak to the students of finding their African roots. A few of the students are beginning to wear Afro haircuts.

On September 10, Marais Viljoen, president of the South African Senate, announced a series of concessions at a meeting of the Coloured Representative Council\* in Cape Town. The concessions would allow Coloureds and Asians to set up businesses outside Coloured areas and to serve as trade-union officials. In addition, Coloureds would no longer be required to use separate bathrooms and waiting rooms in public buildings.

A Reuters dispatch from Cape Town reported, "Sources in the colored community called the measures a step in the right direction, but said that they fell far short of demands for full civil rights."

\*The Coloured Representative Council is a largely powerless body composed of elected and government-appointed delegates. It supposedly has the power to govern the Coloured community. In reality the council's decisions can be, and usually are, overridden by the white minister of Coloured affairs.

The apartheid regime will never give the 2.3 million Coloureds or the 18 million Africans full civil rights. This would be the end of the cheap, highly disciplined nonwhite labor that has created big profits for the apartheid imperialists and their friends in countries like Britain, West Germany, the United States, and Japan.

Civil rights for Blacks and Coloureds would open the way for the masses to launch an even more massive struggle against national oppression and economic exploitation.

At a rally of the ruling Nationalist party held September 8 in Bloemfontein, capital of the Orange Free State province, Prime Minister John Vorster underscored the government's firm opposition to giving full democratic rights to Coloureds. While police were gunning down Coloured youths, Vorster drew applause from the Nationalists when he promised that Coloured people would never sit in the South African parliament.

Instead, Vorster offered to set up a "Cabinet council" composed of Coloureds, whites, and Indians, according to John Burns in the September 10 *New York Times*.

Vorster said the council would "consider issues of common concern, but would not rule on them," Burns reported. At best this proposal would amount to a glorified version of the Coloured Representative Council.

The regime also made clear its intentions through continuing arrests of African, Coloured, and Indian activists. The *London Times* reported September 9 that more than 260 persons are now in custody under a special preventive-detention law, and that 600 are believed to be in custody on specific charges stemming from the protests. Other reports put the number arrested since the Soweto rebellion in June at several thousand.

One of the targets of the South African regime has been Black journalists who have reported the truth about the current upsurge.

On September 3, Nat Serache, a Black reporter for the *Rand Daily Mail* and part-time correspondent for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), was arrested. Serache had exposed the role of the South African police in the violence of Zulu strikebreaking gangs in the Soweto general strike in August.

Earlier, Joe Thlolde, president of South Africa's Union of Black Journalists, had been detained by security police under the law providing for indefinite detention without charge.

Freeing these political prisoners, along with ending apartheid, has been one of the main demands of the current upsurge in South Africa. International solidarity is urgently needed from all who support the freedom struggle in South Africa, particularly those in countries that have close ties with the apartheid regime. □

## Behind the Secret Talks With Vorster

# Kissinger's Plan to Save Apartheid

By Ernest Harsch

When Secretary of State Kissinger emerged on September 6 from three days of talks in Zurich with South African Prime Minister John Vorster, he refused to disclose any details of their discussions on the mounting social conflicts in southern Africa. He simply stated that the negotiations had been "fruitful." Vorster characterized them as "successful."

When a key representative of American imperialism and the head of the racist apartheid regime hold secret talks—and are pleased with the results—it should be a clear warning to all supporters of the African freedom struggle. Pretoria and Washington, which have maintained an alliance for many years, are now coordinating their efforts more closely than before to save white supremacy in South Africa.

Although Kissinger indicated before the talks that the main items on the agenda would be Namibia and Zimbabwe, the major concern of American imperialism, which now underlies all its policies toward southern Africa, is the massive ferment in South Africa itself. Washington has an important stake in the preservation of the apartheid regime.

U.S. corporations have more than \$1.5 billion invested in South Africa and realize a profit rate there among the highest in the world. South Africa, moreover, produces about 60 percent of the capitalist world's gold supply and occupies a strategic position overlooking the vital shipping route around the Cape of Good Hope. The apartheid regime also serves as a bastion of imperialist rule on the African continent.

The basic purpose of Kissinger's intensive diplomatic activity in southern Africa is thus to buy time for the apartheid regime by defusing or derailing the Black independence struggles in Namibia and Zimbabwe. Washington fears that a massive upsurge in either of those countries will further inspire the Black population of South Africa itself.

A few days before leaving for Zurich, Kissinger declared that there had been a "major breakthrough" in Namibia. He was referring to an August 18 statement by South African officials and Namibian tribal chiefs announcing plans for a "multiracial" government leading to formal independence by the end of 1978. Pretoria has made it clear, however, that it will do everything it can to safeguard the privileged position of the white settlers

and maintain the significant imperialist economic holdings in the mineral-rich territory.

The Vorster regime has so far excluded the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the main Namibian nationalist group, from the "constitutional" talks being held in Namibia. Because of that, Washington fears that the South African scheme may fail. While terming the announcement a "step in the right direction," the State Department has counseled Pretoria to try to win SWAPO's cooperation in this neocolonial maneuver.

Vorster, at a September 5 news conference in Zurich, took a step in that direction, referring to SWAPO for the first time as "one of the political parties in South-West Africa [Namibia]."

In Zimbabwe, the imperialists are seeking to end the escalating guerrilla warfare and head off a major uprising by imposing a negotiated settlement on the Zimbabwean masses. Their aim is to establish a Black government—after a "transitional" period of a few years—that would be willing to protect imperialist interests and collaborate with the apartheid regime.

In order to win the cooperation of the Rhodesian white settlers, Washington, London, and Pretoria have outlined a program to guarantee white "minority rights" and to financially underwrite some of the economic losses the settlers may face.

Kissinger, through his "shuttle diplomacy," hopes to enlist greater collaboration in these efforts from the Black neocolonial regimes bordering Zimbabwe and Namibia. These regimes have already shown their willingness to press the Zimbabwean and Namibian nationalist organizations to compromise.

When it was announced September 10 that Kissinger also planned to visit South Africa itself, South African officials reacted with delight. According to a *New York Times* dispatch from Johannesburg the same day, they "believe the visit may strengthen their country's deteriorating international position even if it does not lead to settlements of the conflicts in Rhodesia and South-West Africa."

Such a show of American diplomatic support for the apartheid regime may, in fact, be the only concrete result of the Kissinger tour. SWAPO has pledged to continue guerrilla warfare and has rejected any participation in negotiations with Pretoria until all South African troops are

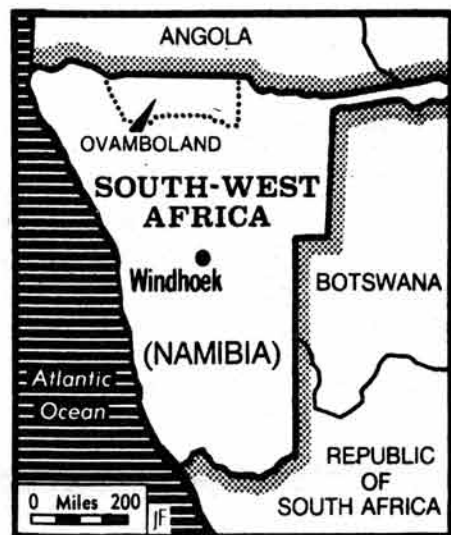
withdrawn from Namibia and all Namibian political prisoners are released.

Although the Zimbabwean nationalist groups are not united, they are all, at this point, opposed to a resumption of negotiations with the Rhodesian regime. At least one of them has specifically rejected any guarantees of white "minority rights" under a Black government.

Kissinger's visit to South Africa may bolster white morale, but it will have little effect in dampening the antigovernment ferment. Even the apartheid regime's brutal repression has been unable to contain the massive protests, which are continuing to spread to new areas and to new layers of the Black and Coloured population. □

## South Africa's 'Operation Cobra'

### Eyewitness Account of Torture in Namibia



Christian Science Monitor

Using methods adapted from Washington's "pacification" of South Vietnam, South African troops have uprooted between 40,000 and 50,000 villagers in Namibia since June.

The aim is to terrorize the population while creating a one-kilometer free-fire zone along the border with Angola.

The means are indiscriminate arrest, torture, and murder.

The major operation, code-named "Cobra," took place in June and involved five battalions of infantry, helicopters, and paratroopers.

Although South African censorship normally prevents the details of such atrocities from reaching world public opinion, the butchery of "Operation Cobra" has been described in detail in a sworn statement by South African infantryman Bill Anderson, published in the September 5 issue of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*.

Anderson, a draftee, was stationed with a battalion operating out of Ondongwa, the main military base for operations in northern Namibia.

"Torture began almost at once when the

suspects were brought back," he said. "The first few were interrogated by a section of 10 South African police inside the tent of battalion HQ [headquarters]. I saw the troops beating the suspects with rifles and fists and kicks for two hours before they were taken into the tent. All the troops were welcome to join in the beating.

"Whenever torture was going on, either in battalion HQ or in the open space behind, a crowd would gather to watch. I would not watch but every night I heard the screams."

Anderson said that there was a bar set up for regular soldiers only, mostly officers and noncommissioned officers. It closed about 9 p.m.

"Torture would begin when the club closed," he said. "The screams would go on until well after midnight. Officers boasted in front of me of using field telephones, for electric shock torture to the genitals, nipples, and ears. It was common knowledge that this was being done."

Anderson saw two "suspects" being given water torture at an army camp near Inahna, a small village twelve kilometers from the Angola border.

"Their heads were stuffed into an ordinary iron bucket full of water and they were held under until they ceased to struggle. It lasted a good minute. . . .

"I often saw young boys being roughly manhandled and kicked. They were blindfolded. Some were about 13 and some a little older."

The conditions "suspects" were kept in were appalling, Anderson said.

"They were handcuffed to trees at night. Some were kept in pits. It was winter and very cold, approaching freezing point at night. Suspects were handcuffed to trees, dressed only in loincloths and drenched in cold water."

Anderson makes clear that for the South African regime, the enemy is the entire Black population of Namibia.

During the sweep in June, he said, "Every male over the age of puberty was brought in. The orders were to kill those who ran and arrest those who did not run. All the arrested men were beaten, tortured, and interrogated without exception." □

## Right to Abortion Under Attack in Britain

by Phyllis Dunipace

Further restrictions on the right of British women to abortion were proposed July 28 by eight members of Parliament. The eight MPs were the remaining members of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Abortion after the walkout of six supporters of abortion rights earlier this year. (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 17, 1976, p. 805.)

The rump parliamentary committee issued a report urging that the time limit for legal abortions be reduced from twenty-eight weeks to twenty weeks. Currently, the 1967 Abortion Act enables women in Britain to obtain legal abortions on medical or "social" grounds if they have the consent of two doctors. The committee proposed a requirement that one of the two doctors involved must have been in practice for at least five years, and that there should be no financial links between the two.

In addition, the penalties for violating the regulations on abortion would be raised to a maximum fine of £1,000 (£1 equals \$1.77), and prosecution could take place up to three years after the alleged offense.

The committee singled out for attack the charitable clinics that provide cheap, safe abortions for women who are not eligible for help under the National Health Service. Instead of proposing that free medical care be made available to all, the select committee report would close off one of the few ways women can obtain legal abortions, under the guise of protecting them from exploitation.

Finally, the committee suggested that the right of nurses and doctors not to perform abortions be enshrined in law.

Although a recent opinion poll indicated that 53 percent of the population are in favor of free abortion on demand, opponents of the right of women to control their own bodies, led by the hierarchy of the Catholic church, are continuing their campaign against abortion rights. Even if the select committee report is not adopted by the Labour government, it may be used as the basis for new restrictive legislation.

The National Abortion Campaign (NAC), set up in March 1975 around the demands of "Women's Right to Choose /Free Abortion on Demand," held a meeting of 300 persons in the House of Commons in response to the parliamentary report.

NAC members have been setting up committees inside the Labour party to defend the 1967 Abortion Act, and are planning a mass tribunal on abortion to be held in London in January. □

## SAVAK Spy Network Exposed in Geneva

At the end of August, the Swiss government was forced to deport Ahmad Malek Mahdavi, first secretary of the Iranian diplomatic mission to the United Nations office in Geneva. How reluctantly it resorted to this action can be judged by the slow response of the Swiss authorities to evidence that the Geneva mission was the center of the shah's secret police network in Europe.

In the long run, however, the Swiss government could not ignore the evidence of the mission's operations. In addition to hounding Iranian students and opponents of the crowned dictatorship, its agents threatened civil libertarians in Europe and even British members of parliament.

Not only the Swiss government was reluctant to take notice of the Mahdavi case. The big international press has maintained virtual silence. One exception to this rule, however, is the West German mass-circulation weekly magazine *Der Spiegel*, which in its September 6 issue featured a four-page account of the revelations. The story was originally broken June 14 by the Swiss Trotskyist fortnightly *La Brèche*.

Documents seized in the Geneva General Consulate of Iran June 1 by a group of thirteen Iranian students and lawyers who occupied the offices showed, in fact, that there had been tight collusion for many years between the police of "Europe's oldest democracy" and the secret police of the "world's oldest empire."

For example, excerpts from documents published June 14 by *La Brèche* contained the following summary of a June 1972 conversation between representatives of SAVAK, the Iranian secret police, Swiss Chief of Protocol Robert Vieux, and Chief of the Geneva Police Information and Security Service André Gagnebin:

*Representative of Iran.* "During His Majesty's visit, no demonstrations by extremist groups or individuals must be authorized."

*Representative of Geneva.* "We will give no authorization for demonstrations, but if some groups gather in the streets, it will be difficult to disperse them."

*Representative of Iran.* "We ask you in any case to act to prevent any demonstration from occurring on any route His Majesty might take. The representatives of the Canton of Geneva promise to do their best. . . ."

"In February 1972, the ambassador of the Shah-in-Shah, the Sun of the Arians, gave canton officials a list of Iranians who must not be permitted to enter the country during the stay of the Shah-in-Shah. We ask you to forbid these persons from entering Switzerland during the visit. Moreover, we will give you a new list."

*Representative of Geneva.* "If you have a new list, we ask you to give it to us so that we can

take the necessary measures. . . ."

*Representative of Geneva.* "We ask that there be no executions before the arrival so that the Swiss media cannot provide such information to extremists through publishing it and thus make our tasks more difficult, in particular as regards banning demonstrations."

The attitude of the Geneva police officials was evidently appreciated. Excerpts from the documents published in *Der Spiegel* included the following top secret memorandum. It was entitled "Concerning Gifts from Mansur [the shah] to the Geneva Police." The text was as follows:

Discussions were held with Mr. Esfandiari, the ambassador of the Shah-in-Shah, the Sun of the Arians, as regards drawing up a list of persons to whom gifts given by the heads of state during their visit to Switzerland can be sent. He was asked to make arrangements with the [Swiss] Foreign Ministry. . . . The Foreign Ministry chief of protocol explained that . . . in 1935, the Emperor of Ethiopia gave many gifts to officials. . . . In 1927, a representative of the USSR attending an economic conference in Geneva gave officials silver cigarette-holders. In 1969, Pope Paul VI gave the police forty gold crosses. Recently, the West German president distributed gold coins to the officials.

The shah's representatives were also on excellent terms with the German authorities. This is clear from a December 30, 1974, Iranian secret memorandum published by *Der Spiegel*:

About forty misled Iranian students coming from Italy were refused entry into Germany by the police. These misled Iranian students gathered in front of the German consulate in Florence. Distributing leaflets, they delivered a protest to the German consul and a demand for two million Italian lire compensation.

On the same day, three misled Iranian students resident in Rome appeared at the German embassy there, delivered a note of protest and demanded a written reply. As a result of our activities, the German consulate in Florence and the German embassy in Rome have so far refused to give these misled ones any written reply.

SAVAK did not confine its interest to preventing demonstrations during the shah's visits or watching Iranian citizens living abroad. *Der Spiegel* noted:

One of the documents concerns surveillance of two British members of parliament. On an order from Tehran, apparently coming directly from General Nematollah Nasiri, chief of SAVAK, Labour MPs Stan Newens and William Wilson were to be investigated for possible relations with Iranian dissidents.

Newens had spoken up several times, castigating the activities of foreign secret services in Britain. Wilson came to the notice of the Iranians as a critical observer of a trial against seven opponents of the shah. The accused in this

trial were later "shot while escaping."

According to the order from Tehran, the results of these investigations were to be "immediately transmitted to headquarters so that the corresponding decisions can be made."

In the meantime, the "Beans" (SAVAK offices) were warned that the "Clean Fingers" (agents) were to "maintain the strictest caution in their investigations and above all to be careful not to let themselves be seen for long periods in front of the MPs' homes."

Other documents gave a picture of life in the shah's service, as did this circular from the Iranian Foreign Ministry published by *Der Spiegel*:

Recently there have been a number of cases in which the embassies of His Majesty have extended the expiration date of passports of persons whose travel documents, according to an order of the foreign minister, based on advice from the secret service, were not to be renewed. The secret services have informed His Majesty of this. His Majesty has commanded: "This is a military order and must be carried out unconditionally—let this be known!"

It goes without saying that failure to comply with this order will bring the gravest consequences.

Please confirm receipt of this circular.

Another Iranian Foreign Ministry circular confirmed the presence of SAVAK agents in at least a number of missions:

We are sending you a fifty-eight-page list of Iranian students resident in Italy, Turkey, the USA, Austria, West Germany, France, and England. If any of these persons appear in your offices, the following procedures are to be observed:

In diplomatic offices where there are SAVAK representatives, when these persons come on consular business, they should be put in contact with SAVAK agents. If the SAVAK agent agrees that their problems should be dealt with, you do not need to consult the Foreign Ministry.

The team of students and lawyers that occupied the Iranian consulate in Geneva were backed by the Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union). After the police intervened, the occupiers were held in jail until June 4. The prosecutor demanded the court set bail at 5,000 Swiss Francs (approximately US\$2,150) each. Finally the group was released without bail.

The Swiss authorities wanted to deport the occupiers immediately, *Der Spiegel* reported, but the proceedings had to be stopped when the Iranian embassy pressed charges against them. That gave the students an opportunity to make the documents public.

The shah's representatives quickly realized their mistake. They withdrew the

charges. However, according to Swiss law anyone charged with a crime can oppose the charges being dropped. The students moved to try to force a trial where the evidence of collusion between Swiss police and SAVAK could be debated publicly.

The Swiss capitalist press, nonetheless, has shown little interest in publicizing this case, *Der Spiegel* pointed out. In fact, the *Schweizerische Handelszeitung* complained that complicating diplomatic relations between Switzerland and Iran could "even lead to orders to Swiss companies

being cancelled."

However, a press blackout has been made more difficult by the truculent behavior of the shah. On August 31, the Iranian government announced that it had retaliated by expelling a Swiss diplomat and the shah's kept press was ordered to go on a campaign against Switzerland. So, an article in the September 4 *Washington Post* reported: "... Tehran newspapers accused Switzerland of being, among other things, a land of Communist sympathizers and a paranoid 'spy haunt.'" □

sentence was the first time a special tribunal has handed down the death penalty.

Although the Murrays were sentenced to death as common criminals, they are being denied even the basic rights of death-row prisoners. They cannot receive letters, even from personal friends. No visitors are allowed, except for Noel Murray's parents, both over seventy. They are not permitted to see each other.

At the end of August, the Murray Defense Committee, which calls for abolition of the death penalty and a new trial for the couple, issued a protest against these conditions:

"Marie and Noel Murray, companions of many years, have been condemned to death and pitched into physical isolation from each other, from other prisoners, and the outside world. This is an inhuman and unnatural treatment, especially for persons under the sentence of death by hanging. It is psychological torture—to break the Murrays' morale, ability to resist and will to live.

"The press have been silent about the conditions under which the Murrays are being held, and about the opposition to the hanging coming from all over the world. Last year, the press reported on the worldwide opposition to the use of the death-penalty in Spain and the Dublin Government put pressure on Spain to commute death sentences."

In Ireland, however, attempts to protest these sentences have been repressed under the rule, borrowed from British law, that cases in the courts cannot be commented on publicly.

Representatives of the *Irish Times*, the country's most prestigious daily, escaped a contempt of court citation only by apologizing for printing a news article quoting a statement by the Association for Legal Justice, a civil liberties group, that condemned the Murray sentence.

The editors of *Hibernia*, a respected literary fortnightly, were cited for contempt of court. Moreover, an order permitting seizure of the magazine was issued. The charge was that the editors printed two letters condemning the Murray sentence.

Execution of the Murrays has been stayed until after Supreme Court hearings on the case, scheduled for November 1.

The actions of the Irish authorities have already revealed that more is involved in this case than ordinary criminal law. Apparently the government has chosen an exceptionally isolated couple as its first victims in a move to reestablish the death penalty in political cases, precisely because they have no ties to any political organization that could defend them.

Messages of support for the campaign to overturn the Murray sentence can be sent to the Murray Defense Committee, 155 Church Road, Celbridge, Co. Kildare, Ireland. □

## Sentenced to Death by Dublin 'Special Tribunal'

### New Trial Demanded for Noel and Marie Murray

The suspension of constitutional guarantees pushed through the Dublin parliament September 1 was apparently long and carefully prepared. In its August 30 issue, the Dublin weekly *An Phoblacht*, which reflects the views of the Provisional republicans, pointed out that six months before the new legislation was proposed, police began boasting to political prisoners that they were going to get these new repressive powers.

Before every major step in escalating repression, the imperialist authorities in Northern Ireland and the neocolonialists in the formally independent part of the country have tried to test the reaction of public opinion.

The case of a young couple sentenced to hang in the Twenty-Six County "Free State" seems to be another such test.

On June 9, in the Special Criminal Court in Dublin, Justice Pringle passed judgment on Marie Murray (twenty-seven years old) and Noel Murray (twenty-five): "It was the duty of the court, therefore, to order that you be removed to the prison in which you were last confined and there to suffer death by execution in the manner prescribed by law [hanging] on July 9, 1976, and to be buried within the precincts of the said prison."

Police officials claimed that Marie Murray had admitted shooting an off-duty policeman, Michael Reynolds, during an attempted bank robbery September 11, 1975, when he tried to capture her and her husband. After she was arrested, she allegedly told a policeman: "It was panic and carelessness; I did not know it was a guard [policeman] until I heard it on the news, I only intended to hit him. He crumpled up."

On technical grounds, court experts claimed the gun could not have been fired accidentally.

The Murrays refused to participate in the hearings on the grounds that they were not getting a fair trial. However, before sentence was pronounced, they denied

involvement in the shooting and the robbery. Noel Murray argued that the only evidence against him and his wife were statements that they had not made voluntarily and had repudiated.

The court that tried the couple was a special tribunal of the type originally instituted in 1939 and revived by government decree in 1972. In such courts there are no juries, and the established rules of evidence do not apply.

The argument used by the authorities to justify these procedures is that in political cases, juries can be subjected to unusual pressures. The tribunals were first set up under the pretext of the wartime emergency to crush the republican movement. They were revived for the purpose of suppressing republicanism after the upsurge in Northern Ireland.

When questions were raised whether the sentence against the Murrays was politically motivated, the authorities denied that the case was political in nature. For example, the Dublin *Sunday Independent* reported June 12: "Unofficial Garda [police] sources were still insisting yesterday that Murray had no connection whatever with any subversive organisation at the time of the Garda Reynolds killing."

Nonetheless, the Murrays were tried in a court set up to deal with "terrorism," in which they were denied the rights of the accused established in common law.

Moreover, the death penalty has not been applied in the Twenty-Six Counties since 1954. The Criminal Justice Act of 1964 abolished capital punishment for all but three types of crimes: treason, and certain offenses committed by persons subject to military law; the murder of the head of a foreign state, or a diplomatic officer or member of the government of a foreign state; and "capital murder," that is, murder of a policeman or prison guard acting in the course of duty. However, whoever killed Reynolds had no way of knowing he was a policeman. The Murray



## Pressures PLO to Make Concessions

### Moscow Denounces 'Ultraleftists' in Lebanon

*Pravda*, the daily of the Soviet Communist party, called September 8 for a political solution in Lebanon "based on a reasonable compromise."

Signed "Observer"—customarily a signal of top-level approval—the article denounced "ultraleftist elements" for refusing previous agreements that supposedly would have ended the fighting in Lebanon's seventeen-month-old civil war.

A dispatch from Beirut in the September 10 *New York Times* reported that excerpts from the *Pravda* article were given front-page display in most Beirut newspapers, while "Lebanese right-wing Christian leaders acclaimed the Soviet stand. . . ."

The rightists had good reason to rejoice at this public indication of behind-the-scenes pressure from Moscow. Militarily, the proimperialist forces in Lebanon have the upper hand. At this point, their participation in negotiations is intended to secure concessions that will give them better positions for new offensives. They have certainly not given up the perspective of crushing the Palestinian national liberation movement in Lebanon and reestablishing the authority of the proimperialist government throughout the entire country.

While the Kremlin is calling for "a reasonable compromise," and demanding greater concessions from the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition, rightist forces are threatening a broad offensive in the mountains east of Beirut.

"The situation in the mountains is heading toward a major explosion," a representative of the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist alliance warned September 5. "Combat is very intense, and both sides are using heavy artillery and surface-to-surface missiles," he added, according to a United Press International dispatch from Beirut.

Earlier, a Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) official accused Syrian forces of taking a part in the mountain battle. According to a report in the September 3 *Washington Post*, the PLO representative said, "Syria has moved more troops into the Jezzine area [on the road to Saida]. The Syrians are also moving new rocket launchers up into the central mountains [east of Beirut]. They are threatening another round of war."

Opposition to the Syrian occupation of eastern Lebanon flared September 6 in the city of Baalbek. A general strike by the 110,000 residents there was reported in an unsigned United Press International dispatch, which said:

"Most shops in the historic city shut down for the day. Several hundred demonstrators marched past the ancient Roman

temple of Jupiter and passed out pamphlets calling the Syrian army 'a terrorist occupation force,' both rightist and leftist reports from the city said."

The majority of the Lebanese people are opposed to the Syrian invasion of Lebanon and to the rightist forces that the Syrians are aiding. However, Syrian President Hafez al-Assad has won approval for his policies from other quarters. Thus, *Time* magazine reported in its September 13 issue:

"The tacit understanding between Israel and Syria has gone so far that Damascus has withdrawn most of its offensive military power from the Golan Heights. Last year the Syrians had five armored divisions standing between Damascus and the Israeli-occupied territory on the Heights. Gradually, those forces were shifted, either to Lebanon or to Syria's troubled border with Iraq. Now there is only one armored division stationed around Damascus, that is in position to ward off an Israeli attack."

*Time* might have added that the troops stationed around Damascus are intended for use against the Syrian people in the

event that they should rise up against Assad, not for combat against Israeli aggression.

According to the account in *Time*, "Israel is now training a battalion of mixed Lebanese Christian and Moslem troops in tank warfare at an Israeli base on the edge of the Sinai desert. . . . When the training is finished, they will be sent back to Lebanon with 38 American-made M-50 Sherman tanks."

Collaboration between the Israeli regime and the proimperialist forces in Lebanon has also included four trips by Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres to the Lebanese port of Jounieh, *Time* said. It also claimed that Peres was accompanied by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on his third trip. The trips reportedly occurred between late May and late August.

The last visit by Peres lasted two days, according to *Time*. "There were some strange visitors to see Peres," said one source, hinting that they included Syrians."

At present, the Syrian army and the rightist forces under the leadership of the Maronite-Christian establishment appear to be doing a good job in Lebanon from the point of view of the Israeli regime. But the deepening Israeli involvement means that if either of Rabin's new allies falters, their task may well be taken up by the Israeli army. □

### Hot Debate in Israeli Press

#### How to Rid the Country of Arabs?

The publication of a confidential government report suggesting ways of reducing Israel's Arab population has resulted in a sharp debate. Israel Koenig, the Ministry of the Interior's chief official in the Galilee region of northern Israel, was the author of the report. He noted that at the end of 1974, about 47 percent of the 520,000 residents in the Galilee district were Arabs, and that by 1978 they would be 51 percent of the population there.

Koenig, according to a September 9 dispatch from Jerusalem by *New York Times* correspondent William E. Farrell, proposed "that a hard line be taken against the growth of the Arab population through steps that would include a rapid increase of Jewish settlements in areas with heavy Arab concentrations, a decrease in state subsidies to Israeli Arabs with large families and a program encouraging Arab youngsters to go abroad to study and then remain there."

These suggestions were warmly greeted by *Hatzofeh*, the organ of the National Religious party, which declared September

9 that Koenig had taken "pains to warn us in good time of the dangers lurking in the northern part of the country where, if something is not done, the Arabs may well constitute a majority within two years."

The National Religious party is a partner in Israel's coalition government, and it holds the portfolio of the Ministry of the Interior in the cabinet.

*Yediot Aharonot*, another Israeli daily, agreed that the Palestinian population did indeed pose a lurking danger—in its words, "a demographic threat in the Galilee that should not be lightly dismissed." But it warned its more zealous readers, with a glance at public opinion abroad, that Koenig's proposals "do not accord with Israel's democratic regime and its world image." □

#### All Heart

The British government, which collects an annual £18 licensing fee from owners of television sets, offers a reduction of £1.25 to registered blind persons.

## Trotskyist Leader Giannis Felekis Among the Accused

### 14 Activists Face Frame-up Charges in Greece

On September 29, fourteen members of groups that defended the young workers and students attacked by police during the May 25 general strike rallies in Athens will go on trial in the Greek capital, charged with "moral responsibility" for the clashes.

The upcoming trial is one of the most serious attempts so far by the Caramanlis government to restore the category of purely political crimes. That is the meaning of trying to blame a whole spectrum of political groups, on the basis of their political stands and arguments, for clashes between demonstrators and police that occurred in the course of large trade-union rallies.

Thirty persons charged with "physical responsibility" for the clashes were condemned to five months in prison, with two-year suspended sentences, at the end of May. Although members and supporters of the two Communist parties were among those arrested, neither the "orthodox" nor the "liberal" Stalinists defended the victims of the government's persecution.

It was the Communist parties' trade-union groups, along with the trade-union formation of Andreas Papandreou's party, that organized the general strike to try to block legislation denying recognition to trade unions outside the government-controlled federation. But once the Caramanlis government attacked the strikers, the two CPs and Papandreou retreated in disarray, since they were not prepared to challenge the government in a head-on conflict. All these parties support the Caramanlis cabinet critically as the best available government alternative and as the "leadership of the nation" against the "Turkish threat."

Among those charged with "moral responsibility" for the May 25 clashes are two leaders of the Greek section of the Fourth International, Giannis Felekis and Ambave. Felekis was imprisoned by the Papadopoulos junta, released during the abortive liberalization of the dictatorship in mid-1973, and reimprisoned in the repression that followed the November 1973 mass student demonstrations. He was released again in the amnesty that followed the fall of the junta on July 23, 1974.

On August 12, 1974, only a few weeks after the collapse of the dictatorship, Felekis was arrested again for selling the Greek Trotskyist paper *Ergatike Pale*, which had just reappeared legally, on the charge that he didn't have "a permit." On August 18, 1974, Felekis was arrested again and beaten up when a demonstration he was covering as a reporter was attacked by the police. He described his

arrest in the August 24, 1974, issue of *Ergatike Pale*:

"My arrest must have looked like one of the more brutal scenes of the evening. At least six cops in uniform and one in plainclothes jumped me. As they threw me to the ground, they kicked me and beat me with their clubs and fists, concentrating on my face. They were so infuriated that they often hit each other." Felekis was also beaten after his arrest, but was acquitted of all charges at the end of August 1974.

The list of defendants for the upcoming trial includes leaders and members of several of the left groups based on the student radicalization that dealt a mortal blow to the dictatorship in the November 1973 demonstrations: Philene and Phrangakes from the Revolutionary Communist Movement; Feloukas, Photiadhes, Tavanis, Vrontos, and Katinstsaros from the Communist Organization *Machitis* ("The Mili-

tant"); Sidheris, Chrysospathes, and Kalibetsou from the Leninist Revolutionary Movement; and Karabelias of the Group for a Proletarian Left. The remaining defendant, Kachrimansis, is not a member of a political organization.

Not only have the mass left organizations failed to defend the activists charged with "moral responsibility" for the May 25 clashes, *Ergatike Pale* noted in its September 4 issue, they have been conducting a campaign against "extremism" that has helped the government create a favorable atmosphere for victimizing the accused.

A united-front committee—the Committee Against the Prosecution of Organizations and Activists for the Events of May 25—has been formed to defend the defendants in the upcoming trial.

It has called a demonstration in Athens for September 13 to protest the prosecutions.

The committee and the defendants have also issued an international appeal for support and called for as many groups as possible to send observers to the trial. Messages can be sent to the committee, c/o Giannis Felekis, *Ergatike Pale*, Themistocleous St. 38, Athens, Greece. □

## Canadian Workers to Take to the Streets

### Protest Against Wage Controls Set for October 14

The Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) is calling on its 2.2 million members to stop work October 14 and participate in a day of protest actions demanding the abolition of wage controls.

Canadian workers have good reason to protest the government-imposed controls. Wage settlements in the second quarter of 1976 rose by only 11.5 percent, compared to a rate of 18.7 percent a year earlier. The so-called Anti-Inflation Board has made reductions in wage settlements amounting to \$200 million.

Understandably enough, the big business press has lashed out against the October 14 protest. "A general strike is an attack upon the country, upon the whole people of Canada and their way of governing themselves," the *Toronto Globe and Mail* blustered in one recent editorial.

But employer threats have failed to move the CLC. Two of the CLC's main leaders have begun cross-country tours to mobilize labor councils and union locals for the October 14 action.

Moreover, the CLC has consciously attempted to reach out and draw allies of the union movement into the struggle. In addition to unorganized workers, students and pensioners have been invited to take part in the protest actions, which will

include rallies, parades, demonstrations, and informational picketing.

In both British Columbia and Alberta, the New Democratic party—Canada's labor party—has voted to go on record in support of the general strike.

In Québec, the Confederation of National Trade Unions, with 170,000 members, announced September 2 that it would join the 280,000-member Québec Federation of Labor and the 90,000-member Québec Teachers Federation in the day of protest.

Len Guy, secretary-treasurer of the British Columbia Federation of Labour, told a Vancouver news conference August 30, "We will be planning highly visible demonstrations in all major centers around the province.

"It is our hope that all union members and their families will participate not only in the shutdown but in the demonstrations, and that a good number of other citizens will join us."

This type of labor militancy is a new factor in Canada. Guy may not have been exaggerating when he said: "The government and its political allies have, by imposing wage controls, awakened in the labour movement a sleeping giant. After October 14th, Canadian politics will never again be the same." □

## The Assassination of Mario Roberto Santucho

[The following statement was issued August 2 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

The Fourth International denounces the murder of comrade Mario Roberto Santucho, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers party and the People's Revolutionary Army of Argentina, by the brutal military dictatorship, which has arrested thousands of worker militants and killed dozens of them since the coup of March 24, 1976.

Comrade Santucho was a symbol of a whole generation of political fighters in Argentina who joined the revolutionary movement under the influence of the Cuban revolution and sacrificed their lives for what they considered to be the correct revolutionary orientation. He shared with them a limitless devotion to the cause of national and social liberation of the exploited and oppressed, the conviction that this liberation could only be achieved through a socialist revolution, the belief that prolonged armed struggle was the only way to bring about such a victorious revolution, and the single-minded personal involvement in all the political and organizational implications of such an orientation.

As the leader of a revolutionary populist group in his native Argentine province (FRIP—Indo-American and Popular Revolutionary Front), in 1967 Santucho accepted fusion with the Palabra Obrera group, Argentine section of the Fourth International. This implied his acceptance of the adherence of the fused organization (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party) to the Fourth International. He did this without conviction of the correctness of the revolutionary Marxist program, but out of a deep adherence to internationalism. He felt the need for an international revolutionary organization, but favored a more "ecumenical" regroupment, involving the Vietnamese, Chinese, and North Korean CPs, some Maoist parties, the Cuban CP, the main guerilla forces in Latin America, and the Fourth International.

Practice showed that the unification of such divergent political forces was impossible. Political differences erupted quickly inside the PRT and led to a split in the beginning of 1969. One wing of the PRT formed the PRT-La Verdad, which later fused with a section of the Socialist party to form the PST, which remains in the Fourth International. The other wing, under the leadership of Santucho, formed the PRT-Combatiente, which initially maintained its willingness to remain in

the Fourth International and demanded recognition as the Argentine section at the Ninth World Congress. The Congress accepted this claim, given the statutory circumstances of the split. However, the political dynamics of the split proved to be decisive in the long run. The logic of the PRT's orientation of "prolonged people's war" brought the political and programmatic differences to the fore. Comrade Santucho publicly broke with the Fourth International in 1973.

As leader of the PRT and the ERP (People's Revolutionary Army), Mario Roberto Santucho tried with iron resolution to inflict blows against the Argentine bourgeois army through actions of small armed groups in the hope that, following the Chinese and Vietnamese examples, masses of workers and peasants would rally around this first nucleus and a mass revolutionary party would be built in the

course of the struggle. He hoped to constitute real "liberated zones" in the North of the country, devoting big resources and sacrificing many militants to assemble the necessary military infrastructure for this purpose. The Fourth International has irreconcilable differences with this strategy, which obscures the central role of the independent organization and class action of the proletariat in the process of permanent revolution and the need to build a party on that programmatic basis. But we mourn the death of this impressive revolutionary leader, who gave his life for the liberation of the masses of his country and his continent. The Argentine proletariat will avenge Mario Roberto Santucho, as it will avenge all the fighters for the socialist revolution killed by the bourgeoisie and its butchers in Argentina, by overthrowing the dictatorship and capitalist rule in that country. □

### 1,000 Attend Election Rally of Swedish Trotskyists

A thousand persons attended a special election campaign rally September 4 in Stockholm organized by the Swedish section of the Fourth International, the September 7 issue of *Internationalen*, the organization's paper, reported. The Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet (KAF—Communist Workers League) is running candidates in a number of districts across Sweden in the September 19 legislative elections.

The September 4 rally, the largest yet held by the KAF, featured speakers from the Fourth International outside Sweden, as well as representatives of the Swedish Trotskyist organization.

Alain Krivine, twice presidential candidate of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International) spoke, along with Ernest Mandel, a leader of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

KAF leader Dick Åhman opened the rally, saying that the election campaign should be used to prepare the workers for the new contract struggles that will come after the vote.

Göte Kildén said: "The best way to support the workers movement is to vote for us and our program. Our demands and slogans will continue to live in the struggle months and years after the campaign posters of the parties of empty promises have been taken down on September 20 to be stored for use again in another three years.

"Give us your support in the election and

raise your voice with us in struggle all the other days of the year."

The KAF has distributed 150,000 copies of its election platform, which includes demands for a six-hour workday with no cut in pay, jobs for all, and cost-of-living adjustments in wages to cover inflation. It calls on the unions to discuss the questions raised by the ecology movement, the women's movement, and the movements in solidarity with working-class struggles in other countries. The program also includes a plank opposing nuclear power plants.

Mandel was the concluding speaker. Marianne Rågfeldt summed up his remarks as follows in the September 7 *Internationalen*:

"He brought the international revolution into the hall. He talked about Portugal, about Italy, and France. And he talked about Spain. He pointed out that there are thousands more revolutionary Marxists today in Spain than there were at the time of the civil war. And this despite all those the Franco dictatorship massacred in the last forty years, despite all those murdered and garroted."

Mandel also talked about the possibilities for revolution developing in a synchronized way in a series of southern European countries. Revolutionary Marxists bear a heavy responsibility, he said, but the conditions are better today than any time since 1917.

Rågfeldt pointed out how big a step forward this rally represented for the KAF, since "five years ago, there were only ten to fifteen of us in the entire country." □



Michiko Matsumoto

Part of October 1972 women's march in Tokyo to retain right to legal abortion.

## Interview With Evelyn Reed

# Women's Liberation—The Rise to a Powerful Social Movement

[The following is an interview with Evelyn Reed, author of *Woman's Evolution*, an active participant in the women's movement in the United States, and a long-time leader of the Socialist Workers party. It appeared in a slightly abridged form in the June 16 issue of *Combate*, newspaper of the Liga Comunista (Communist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain.]

*Question. What in your opinion accounts for the rise of the women's liberation movement on such a large scale over the past few years?*

*Answer.* An impressive feature of the women's liberation movement is the speed with which it rose from its tiny beginnings in the United States about seven years ago to its present worldwide scope. Even the United Nations had to take note of this phenomenon in its International Women's Year, which culminated in the celebration of International Women's Day on March 8 this year.

The rapid spread of the women's movement around the world is at bottom due to the changing objective situation of women. Because of the needs of the capitalist

system in the post-World War II boom period, more women have been able to receive education and jobs outside the home. Scientific advances have made it possible for women to control their reproductive lives—even though in many countries they are denied this right. Thus while women see the increased potential to free themselves from domestic servitude and gain control over their own destiny, they are denied these opportunities because of the institutions and prejudices of class society. This increasingly glaring contradiction between what is possible and what exists is what has fueled the feminist movement internationally.

In a curious dialectic of history, the first explosion of the women's movement occurred in the politically backward United States, sweeping from there to other capitalist nations with mass working-class and socialist parties. The galvanizing force behind this resurgence in the United States was the extended period of radicalization that began at the start of the 1960s with the civil rights and Black liberation struggles and went on to the student revolts and massive anti-Vietnam War protests. At the end of the decade, women raised their own demands, which challenged the modes and morals of an

oppressive, racist, sexist, war-making social system.

The feminist movement began in an inconspicuous fashion as small groups of women gathered together in what were called "consciousness-raising" sessions. There they learned—in part through their "speak bitterness" communications and in part through studying such books as Engels's *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*—that their problems were not individual but social. They discovered they were not "failures" because as individuals they were physically or mentally deficient—rather, women were held back because they had been dispossessed of their rightful place in economic, social, cultural, and political life.

This social consciousness provided a springboard for the awakening of women and pointed a way out of their isolated, guilt-ridden, homebound lives. It gave them new-found confidence in themselves that enabled them to move out of the small groups—the "chrysalis" stage of their development—into large organizations and actions exerting more powerful social leverage. The march of 40,000 women down Fifth Avenue in New York in 1970 was an announcement of this great awakening of the "second sex" and a celebra-

tion of their growing solidarity. Since then, feminist ideas have had an impact on all aspects of American life.

The National Organization for Women (NOW), with its liberal leadership and reformist orientation, remains the largest feminist organization; it has chapters in all the major cities of the United States and its members number in the tens of thousands. Two years ago in March 1974 the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) was formed, with 3,200 women representing fifty-eight international unions at its founding conference in Chicago. In March of this year a similar organization of trade union women was launched in Toronto, Canada, called Organized Working Women (OWW).

The women's movement has undertaken a series of actions on a national scale, the most noteworthy being the victorious campaign for legal abortion. Partially as a by-product of the Black struggle of the 1960s, women won a limited right to preferential treatment by employers in hiring and job promotion to make up for past discrimination. An important struggle of women now is to defend these gains—called "affirmative action plans"—in the face of the current layoffs and antilabor offensive. Another major issue is the right to achieve ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which would for the first time declare women equal under the U.S. Constitution. Women's studies courses have been instituted in many universities to uncover the history of women.

The sweep of these activities has inspired women in other countries to initiate their own movements for liberation. It is significant that the issue of legal abortion has leaped to the forefront as the most imperative demand on a worldwide scale. The reason is obvious. If women are to be able to participate freely in political and intellectual life, they must gain control over their own fertility which up to now has been controlled by church and state.

*Q. What in your opinion are the perspectives of the feminist movement? What solutions are presented by the women of the liberation movement?*

A. There are various programs and perspectives within the broad feminist movement in the United States, leading to very different solutions. I suppose that similar divergences exist in other countries.

For example, one group, classified as "Radical Feminists," are popularly known as "man-haters." To these women it is not the capitalist system but the male sex that is the main enemy of women. They reject the argument that male supremacy is an integral part of the private property system that will be overcome when the class-divided system is abolished. Their remedy for the subjugation of women is not revolutionary social change but the

rejection of men. These false ideas have earned them far more media attention than their small numbers deserve.

There is also a reformist current, made up of women tied to the Democratic and Republican parties. They believe or hope that by exerting enough pressure they can win substantial gains and sex equality without challenging the power of the monopolists or altering the capitalist system.

The great majority of feminists are simply fighting for equality. At this point most of them are not revolutionists, but we can expect that many of these students, working women, Black women, and others will be open to considering socialist ideas as it becomes ever more clear to them that the capitalist system runs counter to their needs and demands.

As revolutionary socialists, we in the Socialist Workers party argue that, while it is essential to demand and fight for every improvement that can be wrested from the ruling class, the full liberation of women requires the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism.

Since our members have been active from the first in the feminist movement, these ideas of the SWP are well known to many of its participants. We help build independent mass struggles of women to win such improvements as equality in education, jobs, and pay; for the right to abortion and contraception; for more and improved child-care centers, and maternity benefits. At the same time, we patiently explain our broader perspectives in contrast with other more limited or incorrect ones. The test of events often confirms our program and policies.

*Q. There are several parties or organizations that claim to be for socialism. Could you tell us something about their activities in the women's liberation movement? What about the Social Democrats and Stalinists? What are their alternatives?*

A. Both the Social Democrats and Moscow-oriented Stalinists have displayed an indifference to or fear of any autonomous women's movement. It is too hot an issue for them to handle. The reactionary position of the Communist parties on this question is in part due to their embellishment of the situation of women in the Soviet Union. As Stalinists they cannot explain to feminists why male supremacy still prevails there, why the family is glorified, and why Soviet women still occupy an inferior and subordinate position. The Social Democrats are often more involved in the women's movement, but their general perspective in this—as in all other questions—is limited to winning gains by reforming the capitalist system.

In addition there exist numerous Maoist and centrist groups, most of which have one thing in common—a low conception of the importance of the women's liberation struggle and its priority. They try to justify their abstention and negative attitude on

the ground that the struggle for socialism is above all a working-class struggle and therefore the "woman question" will be automatically resolved through the coming socialist revolution. They do not see the struggles of the "doubly oppressed" sex for their own specific demands as a significant component of the anticapitalist struggle but rather imply that women will be "given" their just claims after the revolution.

In actuality, since women will play a key role in helping to make the working-class revolution, they will not be "given" their rights; rather they will assume their position as equal partners with the men in the reorganizing work that accompanies so fundamental a social change. Women in fact are most capable of creating those new institutions that will best serve their special needs both as workers and women.

*Q. What kind of program and form of organization should be projected for the development of a mass women's liberation movement?*

A. That depends upon the specific conditions and stage of development of both the feminist movement and the organizations of the working-class in each country. In general, women need to organize themselves to promote their own objectives. They will thereby gain the competence and self-confidence they urgently need to carry forward their struggle. "Who would be free themselves must strike the blow." At the same time, women need allies, which they can find in the working-class organizations of which they are a part and which can become sympathetic to their aims.

*Q. About the Fourth International current; how does it see the women's liberation movement? State some general features.*

A. Sections and supporting organizations of the Fourth International have been in the forefront of the current resurgence of the women's struggle in many countries—from the United States and Canada to Australia and New Zealand; from Mexico to France. In particular, Trotskyists have played an important role in the fight for abortion rights.

In 1973 the Fourth International initiated an internal discussion on the worldwide women's liberation movement, and drafted a resolution on this question. The point is on the agenda for the next world congress of the International, scheduled for 1977.

The Fourth International gives full support to the fight of women for liberation. It stands on the perspectives for women's emancipation put forward in the *Communist Manifesto* and in the writings of Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky. And its tradition is that of the accomplishments of the early Russian revolution and the mass women's struggles led by the early Communist International in China, Germany, and elsewhere. □

# Living Standards of British Workers Under Fresh Attack

By Jim Atkinson

LONDON—For the first time since World War II the number of British workers registered as unemployed has passed the 1.5 million mark (6.4%), according to government figures released August 24.

This has not been the only piece of bad news. Steadily rising unemployment has been just one aspect of a wide assault on workers' living standards under the Labour administration of Prime Minister James Callaghan. Since August 1, new, tougher pay controls have been in force. And, on July 22, the government announced public spending cutbacks totalling more than £1 billion [£1=US\$ 1.74].

The soaring unemployment—now higher in percentage terms than in almost all other major European countries—is hitting hardest at women, youths, Blacks, and the people of Northern Ireland. "Women are now becoming unemployed at a rate almost twice as fast as men," the *Guardian* noted August 25. "... the Department of Employment estimates that around 35 per cent of the 550,000 boys and girls who left school last term are registered as unemployed." Department of Employment figures show that the unemployment rate has reached 10.5% in Northern Ireland.

Workers in some industries have suffered particularly harshly. According to the National Federation of Building Trades Employers, more than 200,000 construction workers were unemployed in July. Under an agreement signed last January by the British Steel Corporation and the bureaucrats of the steel unions, 20,000 jobs have been "shed" in the steel industry. Educational cutbacks mean that 20,000 newly qualified teachers will be without jobs when schools reopen in late September.

Meanwhile, living standards are under attack from another quarter: Phase Two of Labour's wage controls. Phase two, which started on August 1 and will last for one year, restricts wage increases to between £2.50 and £4 a week. The exact increase allowed depends on previous income levels but works out at roughly 4.5% for the average worker (at a time when inflation has shown no sign over the past six months of dipping below 12% to 13% a year). Phase Two is tougher than last year's Phase One, which limited wage rises to £6 a week.

The trade-union bureaucracy overwhelmingly endorsed the new pay restrictions at a special congress of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) on June 16, giving the policy a massive 18 to 1 majority (by

contrast to the TUC's 2 to 1 endorsement of the £6 limit a year earlier).

In a keynote speech to the congress, TUC Assistant General Secretary Norman Willis left no doubt about the bureaucracy's intentions in voting approval of this wage-cutting plan. "We have to be very precise and honest with our own members in making it clear that we mean it," he stressed. "The TUC will not give support to any pay settlement that goes beyond the pay guidelines."

The ruling class has been delighted by this display of servility. Former Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath, whose own attempt at imposing wage controls was knocked to pieces by the militant miners' strike in 1974, was especially pleased. "I fully and unequivocally support the agreement between the Government and the trade unions," he said in the House of Commons July 7. "It is in the national interest that this agreement should have been reached and I do not believe that we should hedge about this."

The consequences for workers, in view of the continuing inflation, will be a further erosion of living standards. As the *London Times* explained August 16: "Real average earnings have fallen since 1974, and a married man with two young children, on average earnings, will almost certainly have suffered a drop of at least 4½ per cent in real living standards between the end of the last economic boom and next summer."

But next summer, government ministers hint; will usher in a further round of wage restraint—Phase Three.

The third major axis of the government's offensive is its attack against the so-called social wage: housing, education, health care, and other welfare facilities and benefits. Last February, the Labour government—then under the premiership of Harold Wilson—published a "white paper" slating massive public expenditure cutbacks in 1977-79 (a quarter of them falling on education). Then, in his April budget speech, Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey announced a new system of "cash limits" to restrict public spending in the current financial year.

The latest set of cutbacks was announced by Healey July 22. The measures, which will cut public spending by more than £1 billion in 1977-78, include the following: an accelerated drive to phase out food subsidies; curbs on municipal housing programmes (which will both intensify the housing crisis and add to the massive unemployment in the construction

industry); cutbacks in capital spending on universities and other educational building schemes; increased charges for school meals; and a series of cutbacks and price increases in the National Health Service. Alongside tax changes, the measures will also add 1% to prices by March 1978.

Particularly serious will be the impact of the cuts on employment. The *Observer* reported July 25 that as many as 170,000 jobs may be lost (in contrast to a figure of 60,000 admitted by Healey on July 22). Between 40,000 and 50,000 jobs will disappear in the construction industry alone, the *Observer* estimated.

The government has also launched a major drive to slash employment in the civil service itself, announcing July 29 that during the coming three years 46,000 civil service jobs would be axed.

The union bureaucracy was informed in advance of the cuts being planned, but they evidently assured Healey that no union response would be forthcoming. "The interesting thing about the whole exercise," the *Financial Times* noted July 16, "has been the ease with which the union leaders have been brought along. It has been a push-over."

On July 22, after Healey had revealed his package of cutbacks, TUC General Secretary Len Murray assured the government that the TUC recognised "the need to avoid any reaction which would make more difficult achievement of the Government's side of the jointly agreed programme of legislation."

The cutbacks, mounting unemployment, and wage controls are the price now being paid by British workers for their union misleaders' adherence to the "Social Contract," the class-collaborationist pact between the Labour government and the trade-union bureaucracy which is designed to boost British capitalism's profits at the expense of workers' living standards.

In fact, the union leaders' record of capitulation to the government's attacks was summed up in the last week of July by their re-endorsement of the Social Contract for three more years. On July 26, the Labour party-TUC Liaison Committee voted approval for a document outlining the next stage of the Social Contract, "The Next Three Years and the Problem of Priorities." As Murray explained after the vote: "We are keeping a watch on the Government in a spirit of cooperation, not in a hostile way." Two days later, this so-called Mark II of the Social Contract was ratified by the Labour party's National

Executive Committee (NEC) and the TUC General Council.

The *Tribune* group, a caucus of "left wing" Labour party members of Parliament, has also failed to mount any serious challenge to the government's course. Anthony Benn, the minister in Callaghan's cabinet who has tried hardest in recent years to cultivate a leftist image and who keeps in close touch with the *Tribune* wing of the party, carefully avoided attending the July 28 NEC meeting, which approved the revamped Social Contract—a move designed to avoid his being put on the spot in the vote. "Mr Michael Foot, however, another left-wing standard bearer, actually proposed acceptance of the new document," the *Guardian* reported July 29.

Most striking of all, not one Labour MP voted against Healey's July 22 package of cutbacks in Parliament.

The flabbiness of the *Tribune* "left" and the close collaboration between the trade union bureaucracy and the Labour government has been the secret of the Wilson and Callaghan administrations' success in ruling-class eyes. To a large extent, the Labour government has succeeded in exploiting the party's long historical ties with the unions to win acceptance of its anti-working-class policies. This is in sharp contrast with the experience of the 1970-74 Conservative government, whose anti-union and wage-control policies backfired badly, sparking a wave of militant working-class struggles.

One example of the Labour government's relative success over the Tories has been the big decline in strike action since Labour's election victory. According to Christian Tyler, writing in the *Financial Times* on August 16, "there were fewer strikes in the first half of this year than in any comparable period since 1953." Tyler went on to note that "even by the other measure—working days lost—it was the best result since 1967 and if the improving trend continues we may indeed be witnessing the most sustained fall in strike activity since World War II."

It is little wonder that most bourgeois press commentary is complimentary. In an article in the August 15 *London Sunday Times* entitled "Is the Social Revolution Over?" columnist Ronald Butt contrasted Labour's two and a half years of office with the previous "ten years" of "almost continuous political crisis." Noting "the collapse of the Heath government after its attempt to control the unions and their pay by law," Butt wrote:

"We have experienced episodes of industrial disorder, an economy undermined by strikes and the worst inflation and currency debasement since the 17th century. This has threatened to erupt into social and political disruptiveness of Weimar dimensions. As governments have failed to govern, we have at times had good reason to fear that as a nation we had become ungovernable."

But now under a Labour administration, Butt continued, "a rigorous economic policy has been accepted; strikes have for the moment all but disappeared." The minor concessions won by the unions have



London Sunday Times

CALLAGHAN

been overshadowed by the sacrifices forced upon them, Butt noted. "They [the unions] have obtained very little in exchange for an incomes policy which is of great symbolic significance to our overseas creditors—and very little for the acceptance of public spending cuts which inevitably have an adverse effect on both employment and the standards of the social services."

Nevertheless, the one question on which ruling-class commentators are reserving judgement is whether Callaghan's anti-labour offensive will be sufficient to restore the ailing British capitalist economy to health. The malaise is deep-rooted. Throughout the post-war boom, British capitalism slipped behind its rivals—a record symbolised by the exceptionally slow rate of increase of productivity in British industry, very low investment, falling profit rates, and a rapidly declining share of the world capitalist market. The world recession, with its seizing up of world trade, gave these underlying problems an explosive character.

Symptomatic of the crisis has been the prolonged flight from sterling. Since December 1971, the British pound has slid around 40% in value against other leading capitalist currencies. The decline took on

dramatic proportions in the three months of March-May this year when the pound was devalued by more than 15% to reach an all-time low of US\$1.71 on June 3. Government efforts to support the pound ate deep into Britain's international currency reserves, forcing eight members of the Group of Ten countries, the Bank for International Settlements, and Switzerland to announce (on June 7) a three-month standby credit of US\$5.3 billion.

A telling indicator of the depth of the underlying crisis has been the steady decline of profitability in British industry. "In the Bank of England Quarterly Bulletin in March," Walter Eltis wrote in the June 6 *Sunday Times*, "it was shown that the real, post-tax rate of return earned by British companies fell from between 7 and 9 per cent in the early 1960s to 3 to 4 per cent in 1973 and 1974. It is inconceivable that industry and commerce will raise investment to the level the country now needs with less than half the profits of the early 1960s."

Using another measure, the *London Times* spelt out the problem in an editorial July 1: "The starkest of all the facts about Britain's economic performance since 1960—a period when politicians became preoccupied as never before with industrial affairs—is that the rate of return on money invested in industry on a replacement cost basis has plunged from just below 15 per cent to 2.2 per cent."

Reversing this trend is what Labour's wage controls are about. The relaxation of price controls under the already-weak Price Code, announced June 30, has the same aim. The changes, which will push up retail prices by 1%, are designed to give £1 billion to capitalist firms.

The same is true of the public spending cuts. As the post-war boom began to falter in the seventies, the British government resorted to massive deficit financing (with a consequent take-off in the money supply and an inflationary explosion) to shore up British business. Central government borrowing shot up from £21 million in 1970-71 to £5.121 billion in 1974-75. Then, in 1975-76, it reached £8.806 billion.

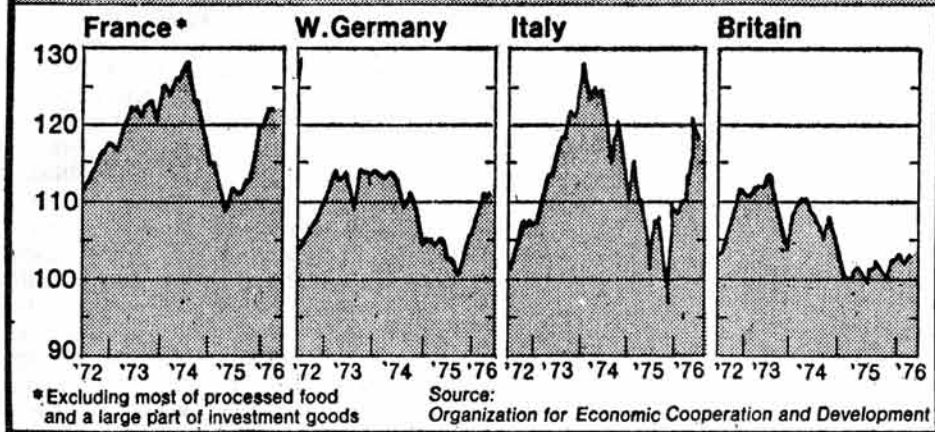
British firms' dependence on government hand-outs is now enormous, today's recipients ranging from the crisis-ridden auto giant British Leyland to Rolls-Royce and the shipbuilding industry. Now Babcock and Wilcox, the power-station equipment firm, is seeking government aid to keep afloat.

The other side of this huge increase in the budget deficit and government borrowing has been an inflation rate higher than that in most other imperialist countries—thus further eroding the competitiveness of British industry in world markets. So cuts in the "social wage" are inevitable if the Labour government is to reduce the budget deficit while channeling funds to industry.

At the same time, Labour's policies will keep unemployment very high until the end of the decade. Eltis put the problem in

## Industrial Production in Major European Countries

Monthly index, seasonally adjusted, 1970=100



New York Times

Industrial recovery in Britain lags far behind West European competitors.

historical perspective in his *Sunday Times* article. "The Government's expenditure controls are cutting employment in much of the public sector." But, he went on, "before the onset of the world recession, employment in industry was falling by 246,000 workers a year from 1966 to 1974, years when Britain was investing more in industrial job creation than she is today. If we continue to invest less than then, we can expect to lose even more than a quarter of a million industrial jobs a year. But we cannot afford this while losing public sector jobs as well."

The depth of the unemployment problem was revealed at a meeting of the National Economic Development Council, a joint government-TUC-CBI (Confederation of British Industry) forum, on August 4. At the meeting, Healey unveiled two "scenarios" of economic trends. The first, based on an extrapolation from past performance, would keep unemployment near its present very high rate. The second, "endorsed" by the meeting, projected a fall in unemployment—but assumed a massive increase in investment and a 5.5% growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in both 1977 and 1978. It would appear that Callaghan and Healey are banking on a strong upturn in the world economy and a consequent "export-led" boom to bring the desired scenario to life.

But in an article entitled "Don't Blink—You May Miss the Next Boom" in the August 29 *Sunday Times*, Professors Jim Ball and Terry Burns of the London Business School argued that even the first of the scenarios was optimistic. "The second scenario has been identified as an economic miracle—and miracles do not happen often. Our belief in the influence of past trends rather than amazing new developments is strengthened by the absence of a clear statement as to how the

industrial strategy is supposed to bring this about."

Ball and Burns continued: "there is little reason at present to expect the world recovery to continue fast enough to enable this to take place in the absence of further substantial improvement in competitiveness. US commentators are already pointing to the weakness of the American recovery given the low starting point and the growth rate in 1977 is expected to be down on 1976. Similar evidence is available for other countries and there appears also to be a long-term weakening of the post-war boom."

A spate of recent statistics confirms these points. The August 12 *Times* reported that Britain's industrial output rose only 0.6% in the second quarter. GDP in the second quarter rose only 0.75%, according to the August 18 *Financial Times*. In the same quarter, the *Times* reported on August 27, industry ran down its stocks by £198 million and investment slumped 1.5%. All these indicators point to Healey's worst scenario being utopian. In fact, Clive Jenkins, general secretary of the "white collar" union ASTMS [Association of Scientific, Technical, and Managerial Staffs], said September 1 that he expects unemployment to reach 2 million.

Ball and Burns believe that we are now in for a long period of high unemployment. "The very high levels of employment since the war," they argued, "have been the result of very high rates of investment." But, they continued, "the requirements for a successful investment climate are the necessary technical innovations and the profitability that goes with them, and in the 1950s and first part of the 1960s this is exactly what the industrial world experienced. Since then expansion has faltered and once again the spectre of dangerously high levels of unemployment is emerging."

The question arises: how long will British working people put up with sustained falls in real wages, very high unemployment, and cutbacks in social services? Acquiescence so far seems to have hinged partly on repeated government and TUC claims that "good times" are in store after a temporary period of sacrifices. This line of argument will become less convincing when the long-term character of the government's attacks becomes clearer to workers.

The potential for protest is obvious. Last May, student teachers occupied over 100 of Britain's 140 teacher training colleges—the most widespread student action in British history—when the government announced that 20,000 newly qualifying teachers would not find jobs on graduation. Union leaders are being forced to make at least verbal protests about the soaring unemployment, and local constituency Labour parties are forwarding protest resolutions on the cutbacks and unemployment for debate at the party's upcoming conference. Even some Labour-controlled municipal authorities are refusing to implement government-ordered cutbacks.

The first serious challenge to Phase Two may come from the 38,000 members of the National Union of Seamen. On August 13, the union's leadership decided to ballot its members—aboard 5,000 ships all over the world—on whether industrial action should be taken to back up a demand for a pay increase which both the government and the TUC claim violates the wage controls.

"Early returns from the National Union of Seamen's ballot on pay," the *Guardian* reported August 26, "indicate that most of the 38,000 members will favour industrial action.\* That would isolate them from the TUC, bring them into conflict with the Government, and sour relations with the managements."

A seamen's strike, if it takes place, could point the way forward to other groups of workers and herald a new wave of working-class struggle against the government's offensive.

September 2, 1976

\*A majority voted in favor of a strike, which was scheduled to begin September 11.—IP

### Wall-to-Wall Demonstrators

At an expense to taxpayers of \$3,100, California Governor Edmund Brown, Jr. has removed the carpet from the lobby of his Sacramento office and replaced it with a hard-finish acrylic wood floor.

In addition, sleeping bags, food, and drink have been banned in an effort to reduce the number and length of sit-ins protesting cutbacks in social services.



# Capitalism Fouls Things Up

## To Eat or Not to Eat

By Allen Myers

[The following article appeared in the September 2 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in Sydney, Australia.]

\* \* \*

Anyone for a strawberry sewage shake? Raw sewage, that is, not your relatively healthful processed sewage.

So far as I have been able to discover, there is no retailer in Australia who holds a licence to sell sewage for human consumption. But food inspectors who visited more than 100 take-away food shops in southern NSW [New South Wales] found that milk in some of the shops had a higher bacterial count than raw sewage. Eighty per cent of all the milk used for milkshakes was bad.

The inspectors, who visited Cooma, Bega, Goulburn, Wollongong, Nowra, and Young, discovered that 36 per cent of all the food they tested was contaminated. Milkshakes, hamburgers, and roast chicken were the most dangerous foods.

I was reading this information aloud to an acquaintance as we had lunch at a fast-food shop in Sydney. (Since I haven't seen any reports on food quality in Sydney, that must mean that the food inspectors have decided the food is so safe it's not even necessary to test it.) He thought over what I had read for a moment and then, gulping down another bite of his meat pie, said it just showed that we'd all be better off if we followed his example and became vegetarians.

I must have looked a little surprised at hearing someone advocate vegetarianism around a mouthful of meat pie, because my friend pulled out a copy of *Choice*, the magazine of the Australian Consumers Association, and showed me a report on meat pies. It seems that the Association tested 22 different brands of pies for meat content and found that many fell well below the legal requirement of being 25 per cent meat. My friend pointed to the name of the brand which he was eating, which tested out at 1.4 per cent meat, and said he figured that was lower than the meat content of most vegetables sold in Sydney if you remember to allow for the vegetables being mixed with things like insects,

animal droppings, and fingers of workers caught in picking machines.

But he hadn't read the article carefully enough. His vegetable meat pie actually consisted mostly of chemicals. I remembered having heard about the *Choice* study, so I paged through the article until I found the part where it explained how a pie that contained 1.4 per cent meat could pass the legal requirement of being 25 per cent meat. The way it works is that the test used doesn't measure meat at all; it measures nitrogen. So: "If a manufacturer wanted to save money and keep his pies legal, he has only to add a cheap non-toxic substance rich in nitrogen to satisfy current analytical procedures."

We spent a few minutes\* wondering whether the test used to determine non-toxicity was as effective as the test used to measure meat content, and then my friend suggested that we abandon the uneaten portion of our lunches and try the fish and chips shop across the road. But the proprietor of the shop in which we were seated had been doing his best to overhear our conversation, and he stopped us by pointing to a newspaper article framed on the wall.

The article was about Sintoo, a Siamese cat who lives—if he is still alive—in Hobart. Sintoo has been fed on a diet of fresh fish for the last two years, with the result that he now suffers convulsions, weak legs, uncontrollable quivering, and apparent brain damage. The cat has "Minamata disease"—chronic mercury poisoning, which killed at least 40 people in the Japanese city where the illness was first observed. Sintoo's blood has a mercury concentration high enough to kill a human being, even though the fish he eats show only the "usual" percentage of mercury. The scientist who studied Sintoo believes that some Australians already have Minamata disease but haven't realised it yet.

The problem with eating mercury is that your body isn't designed to get rid of it, so it just keeps accumulating. About the only way that scientists have so far discovered to get mercury out of an animal is to have the animal eaten by some other creature; this means that the only cure for human beings suffering from Minamata is to

poison a lion or a tiger, which is impractical in a country like Australia, which lacks large carnivores. (It wouldn't be fair to throw yourself to the sharks; they thought of it first and have been curing themselves for years by providing us with flake.)

At this point, I suggested that we might try eating dirt, having once read about the very poor in India surviving, more or less, in this fashion. But my friend quickly pointed out that the Government is spending some \$50 million a year to pay farmers \$12 a tonne superphosphate bounty; at that rate most of Australia must have been covered with superphosphate long ago and I might just as well go directly to the chemist and order a packet of my favorite chemicals for lunch.

We also considered the possibility of fasting completely, having heard that yogis often live for long periods without eating, but even they need water, which we figured out was probably just as "non-toxic" as a milkshake. So we finally decided on the only option left to us. We ate the newspaper articles. The lead in the ink wasn't very tasty, but it probably won't kill us as fast as the other alternatives. □

### Nothing to Worry About

"PCB (polychlorinated biphenyl) in amounts exceeding tolerance levels is still found in the milk of 23% of mothers here [Japan], though its production was banned in 1972. This fact was discovered in a Health and Welfare Ministry nationwide survey made last summer. The survey also found excessive amounts of DDT in the milk of 72% of the mothers examined, though DDT was banned in 1971. Some amount of both chemicals was found in the milk of all mothers. The survey also found 'tolerable' amounts of methyl mercury—the cause of the dreaded Minamata Disease—in 39% of those surveyed (the use of methyl mercury was banned in 1969). The Central Child Welfare Council claimed that the health of mothers and children has not been endangered by these chemicals, and advised the mothers to continue nursing."—*New Asia News Notes*, June 25.



## Chapter 21

# The Chicago Democratic Party Convention Demonstrations

By Fred Halstead

[Second of two parts]

Some of the action was later described in the Walker report:

"A part of the crowd was trapped in front of the Conrad Hilton and pressed hard against a big plate-class window of the Haymarket Lounge. A reporter who was sitting inside said, 'Frightened men and women banged . . . against the window, that it might get knocked in. As I backed away a few feet I could see a smudge of blood on the glass outside.'

"With a sickening crack, the window shattered, and screaming men and women tumbled through, some cut badly by jagged glass. The police came after them.

"I was pushed through by the force of large numbers of people,' one victim said. 'I got a deep cut on my right leg, diagnosed later as a severed artery. . . . I fell to the floor of the bar. There were 10 to 20 people who had come through. . . . I could not stand on the leg. It was bleeding profusely.

"A squad of policemen burst into the bar, clubbing all those who looked to them like demonstrators."

The report described the beating by police outside the Hilton of a youth who looked about fifteen years old, and then continued:

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"A well-dressed woman saw this incident and spoke angrily to a nearby police captain. As she spoke, another policeman came up from behind her and sprayed something in her face with an aerosol can. He then clubbed her to the ground. He and two other policemen then dragged her along the ground to the same paddy wagon and threw her in."<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile Dellinger and the group he was with had finally made it to the street in front of the Hilton. He remembers the scene as follows:

"As I approached, several vans came up a side street and unloaded police reinforcements. The new arrivals jumped out of the vans and charged into the crowd, swinging their clubs and chanting, 'Kill, kill, kill.'

"We had no sound system capable of reaching the crowd, no plan of action, no training of marshals (most of whom were scattered, arrested, or bleeding from previous assaults) adequate for the occasion. All day long I had felt betrayed by the absence of most of the movement's pacifist leadership, some of whom had stayed away from Chicago altogether, some of whom had engaged in a small, separatist 'pacifist action' the day before, aloof from the major dynamics of the week's struggle. Meanwhile a number of the more vocal, visible leaders had been arguing for several hours that 'This is the end of nonviolence in America. It simply won't work anymore.' I felt completely defeated by the situation, incapable of doing anything useful.

"I shall never forget the spontaneous actions of the demonstrators. Of course, some rocks flew and some fists went into action in attempts to ward off the attackers—desperate acts of angry self-defense. But mainly the protestors parried the blows while retreating slowly and in remarkably good order, then surged forward again as each police attack momentarily spent itself. . . . It took a long time to push us back, to clear the streets for a couple of blocks. And when the streets were finally cleared and lined with police, the demonstrators were still there, massed on the grass across from the hotels, chanting antiwar slogans, singing movement songs, shouting to the delegates."<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile, back at the convention, Humphrey had been nominated, McCarthy defeated, and a number of the delegates had returned to their hotels, only to become swept up in the melee around the Hilton.

Mayor Daley would later complain that his administration and the Chicago police did not get sympathetic press and TV coverage from their actions of Wednesday night.

On Thursday, August 29, a crowd of some 5,000 gathered in the strip to park opposite the Hilton for another rally sponsored by National Mobe. According to the original schedule this was to have been a "massive People's Assembly to project the directions and tasks"<sup>9</sup> which were supposed to have developed out of the workshops and activities of the week. But McCarthy turned out to be the principal speaker.

Formally, the National Mobe rally was adjourned before McCarthy was introduced, but neither the major media nor the bulk of the crowd drew the fine distinction. The crowd gave McCarthy a standing ovation, and he emerged as the martyr of the hour.

After McCarthy spoke, another attempt was made to march to the Amphitheatre. This time some 2,000 people led by Dick Gregory and Eric Weinberger, as well as a number of accredited delegates to the convention, made it as far as Michigan Avenue and Eighteenth Street where they were stopped by police and National Guard units. Only delegates would be allowed beyond this point, they were told.

About twenty-five of the delegates, including columnist Murray Kempton, removed their badges, moved forward with Gregory and some fifty others, and submitted to arrest. Then police and guardsmen tear-gassed the rest of the crowd and chased it north, back toward the Hilton and Grant Park, where sporadic demonstrating and attacks by the police and National Guard continued until early morning.

About 5:00 a.m. Friday, police raided a suite on an upper floor of the Hilton rented by John Kenneth Galbraith and others and used as a McCarthy headquarters. (The cops claimed that ever since Wednesday night people in the hotel had been throwing ashtrays, beer cans, and other things out the windows at them, and that they had pinpointed this suite as a source of such missiles.) The last of the demonstrators were leaving the street by 8:30 in the

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8. Dave Dellinger, *More Power Than We Knew* (New York: Anchor Press, 1975), p. 186.

9. *Mobilizer*, August 15, 1968.

7. *Life*, December 6, 1968.

morning. The Chicago Democratic Party demonstrations were over.

Some 660 people had been arrested in connection with the actions, probably over 1,000 injured, and one killed. He was Dean Johnson, a seventeen-year-old Native American from South Dakota who was in Old Town when the police made a sweep. He allegedly drew a gun on them and was shot down.

\* \* \*

There was enormous publicity around these demonstrations, both in the United States and worldwide. Millions of people watched the police attack at the Hilton Wednesday night on TV. Some twenty-two newsmen, including reporters from such prestigious media as Associated Press, United Press, the *Washington Post*, and *Business Week*, accused the police of assaulting them, and in the early reports at least, the Daley administration did not get a good press. Daley himself played an important role in the convention, and the controlling machine within the Democratic Party came off with a black eye.

An article in the *Chicago Daily News* declared: "The antiwar 'movement' came to Chicago, hoping to establish in the public's mind, that the nation's ruling party is plagued by a militaristic over-reaction—at home and abroad.

"And while their heads are bloodied, they may have succeeded—with an unexpected boost from Mayor Richard J. Daley and the Chicago police.

"The 'medium became the message' as their threats of massive demonstrations against militarism elicited the largest display of military force in the history of political conventions. Even the TV commentators and liberal delegates have dubbed this convention city a 'police state.'"<sup>10</sup>

In that sense the leadership of the action counted it a victory, and were at first euphoric. Not for nothing did Rubin have a reputation for exploiting the publicity media. But the antiwar movement itself was in something of a shambles, badly divided, and that part of it which had organized this action soon entered a prolonged crisis.

Years later Dellinger would write: "Despite the small turnout for the convention protests, the government partially saved us when it decided to withhold permits and to turn loose the Chicago police. . . .

"There was a limit, however, to how far a repressive government and rampaging police could save a movement that was as divided and confused as we were. They could save us from immediate public embarrassment, even cause a temporary outpouring of sympathy in our behalf, but they could not heal our internal wounds. In practice they exacerbated them. They helped create a movement mystique of revolutionary derring-do and heroic street encounters as goals in themselves. This polarized the movement around the question of street violence and gradually led to a tragic separation between the organized movement and large sections of the antiwar public. Although the immediate result of the Chicago police riots was to increase antiwar sentiment, the long-run effect was to make it more difficult for that sentiment to express itself in an organized, effective fashion."<sup>11</sup>

When Dellinger speaks here of "a tragic separation between the organized movement and large sections of the antiwar public," he is—consciously or not—referring to only a part of the "organized movement," the part that at the time of Chicago he considered most important. This included the de facto current leadership of National Mobe, a group of graduate SDSers, and the current SDS leadership and milieu. All these were deeply involved in the Chicago actions.

When Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden set up the Chicago

operation they enlisted the efforts of a number of graduate SDSers, including Kathy Boudin, John Froines, Carol Glassman, Vernon Grizzard, Paul Potter, Jeff Shero, and Lee Webb. Much of the work involved in the Chicago actions was done by this force. Carl Oglesby also played a certain role through the SDS national office, for which he still worked. The SDS national office at first opposed the demonstrations, but in the end it did mobilize people to participate.

The new SDS leadership, elected at the East Lansing convention in June, included Mike Klonsky as national secretary and Bernardine Dohrn as inter-organizational secretary. Both had recently announced themselves as "revolutionaries."

The SDS national office at first opposed the Chicago actions, in part because it rejected antiwar demonstrations and in part because it rejected McCarthy and electoral politics in general. But as the demonstrations approached, the SDS leadership became attracted, precisely because the publicity of confrontation was building. They decided to mobilize several hundred SDSers to come to Chicago as organizers to try to recruit among the large number of McCarthy youth expected to attend. They set up several workshops, the largest in the Old Town area, and found themselves in the thick of the confrontations when they occurred. They were enraptured by the whole experience, particularly by the fact that a certain number of ordinary Black and white Chicago youth, looking for adventure or angered at the police riot in their haunts, became involved in the street fighting.

The SDS leaders exaggerated this and drew the most romanticized conclusions from it. At the Grant Park rallies both Mike Klonsky and Jeff Jones, a leader of the New York regional office, declared that a new revolutionary force had been tapped and the way to organize it was to get into more such street action. The September 9 issue of *New Left Notes* carried a wall poster which made the same point, along with an outline of street fighting techniques, and even suggested that it might be possible to expose the national election the way they felt they had succeeded in exposing the Democratic Party convention.

At the time, Dellinger himself considered the Chicago demonstrations to be a victory, though he noted and warned against a tendency among some of the leading participants to draw conclusions that were deeply disturbing to him.

"We came off well in Chicago," he wrote shortly after the events. "It was a clear-cut victory because the police acted abominably and our people showed courage, aggressiveness and a proper sense of values. But if street fighting breaks out when the police are restrained and if we act contemptuously of other people's rights, the sentiments of those who should be our allies could turn against us. More important, we will begin to lose sight of our objectives and develop a Movement style that attracts lovers of violence rather than lovers of justice and brotherhood. . . .

"There is of course a delicate line to be drawn here. The war makers would like nothing better than to carry on 'business as usual,' challenged only by token dissent and static demonstrations. . . . But to be effective, disruption and disorder must be discriminating and purposeful."<sup>12</sup>

Once again we come to the problem that Dellinger had wrestled with in the Pentagon march and which still occupied much of his attention. He rejected the mass action approach of the SMC as "token" and "static." Perhaps he did not agree that under the given circumstances, demonstrations had to be orderly to be massive. But in any case he considered the mass aspect to be less important than the disruption, and tended to sacrifice the one for the other. He viewed the SDS milieu, which was attracted to disruption, to be very important.

But to that milieu the "delicate line" essential to Dellinger's disruptive nonviolence was becoming more and more difficult to draw. What was involved here on the movement side was not real violence. There was very little of that during or even after Chicago. What was involved was provocative rhetoric and

10. *Chicago Daily News*, August 29, 1968.

11. Dellinger, *More Power Than We Knew*, p. 125.

12. *Liberation*, October 1968.

romantic fantasies about reliving in the modern United States the guerrilla warfare experiences of some colonial revolutions. Thus removed from reality, a "movement style" of escalating rhetoric developed which fed on itself, contributing to a more and more sectarian syndrome.

Dellinger tried to counter this after his fashion, but in my view he had a fantasy of his own. In his October 1968 article analyzing the Chicago events he said:

"Our aim is to destroy power, dissipate it, decentralize it, democratize it if you will. This process must begin here and now in the organizations and institutions which we set up as training centers and pilot projects for the new society."<sup>13</sup> As if the time had come for pure anarchy. Unfortunately this approach was far more effective in dissolving the authority of the National Mobilization Committee than that of the government. Dellinger's concept of democracy did not include the formalities, and his concept of struggle did not include organizational discipline. What materialized in life was the transformation of the National Mobilization Committee from a broad coalition into a name used by a self-appointed group of prominent figures with an organizational norm of do-your-own-thing.

Dellinger attempted to influence the SDS milieu by accommodating to its mood, and by having National Mobe call actions designed to attract SDS toward nonviolent resistance. It didn't work. The denouement would unwind in the course of the next year and would not be without its element of tragedy. But all this concerned only a part of the organized movement.

\* \* \*

Other parts of the antiwar movement drew different conclusions from the Chicago actions. Lew Jones commented in a report to a joint SWP-YSA meeting:

"It's important to see this demonstration [Chicago] in the context of the history of the struggle within the antiwar movement for a line. . . . There are essentially two alternative lines before the antiwar movement. Our line says that around two or three simple themes, such as end the war, bring the GIs home now, the movement should go out and mobilize people into mass actions in the streets. The other line, which Dellinger has more and more deepened and tried to organize around, is the idea that what is necessary is to get small brigades of youth, confront armed authority, by doing that expose the real nature of the system, and by doing that masses of people are influenced. It's the so-called spark theory. That's what was really involved in this demonstration. . . .

"Now, what do we say to people about this demonstration? First, we condemn the Daley machine up and down for being brutal, suppressing every notion of civil liberties with the most brutal police methods. Secondly, we solidarize with those youth there on their civil liberties. But. . . more of these kinds of demonstrations are not going to radicalize people. On the contrary, it will have a demoralizing effect and it will turn out to be a self-fulfilling prophecy about repression in this country."<sup>14</sup>

The Student Mobilization Committee held a conference in Chicago on August 31-September 1, immediately after the Democratic Party convention demonstrations. Only about 300 youth were present. A significant number of these were former McCarthy supporters, some of them nursing wounds from police attacks of the previous week. None of the major radical groups outside the YSA were present. This showed the effect of the walkout from the SMC as well as the general state of disarray of the organized antiwar movement after the Chicago demonstrations.

13. Ibid.

14. Report on the Democratic Party Convention Demonstration to a joint meeting of the SWP and YSA in New York, September 4, 1968, by Lew Jones. (Copy in author's files.)

The conference called for fall antiwar actions the week of October 21-27 with mass demonstrations on October 26. This timing was set, partly because groups in other countries had already scheduled activities against the war in Vietnam in that period. The most significant of these were to be in Japan, where a number of Japanese peace groups and the major trade union federation, SOHYO, had called for an antiwar strike on October 21, and England, where the British Vietnam Solidarity Campaign was preparing for a mass demonstration on October 27.

Linda Morse appeared at the workshop where this proposal was discussed. On behalf of the National Mobilization Committee office she requested that specific dates not be set for the fall actions. National Mobe would be meeting in a few weeks she said, and it would be better to wait to set dates at that meeting. The conference adopted the call anyway, with the proviso that the SMC would give serious attention to any proposals that came out of the National Mobe meeting.

The SMC conference reflected optimism in spite of the organizational difficulties. It was obvious that antiwar sentiment in the country as a whole had never been greater. For the first time, a panel of active-duty GIs and recent veterans was part of the program and the whole conference discussed for several hours the problem of effective approaches to GIs by the antiwar movement. The panel included Pvt. Steve Dash, Sp/2 Sherman Sitrin, Howard Petrick, and Vietnam veterans Ron Alexander and Bob Wilkinson.

The fall action proposal emphasized the growing antiwar sentiment and activity among GIs and declared: "The GIs are an important ally for the movement, have a constitutional right to oppose the war in words and deeds, have more reason than anyone else to oppose the war, and can be reached and won over to an antiwar position. . . . The fight for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, against the draft, against campus complicity with the war and in solidarity with American soldiers can be built on an unprecedented scale."<sup>15</sup>

The conference also moved the national office of the SMC from New York to Chicago. The move was precipitated by the fact that the SMC had been told to leave the office space it shared with the New York Parade Committee. Part of the majority that voted this demand did so because they supported the walkout; others because they just didn't want to be involved in the tensions around the split. The New York SMC continued to be represented on the Parade Committee, but the incident was another indication of the coldness the SMC now faced from much of the organized radical milieu. A few prominent figures, however, demonstratively supported the SMC. Dr. Otto Nathan, Ruth Gage-Colby, who was the United Nations correspondent of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Harlem attorney Florynce Kennedy signed a special SMC fund appeal.

The program adopted by the SMC conference was not designed to accommodate to the concerns of the radical milieu as such and least of all to the latest fashion in SDS. It was designed to appeal to, and mobilize, the increasing antiwar sentiment in the general youth population. The organizational limitations and isolation now imposed on the SMC, however, would make it impossible to accomplish more than a bare beginning in that direction in the course of the fall actions.

A Chicago-area working committee was set up and the conference approved four staff members: Syd Stapleton, Tom Kozden, Howard Petrick, and Michael Maggi. All but Kozden were also members of the YSA, not because the YSA wanted it that way, but because nobody else would take on the job. One of the first projects the new Chicago SMC office threw itself into was helping to mount a mass demonstration in Chicago within a month to protest the police suppression of dissent, and to reestablish the right to demonstrate against the war.

The Chicago Peace Council had supported the convention demonstrations but was only nominally involved in their

15. SMC Working Committee Action Proposal, August 30, 1968. (Copy in author's files.)

leadership. Immediately afterward, however, the National Mobe office was more or less inoperative from a combination of exhaustion and euphoria, SDS was fantasizing about organizing street gangs into guerrillas, and a lot of the cleanup fell to the Peace Council. Sylvia Kushner, an old-time CPer who was the central person on the Peace Council staff, made sure lawyers were found, bail was put up, transportation arranged for people stranded without funds, and so on. Kushner and others on the Peace Council understood that armies that leave their wounded lying around the battlefield undermine their own morale. Moreover, the Peace Council was going to have to continue operating in Chicago.

There was widespread feeling in antiwar and civil liberties circles in Chicago that the movement had to reassert the right to demonstrate as soon as possible. A series of informal meetings were held involving Kushner; Max Primack, also of the Peace Council; Michael Maggi and other SMC staffers; Sid Lens; and representatives of an ad hoc group called Citizens for a Free Chicago. This last was largely composed of civil libertarians and dissident Democrats interested in political reform in Chicago. These meetings planned a demonstration for September 28 which was built on the themes of withdrawal from Vietnam and opposition to police repression of dissent. The demands included

amnesty for all those arrested in connection with the convention demonstrations.

Primack announced that the sponsors were applying for a permit to proceed down Michigan Avenue to a rally in Grant Park across from the Hilton, that the affair would be orderly, and that they would march permit or no. The permit was granted.

Speakers included representatives of the Peace Council, the SMC, Vets for Peace, civil liberties and civil rights groups, the Black Panther Party, and political reformers. Neither the Chicago National Mobe office nor SDS bothered to build this demonstration. The National Mobilization Committee was represented among the speakers by Sid Lens, who was still one of its cochairmen, and also active on the Peace Council.

Twenty-five thousand people participated in this demonstration, the largest antiwar gathering yet in Chicago. The crowd was overwhelmingly young, but included people in business suits, parents with children, nuns, priests, and even a few soldiers, sailors, and marines. The cops were on their good behavior that day, and the whole affair was without violence or arrests. It did not, of course, receive the avalanche of publicity of the events a month previous.

[Next chapter: The First Counterinaugural and the Demise of the National Mobilization Committee]

## Maoris, Feminists Greet SWP Vice-Presidential Candidate

# Thousands in New Zealand Hear Willie Mae Reid

By Tony Lane

WELLINGTON—Several hundred thousand New Zealanders learned of Willie Mae Reid's arrival for a seven-day tour when she appeared on an hour-long television talk show here July 24.

Reid, the Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president of the United States, was a featured guest on "Edwards on Saturday," the country's top current affairs programme. The previous week's guest had been Prime Minister Robert Muldoon.

In addition, more than 1,000 persons heard Reid speak at meetings across the country, and many more learned about the American socialist's views through press and radio interviews.

Reid was welcomed at special receptions in Wellington and Auckland that were among the most successful meetings ever held by the tour organizers—the Socialist Action League and the Young Socialists.

Her meetings at the universities in Wellington, Christchurch, and Auckland each drew about 200 persons. Speaking on "The U.S. Elections in the Aftermath of Watergate," she focused on the way the CIA and FBI are becoming exposed before the American people. Many students heard for the first time about the Socialist Workers party's \$37 million lawsuit against government spying on political activists, and the tens of thousands of pages of secret documents it has forced the government to make public.

Reid's record as an activist in the

women's movement and the Black movement attracted great interest in the tour among feminists and Maori activists.

Speakers at the Wellington reception included Marijke Robinson of the Women's Electoral Lobby, who noted that it was a refreshing change to be able to welcome a woman political leader from another country.

At the reception in Auckland, Jill Presland welcomed Reid on behalf of the Women's Centre and added: "It is important for the people of New Zealand to be reminded that the struggle for women's liberation is part of a powerful overseas movement. . . . I would like to congratulate the Young Socialists on bringing to New Zealand so many overseas feminists, and in particular, for arranging for Willie Mae to come."

Throughout the tour, Maori activists made particular efforts to meet and talk with Reid. The Maori people of New Zealand, the native inhabitants, have been denied full rights to their own land and language. Along with the many Pacific Island people who have come to New Zealand in search of work, they face racist discrimination in housing, education, and employment.

The feeling of solidarity between these activists and the Black movement in the United States was given expression in the Maori songs of welcome that were sung for Reid at the receptions.

Mira Szaszy, dominion president of the Maori Women's Welfare League, spoke at the Auckland reception, which also heard greetings from Nga Tamatoa (Young Warriors) and Te Matakite o Aotearoa, the Maori group that organized a 700-mile land-rights march last year. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 17, 1975, p. 1579.)

At a campus meeting in Christchurch, Matthew Atkinson of Nga Tamatoa made a welcoming speech in Maori and then told the students to listen closely to what Reid had to say because it was directly relevant to New Zealand.

Reid's views on the relationship between racism and sexism were of particular interest, for many Maori activists are coming to realize the need to raise women's issues as well as the issues of land rights, language, and racist mistreatment at the hands of the police and courts.

There was also great interest in discussing why she had joined a socialist organization, and in the stress she placed on oppressed peoples organizing independently to fight for self-determination.

The tour received good press coverage, with the Christchurch *Star* featuring Reid's picture on the front page and publication of a large article in the Christchurch *Press*. Reid was also interviewed by four radio stations, the *Sunday Times*, the feminist magazine *Broadsheet*, and the *New Zealand Listener*, the national television magazine. □

# Selections From the Left

## **klasse-** **kampen**

*"Class Struggle," published monthly in Copenhagen by the Revolutionary Socialist League, Danish section of the Fourth International.*

In the September issue, the editors announce that beginning December 1, *Klassekampen* will be published fortnightly. At the same time, they announce the start of a campaign to collect 40,000 crowns (approximately US\$6,600) to finance the expansion of the paper, as well as one to increase its subscription base by 500.

The campaigns were approved at an August 28-29 meeting of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist League:

"During the summer months, a committee worked on plans for this campaign, for the expansion of the paper, and on the business arrangements for the first six months. It was on the basis of this committee's report that the Central Committee made its decision.

"Two observations were decisive. The first was that there has been an increasing demand for more frequent and up-to-date socialist solutions. . . . The second is that there has been an expansion of the Revolutionary Socialist League in the past period. The organization is now present with concrete answers in more areas of the society than ever before. . . . On the basis of our experience in political work in the unions, housing struggles, in the women's movement, and in many other areas of work, we will be able to produce a lively paper to fight exploitation and oppression and to campaign for socialism."

## **An** **Phoblacht**

*"The Republic," weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the Provisional republican movement. Published in Dublin.*

The August 30 issue comments on the Dublin government's proposal for introducing a state of emergency and suspending constitutional rule, a proposal that was voted by the Irish parliament on September 1;

"The first indication that the 'new legislation' was on the way in the Twenty-Six Counties was the bragging and boasting of members of the secret police, when political enemies of the Leinster House regime were being taken in for questioning, some six months ago, that soon

powers would be available to hold them for seven days.

"The first or second day they could be beaten up and otherwise tortured. By the end of the seven days few visible signs of their ordeal would remain as evidence in any court of law.

"The next indication came when it was reported to the Republican movement that the Leinster House authorities intended to 'close *An Phoblacht* and Kevin Street' [the Provisional headquarters]. Since then the main provisions of the 'new legislation' have been leaked, right, left and centre, to soften the impact of official publication, lest the shock be too great for the patient."

The editorial continues: "As we go to press we have not analysed in detail the 'new legislation' nor received a report from a senior counsel. But we understand enough of the general scope to see clearly the intent. . . .

"History tends to repeat itself and, on occasions, even to parody itself. What we have before us would seem a parody of the 'twenties [the crushing of the radical wing of the independence movement in the 1921-22 civil war and later repression].

"It remains for us to point out that, certainly since 1970, the Republican Movement, embracing all its elements without exception, never has attempted to present anything more than a legitimate political challenge to the Dublin regime.

"No plan or conspiracy has even been hinted at on the part of the Republican Movement to indicate the slightest physical danger to the Twenty-Six Counties state set up by the 1921 'Treaty.'

"The state's political police and their masters are well and truly informed that the militants of the north-east and their helpers elsewhere are bound by a standing order prohibiting them from military resistance to the forces of the Twenty-Six Counties. This has been illustrated adequately over the years by the surrender of armed men to unarmed Gardai [police]. The challenge in the Twenty-Six Counties has remained political, a legitimate opposition in bourgeois 'democracy'.

"Henceforth, will it be considered 'incitement' to advocate the end of British rule, direct and indirect, in any part of Ireland?

"To object to and comment on political and other alliances throughout Ireland which result in the perpetuation of such rule?

"To advocate the traditional alternative? To publish and explain the 1916 Proclamation [the Irish declaration of independence]? To honour those who seek to honour that Proclamation in their life—and death—styles?

"Will it become illegal—as 'incitement'—

once again to sing 'The Peeler and the Goat' or 'Táimse in Chodladh is ná Dúistear Mé' or 'Príosún Chluain Meala,' 'Kevin Barry,' 'Seán Sabhat,' 'My Name is Peter Cleary' or 'Old Mother England Loves Us Still?'"

## **Independência** **Operária**

*"Working-class Independence," a monthly socialist information bulletin for the workers and student movements. Published in Brazil.*

A meeting of about 4,000 persons was held in São Paulo June 20 to protest the cost of living, low wages, horrible living conditions in poor neighborhoods, and lack of government response to the demands of the Brazilian people, the July-August issue reports. This was the first time a meeting of such a size and character had taken place in seven years.

The conference, which had been called by the Parish Mothers Clubs of the Southern Region agreed to fight for four demands:

- A 25 percent emergency wage increase for all workers.
- A price freeze.
- The formation of people's cooperatives.
- The right to use the millions of dollars borrowed for the Ibiúna airport construction for improvements in the poor neighborhoods.

## **la verdad** \$ .15 Anál. - No. 1 Mét. - Mr. 1978 PERIÓDICO AL SERVIDOR DE LOS TRABAJADORES

*"Truth," published six times a year in Río Piedras, Puerto Rico. Presents the views of the Internationalist Workers League.*

In the August-September issue, Antonio Merle explains why the Internationalist Workers League is calling for critical support to the Puerto Rican Socialist party (PSP) in the November elections.

The PSP is providing the only alternative independent of the bourgeois parties, Merle points out.

"Critical support means that although we recognize that the PSP program defends some immediate demands of the working class and fights for socialism, the program is deficient because it does not present a set of demands that begin with the immediate needs of the workers and mobilize them in the fight for socialism. One example of this is the lack of any alternative proposal from the PSP to mobilize the unemployed in their fight for jobs."

Merle notes, "Unemployment is one of the working class's main problems. A worker can lose his job at any time, not to speak of the fact that he knows there are six or seven more persons waiting for the same job. We say that the workers must begin to fight, to mobilize and organize to demand a sliding scale of hours of work. This means that the capitalists and the government must divide the existing work among all workers available for employment, reducing the workday without reducing the wages paid."

Referring to the PSP's governmental proposal, Merle concludes, "We should not wait for the arrival of the Democratic Workers Republic before we begin to struggle for the demand, 'Jobs for All!'"

## rouge

"Red," Revolutionary Communist daily, published in Paris.

In the September 5 issue, Sacha Blumkine describes the case of rock musicians threatened with long prison terms in Czechoslovakia for "negative behavior contributing to the demoralization of youth."

On March 17, nineteen persons were arrested in connection with rock concerts in a youth club near Plzen. Three of these—Karel Havelka, Miroslav Skalicky, and Frantisek Starek—were found guilty of allowing fourteen nonconformist musicians to perform publicly. On July 6, the first two were sentenced to thirty-six months in prison, and the third to eight months.

Two rock groups were involved. One called itself "DG-307," a code used in psychiatric diagnosis to denote nervous depression for "social reasons." The other called itself "Plastic People of the Universe," from a song including the following verse:

"The sunset is magnificent. But the plastic people don't see it. They see only one thing. One thing is magnificent in their eyes, this plastic people in the underground."

These groups were not allowed to perform publicly because they refused to take the examinations required for certification as musicians, including tests in musical notation that must be submitted in ten copies. They were described by the authorities as composed of "a few failed students, a graduate of the philosophy department, a former priest, individuals who often change their jobs and seek to distinguish themselves only by their primitive vulgarity."

In an article on the anniversary of Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, the August 21 issue of the Italian CP daily *l'Unità* raised a protest against this persecution of musicians. Following this, despite bitter recriminations, the Prague

authorities reduced Havelka and Skalicky's sentences by half and released them on bail. They commuted Starek's term.

The "normalized" bureaucracy's response to the Italian CP's protest showed, Blumkine pointed out, how "sensitive the bureaucrats are to positions taken in the workers movement and particularly in the Communist movement."

## LOKAKUU

"October," weekly newspaper of the Marxist-Leninist Movements. Published in Helsinki, Finland.

The September 1 issue concentrates on the theme that the "Soviet social imperialists" are trying to draw Finland into an aggressive military alliance. The editorial concludes:

"Finnish foreign policy is in an impasse. Our neutrality has been surrendered, and the Finnish bourgeoisie has succumbed to the growing pressure of an imperialist superpower. In peacetime, Finland acts as an errand boy, spreading dangerous illusions in international politics about a 'détente'; in the event of war it is assigned the role of ally of an aggressive imperialism seeking a new partition of the world."

A background article charges that the Soviet Union changed the nature of its relations with Finland at the end of the 1950s, when it intervened as an "imperialist" power in two crises in the country's domestic politics.

"The night chills' and the note crisis constituted turning points in the relations between the Soviet Union and Finland, reflecting primarily the transformation of the Soviet Union into a social imperialist state, whose guiding line in foreign policy was not proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence but chauvinist great-power politics and striving for hegemony. For Finland these two crises represented the destruction of the bases of its foreign policy, the restriction of its sovereignty and the right of self-determination, and the beginning of the end of its neutrality. Finland began to be 'Finlandized.'"

## Internationalen

"The International," central organ of the Communist Workers League, Swedish section of the Fourth International. Published weekly in Stockholm.

The September 3 issue notes a rush by Swedish capitalists to make profitable deals with the new Angolan government in Luanda.

"Volvo is going to deliver 950 trucks. This deal involves 110 million Swedish crowns [1 Swedish crown equals US\$ 0.2284] The PK Bank is lending the money against a guarantee by the Swedish state.

"Scania is selling 450 trucks for the sum of 90 million crowns.

"Beijerinvest is buying 400,000 tons of low-sulfur oil, the entire production of

Luanda's oil refineries, for 120 million crowns.

"Sahléns, Petro-Swede, and Beijerinvest are discussing oil prospecting and drilling. Gränges is discussing exporting iron ore and mining. Mo och Domsjö is discussing forestry development and exporting timber. LM Ericsson is discussing a project to take over expanding the entire Angolan telecommunications system. Swetel is discussing setting up a shortwave network for administrative purposes. Viak is discussing taking care of Angola's water supply problems. (Data from the August 31 issue of *Arbetet*.)"

*Internationalen* comments:

"When Palme supported the MPLA in Angola, he invested in the future for Swedish business. And now Swedish businessmen are rushing to take advantage of this market. Volvo, Scania, Beijer, and LM are all determined not to let go of such a market and source of raw materials.

"And these firms have the lead over the capitalists of other countries precisely because the Palme government supported the MPLA.

"But south of Angola, lies South Africa. Broad social struggles are going on there. Almost every day, the Black population demonstrates against oppression and the apartheid policy.

"Many Swedish businesses operate in South Africa. They earn big profits and are protected by the Vorster regime's repression of the great majority of the population.

"An action of real solidarity with the struggle in South Africa today would be for the government to order all Swedish businesses to leave South Africa and stop all Swedish investment in that country.

## was tun

"What Is To Be Done," weekly paper of the International Marxist Group. Published in Frankfurt, West Germany.

The September 2 issue reports that on August 26 the Federal Electoral Committee certified the German Trotskyist group as a recognized political party. This decision is a major step toward gaining ballot status for the October 3 legislative elections. Some years ago, a Maoist group was disqualified on "constitutional" grounds.

Following the decision of the Federal Electoral Committee, the Trotskyists cannot be ruled "anticonstitutional" by the Interior Ministries of the federal government or the states. Only a decision by the Supreme Court could rule them off the ballot on constitutional grounds.

*Was Tun* also reports that the International Marxist Group has collected more than the required signatures to put all of its individual candidates and statewide slates on the ballot.

Statewide slates are being presented in Hamburg, Baden-Württemberg, and Nordrhein-Westfalen.

# AROUND THE WORLD



## Italian Neo-Fascist Bombers 'Banished' to Resort Island

Two neo-Fascists who had bombed a Milan bank in 1969 were sent to reside on a resort island off the Italian coast September 7. Giovanni Ventura and Franco Freda had been jailed but had never been tried for the bombing, which caused sixteen deaths and was intended to appear to be the work of anarchists.

Their release from jail a few days prior to their banishment to Giglio was protested on the basis that they were escaping punishment for their crime. In addition, the residents of Giglio demonstrated against their being sent to live on the island, forcing Italian authorities to fly them there under heavy guard.

## Demonstration in Corsica for Imprisoned Union Leader

Several hundred persons took part in a demonstration September 7 in Ajaccio, Corsica, to demand freedom for Jacques Fieschi.

Fieschi, president of Strada Corsa, the island's teamsters union, has been sentenced to six months in prison for a protest August 30 in which he used his tractor-trailer to block traffic.

The action, which prevented access to a car ferry linking the island to mainland France, was intended to dramatize the difficulty Corsican truckers have in obtaining space on the ferry. The day of the protest all available space had been reserved for tourist vehicles and French trucking firms.

## Danish Women's Festival a Big Success

The Women's Festival in Denmark in mid-August drew up to 40,000 participants, *Klassekampen*, the newspaper of the Danish Trotskyists, reported in its September issue. The gathering was organized by the radical feminist Red Stockings Movement. It was supported by a wide range of women's groupings, including the Self-Help Groups (which offer advice on medical problems); the Danish Women's Society; Thilderne, a radical faction within the former group; the League of Democratic Women of Denmark; and the women of the People's Socialist party, the Revolutionary Socialist League (Danish section of the Fourth International), and the Left Socialists.

"The festival was marked by extraordinarily diverse activities," Anette Wolthers

wrote in *Klassekampen*. "Something was always going on—big scenes with speakers, musical groups, theater. Small scenes followed with the same type of arrangements. Five debate tents were filled both afternoons from 1:30 on. All conceivable kinds of women's groups both inside and outside of the Red Stockings Movement had exhibits. One was set up by 'Women Over Forty.' This aroused particular attention from the foreign groups, since the organization of older women is a Danish innovation."

Wolthers commented: "The festival seemed to offer much greater promise than last year that the various women's organizations can unite in common demonstrations."

Efforts to develop a coordinating committee for Danish women's groups are to continue at a seminar September 24-26 in Limfjorden.

## Threats of Firings and Jail Terms Force Argentine Strikers to Work

A strike by 20,000 Argentine auto workers was reported to have ended September 10.

In the biggest challenge to date to the military junta that seized power March 24, workers at Ford, Chrysler, Mercedes-Benz, General Motors, and Fiat walked off the job September 7 in protest against an insufficient wage increase granted by the Videla regime September 1. The auto workers pointed out that the raise, set at 12 percent, was far less than the rise in prices since wages last went up in June. In fact, workers' purchasing power has fallen by at least 30 percent since December 1975.

The military junta threatened the strike organizers with up to ten years in prison and participants with dismissal without severance pay.

## Shah's Political Police Spy on Iranians in U.S.

Iranian students in the United States are "assumed" to be under surveillance by SAVAK, the shah's political police, according to testimony September 8 by State Department official Alfred L. Atherton, Jr.

Atherton, who is assistant secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, was testifying at a Congressional hearing investigating violations of human rights in Iran.

While he claimed that the United States embassy in Tehran had no evidence of torture by Iranian authorities, he "added that it was difficult to discount persistent reports of torture," a Reuters account of his testimony reported.

One such firsthand report was given at the same hearing by exiled Iranian poet Reza Baraheni, who was arrested by the shah in 1973, imprisoned for 102 days, and brutally tortured.

Baraheni, an outspoken critic of the shah, has been warned that the Iranian government has dispatched SAVAK assault squads to the United States and Western Europe, and that his name "could definitely be on the top of the list of the victims."

## U.S. Employment Office Abandons Witch-hunt 'Loyalty' Questions

In a major victory for civil liberties in the United States, the political "loyalty" questions asked of all candidates for federal employment have been eliminated.

The action, made public September 9, came twenty-three years after the questions were instituted during the McCarthy era witch-hunt of political dissidents in the United States.

Previously, all applicants for federal employment had been required by the Civil Service Commission to state whether they had belonged to the Communist party or to any group advocating the forcible overthrow of the U.S. government.

## New Zealanders Protest Arrival of American Nuclear Warship

A strike by New Zealand dock unions and seamen, along with demonstrations and marches in several cities, marked the arrival of an American nuclear-powered cruiser in Wellington Harbor August 27.

All commercial and passenger-ferry traffic between the North and South islands of the country was paralyzed, and a 100-foot radio antenna in Christchurch linking an American Antarctic base to New Zealand was toppled by demonstrators.

In response, the conservative National party government threatened to ban "political strikes" complaining that the job action had nothing to do with the "proper concerns" of a trade union. "It is not for the trade unions to usurp the power of the Government in deciding what is foreign policy," said Labor Minister Peter Gordon.



# DOCUMENTS

## Argentina: The Fundamental Struggle Is For Democratic Rights

[The following editorial appeared in the July 20 issue of *Adelante*, a bulletin of news and opinion published in Buenos Aires. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The murders at the end of May of Zelmar Michelini and Héctor Gutiérrez Ruiz, former members of the Uruguayan legislature, and the subsequent murder of Bolivian General Juan José Torres, marked the beginning of a phenomenal increase in so-called rightist terror. The illusions of the liberals that the taking of power by the armed forces would mean a halt to extralegal crime (as a result of the armed forces' alleged "monopoly of force") have been totally shattered.

The July 12 issue of *Time* magazine reported that the deaths produced in the three months of military rule add up to 450. From the daily papers we know that there have been 100 victims in attacks by guerrillas, and that guerrilla losses in officially acknowledged confrontations total another 100. A horrifying conclusion emerges: Approximately 250 persons—three a day—have been killed by the so-called rightist terrorists.

Moreover, *Time* adds, "An unknown number of other people have either been kidnapped by terrorists or arrested by security forces and held incommunicado."

The escalation of the terror thus does not originate in nor is it caused by reprisals or the murder of Police Chief General Cardozo or for the bomb placed in the headquarters of the security police, although in each case such reprisals led to twenty-five extraofficial murders in the following forty-eight hours (*Buenos Aires Herald*, July 4).

The so-called rightist terror has a precise political function and is not the consequence of "excesses." This explains the extraordinary impunity it enjoys. Protected crime enjoys much bigger privileges than it did under the "reign" of Isabel Perón.

Terrorism directed against trade-union and student activists and liberal or progressive figures can be called "rightist" if you want to indicate in this way the extreme sort of repression and attack it represents against the workers. However, that does not mean that this terrorism is the action of a rightist movement, supposedly outside the armed forces or politically independent of the military high command.

Official cover for the rightist crimes is proven by the fact that their authors operate with impunity and that the investigations of the AAA<sup>1</sup> have been totally

### Program of 'Adelante'

For a complete list of political prisoners.

Immediate release of those held by the courts and all those who have no charges against them.

Put civil law into effect immediately for all cases. Eliminate the military courts.

Put into effect the right to choose to leave the country.

For humanitarian conditions in the jails.

Investigate the complaints of disappearances.

Investigate all political crimes, without exception.

Revoke all repressive legislation.

Put into effect all the political rights guaranteed in the nation's constitution.

paralyzed since March 24.<sup>2</sup> Numerous persons have pointed out that the police stations refuse to accept complaints about the kidnappings of their family members and friends. In the case of the Uruguayan legislators, the group of kidnappers carried out the operation with a lot of noise, right downtown, without any action being taken by the security forces. It should not be surprising, then, that both Torres's wife—when she reached Mexico—and Blanco party<sup>3</sup> leader Wilson Ferreira Aldunate—in New York—accused the Argentine government of being guilty of the murders of Torres, Michelini, and Ruiz.

The event that showed most dramatically where the criminal groups are located and who they are was the crisis that occurred between Federal Police Chief Arturo Corbetta and the general command of the federal police. The July 6 issue of *La Razón* reported that as a result of the attack on the headquarters of the security police, the "top command" (of the police) "wanted to retaliate immediately with a response proportionate to the magnitude of the attack that had been carried out. The majority of the top police officials and chief inspectors would have supported the same position."

According to the July 11 issue of the *Buenos Aires Herald*, Interior Ministry press attaché Ferrari ordered the daily papers not to reprint *La Razón's* report. However, this was not the most outstanding example of the flagrant cover-up.

The revolt of the police chiefs against Corbetta had almost nothing to do with the attack. As the July 7 issue of the daily *Hoy* reported, the pressure against Corbetta began the very day he assumed the post of police chief, when he began to put into practice steps to control parapolice action.

1. Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (Argentine Anticommunist Alliance).

2. The date of the military coup that brought Videla to power.

3. The conservative bourgeois party in Uruguay.

As is known, Corbetta was retired from the police force. The "top command" was not touched except for the two leaders of the mutiny, who were named advisers to Interior Minister Albano Harguindeguy.

This crisis did not stop the carrying out of the police demand for a "proportionate response." The July 7 issue of the *Buenos Aires Herald* spelled it out clearly in an editorial:

"There was more than likely a violent reaction from some station houses, since a dozen unexplained murders were confirmed within a few hours." There have been few occasions when such explicit revelations of criminal actions have been so loftily passed over by a government.

The murder of five members of the Pallottine order for being "Third Worldists" stood out among the masses of assassinations.<sup>4</sup> The criminals left the message, "For those who poison the minds of our youth." But that was not all. The July 5 issue of the weekly *Ultima Clave* reported that in this murder, "Sterling machine guns with silencers were used." The article continued, "The question of course arises: Are there so many of these guns in the country that we cannot almost with certainty say into whose hands they have fallen?"

One abundantly clear conclusion follows from all this: The rightist terror is not even partially the action of a movement outside state bodies, in particular outside the security forces. It has absolute impunity and the government has not begun any investigation of it.

On the contrary, in the face of each rise in terrorism, the government increases the repressive legislation. The murders of Michelini, Ruiz, and Torres had scarcely taken place when the total ban on all political activity (along with the applica-

4. On July 4 three Pallottine priests—Pedro Dufau, Alfredo Kelly, and Alfredo Leaden—were shot down along with two Pallottine seminarians—Salvador Barbeito and José Emilio Barletti—in a church in Buenos Aires.

tion of severe sentences) and the death penalty were decreed.

Thus, the police crisis openly revealed the criminal illegality existing within that institution, which in no way means that such a situation exists only there. We must not forget that a great number of the criminal operations are carried out with the involvement of the armed forces.

The July 12 issue of *Time* reported that a former ambassador to Washington said, "Show me a formula for fighting guerrillas without acting like one. I haven't found it, you haven't got it, and the army hasn't either.

A former senator stated that "the government hasn't centralized security operations. Every commander has his own independent force, and every service branch has its own plans."

The extension of the criminal attacks on priests has forced a reaction from the bishops. If they did not respond, at least according to protocol, they ran the undeniable risk of a serious crisis with the lower clergy and a large portion of the faithful. It is unnecessary to point out that this response has been completely ineffective, since church officials are not even remotely trying to promote a real opposition with a consistent program of demands. That was shown by the line spelled out at last April's bishops' conference, which was recently ratified by the papal nuncio, Monsignor Pio Laghi:

"There are situations in which self-defense at times requires taking positions that can imply respect for the law insofar as that is possible" (*La Nación*, June 29).

Does all this mean that Videla, the armed forces, the terrorists, and the church form one indivisible whole? How then can we explain the attack on the library of the Engineering Center, an institution controlled by liberal elements among the gorillas who are allies of the nation's president?

Here is the explanation. The March 24 coup was executed by a united front of the exploiters, expressed among other ways in a united front of all sectors of the military and police. Such a united front involved solidarity between nationalist rightists like Capellini, gorilla rightists like Menéndez, and liberal rightists like Videla and Viola. There has been collaboration among all these wings with the common aim of smashing the revolutionary upsurge of the workers since June-July 1975.<sup>5</sup> Now this united front and collaboration are in crisis but that does not fundamentally affect the

5. On June 27, 1975, tens of thousands of workers in major unions walked off the job, protesting government attempts to cut their standard of living and demanding the resignation of the economics minister and rightist strongman José López Rega. The protest continued over a period of ten days, bringing industrial activity throughout the country to a standstill and eventually forcing the resignation of the Peronist cabinet.

military commanders' political and caste solidarity against the masses.

That is why Videla, in the improvised part of his speech at the armed forces dinner, condemned "cunning actions, disguised to appear as part of the terrorist attacks, through the subterfuge of violence or the anonymous leaflet." According to the July 11 issue of the *Herald*, he was referring to leaflets critical of the junta that have appeared at military installations, and also to the bomb at the Engineering Center. The English-language daily concluded that "the president's statement points to the difficulty in maintaining unity now that the military has entered politics but without there being as yet a politically dominant faction within the armed forces."

The July issue of *Carta Política* stated, along the same line, that "the main danger

## In Defense of Victimized Polish Workers

[The following statement on the June 25 Polish workers demonstrations was issued in Warsaw in July by Jerzy Andrzejewski, one of the most prominent novelists of postwar Poland. He is best known for his novel *Ashes and Diamonds*, on which a celebrated Polish film made during the post-1956 liberalization was based. The text of this declaration has been translated by *Intercontinental Press* from the August 27 issue of *La Breche*, the fortnightly paper of the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Marxist League) of Switzerland, the Swiss Trotskyist organization.]

*To the Persecuted Members of the Workers Movement:*

"Poland is not only our common country but our collective property."

I have been filled with concern and sadness by the persecution and injustice that have been inflicted on you, feelings I am convinced are shared by many of my fellow writers and by the broad masses of progressive intellectuals, and this conviction is confirmed every day. In these difficult times, I address you with respect and solidarity, but also with hope and compassion.

I realize that when you are facing long terms in prison; the violation of your rights; the physical violence to which you have been subjected; the humiliation that has been inflicted on you; the powerlessness that oppresses you every day, a frustration that is one of the most grinding amidst all the tortures of the human spirit; when you are facing the collapse of the material bases of your existence because of massive firings, my words are only words, and they weigh very lightly as against your sufferings.

But these words are the only way I can express my solidarity with you, my sympathy, and my indignation. At a time

to the process of national reorganization does not lie outside, but rather within, the armed forces."

The cause of this developing crisis is not the opposition between an alleged democratic desire on Videla's part and the so-called rightist terrorism. It is the crisis of the military putschists' political and economic plans that explains the conflict that is taking place in the different echelons of the Military apparatus.

The workers must intervene in this crisis, which can come to take on more violent forms than those that appeared among the police. This intervention cannot take the form of support for any sector of the military. Rather it must be totally independent, with an effective program for the rule of democratic rights.

For a united front of all organizations and citizens to fight for these rights. □

when the government, through the press, the radio, and the television, is trying to delude public opinion and divert attention away from the real causes, accusing you of "antisocial behavior," "destructive anarchism," or even "banditry," I want you to know that there are people in Poland who have become immune to the lies, who can still tell truth from falsehood. I want you to know that there are people in this country who see you persecuted workers not only as the defenders of a just cause, but above all as fighters for genuine socialist democracy. And without this socialist democracy, liberty has perished, the government's lying rhetoric dominates public life, the nation is endangered, and individuals are smothered.

The hearts and minds of these people who know the truth turn toward you, and all Europe, the entire world, waits anxiously to see if the Polish government will dare try to deny its responsibility by putting the blame on those who demonstrated against its wrong decisions and kept them from being carried out.

I want to promise you in my name and those of my friends, Polish writers who have already sent a written appeal on your behalf to prominent political and cultural personalities in Europe, that we will not halt our efforts to stop the persecution to which you have been subjected and which continues to threaten you.

We demand an amnesty, the rehabilitation of those persecuted and slandered, the right to jobs for those who have been deprived of them.

As long as even one among you, one member of the workers' protest movement, is still threatened by force and violence and denied full rights as a worker and a citizen, we are going to go on defending you, even though our means are very limited. Poland is not only our common country but also our collective property. We must defend it. □

## Libano tras Diecisiete Meses de Guerra Civil

Por David Frankel

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 13 de septiembre, con el título "Assad Threatens Showdown in Lebanon." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Desde la guerra árabe-israelí de junio de 1967 el movimiento palestino de liberación nacional ha sido un factor muy importante en impedir que se realicen los fines de la diplomacia norteamericana en el Medio Oriente. Ahora, el desarrollo de la guerra civil en el Líbano ha aumentado las esperanzas de los imperialistas de poder eliminar al fin el movimiento palestino como fuerza independiente.

Ya para el 23 de julio, Joseph C. Harsch, declaraba llanamente en el *Christian Science Monitor* que "los palestinos han sido derrotados en el campo de batalla, y su capacidad para dictar la política de los estados árabes ha llegado a su fin."

Harsch concluía: "... ahora que la batalla está decisivamente a favor de las fuerzas moderadas en el mundo árabe, Kissinger puede empezar a moverse.

"No hay nada como un resultado militar decisivo para volver a abrir el camino a la diplomacia."

Después de la caída del campo de refugiados Tel Zaatar en Beirut, y la masacre que se realizó allí, los directores del *New York Times* se pronunciaron sobre la situación: "La base palestina en el exilio ha sido demolida en el Líbano este verano de 1976 tan profundamente como lo fue en Jordania en el 'Septiembre Negro' de 1970," decía el *New York Times* el 16 de agosto.

Sin embargo, estas apreciaciones contienen un fuerte elemento de deseo. A pesar de las esperanzas de los imperialistas, el conflicto en el Líbano está muy lejos de haberse decidido. ¿Cuál es la situación real después de diecisiete meses de guerra civil?

Aunque la coalición de izquierda entre los palestinos y los musulmanes permanece a la defensiva, continúa controlando toda la parte occidental del Líbano al Sur de Beirut. Además, controla un pequeño enclave alrededor de Tripoli en el Norte. La caída de Tel Zaatar no cambió nada en este cuadro. Después de resistir cincuenta y dos días de asedio salvaje, Tel Zaatar se volvió un símbolo de gran importancia psicológica, pero militarmente no era muy importante.

El hecho es que solamente la derrota de la coalición de izquierda de los palestinos y musulmanes en los principales centros de



La Opinión

Beirut y Saida decidirá la guerra a favor de las fuerzas que apoya el imperialismo. La dura resistencia ofrecida por los luchadores palestinos en el campo de refugiados de Tel Zaatar, muestra en pequeña escala lo que se puede esperar en una batalla por Beirut.

Merece la pena recordar la experiencia del ejército sirio a este respecto. Después de que el Presidente Hafez al-Assad lo envió al Líbano el 1 de junio los tanques y la infantería sirios ocuparon sin mucha dificultad gran parte del Este de Líbano. Pero cuando las fuerzas sirias intentaron marchar sobre Saida y Beirut, fueron rechazadas con graves pérdidas.

Esta muestra de debilidad condujo a Assad a intentar diferentes métodos. Después de destruir la refinería de petróleo en Saida, sus tropas se retiraron. Mientras tanto, se mantuvo el bloqueo de los puertos controlados por los izquierdistas que estaba realizando la marina siria desde finales de marzo. Un artículo en el número del 28 de agosto de la revista semanal inglesa de economía, *The Economist*, explicaba que "parece que ahora las posiciones son: los barcos sirios bloquean la entrada al puerto musulmán del Norte, Tripoli; los israelíes están alrededor de Tiro y Sidón; y la marina norteamericana patrulla el área entre estos puertos."

Pero a pesar del bloqueo naval, la ayuda de las fuerzas sirias en tierra, y las inyecciones de armas de parte de Israel, los derechistas cristianos no han tenido más éxito que los sirios en sus intentos de entrar en Beirut occidental.

Una división del Líbano, en la que una parte del país quedase bajo el control de los palestinos es algo que ni Assad, ni el Departamento de Estado de los Estados

Unidos, ni el régimen israelí pueden aceptar. Assad, con la aprobación de Kissinger, está intentando restaurar el antiguo sistema gubernamental dominado por la minoría cristiana privilegiada. Parece ser que Assad amenazó con un nuevo ataque militar contra la coalición de izquierda de los musulmanes y los palestinos si para el 15 de septiembre no ha progresado en la consecución de este objetivo.

Por lo que respecta al régimen israelí, ha aprovechado la oportunidad para comenzar una anexión subrepticia de la parte meridional del Líbano. Fuerzas de combate israelíes están patrullando en territorio libanés, y el ministro del Exterior Yigal Allon dijo a los periodistas el 31 de agosto en Tel Aviv: "No vamos a permitir que los sirios, los extremistas musulmanes o la OLP [Organización por la Liberación de Palestina] lleguen a un acuerdo con los maronitas (cristianos) a costa de Israel, dando a la OLP el derecho de utilizar territorio para atacar a Israel."

Otra fuerza que influye en los acontecimientos del Líbano es la burocracia soviética. Finalmente, el Kremlin ha tomado una posición a favor de la retirada siria del Líbano, pero se ha abstenido de mantener demasiado vigorosamente este punto de vista.

Edward R.F. Sheehan, un experto en asuntos árabes que trabajó para el Departamento de Estado de los Estados Unidos en El Cairo y en Beirut, comentaba en el *Washington Post* del 15 de agosto que "a pesar de su apoyo público a la izquierda libanesa (fundamentalmente verbal, algunos rifles), la Unión Soviética no parece favorecer una república radical en el Líbano." Sheehan señalaba que una república así "podría provocar una guerra con Israel que produciría un enfrentamiento entre Rusia y Estados Unidos, y destruiría todas las conveniencias de la distensión".

Mientras los burócratas de Moscú intentan dar una de cal y otra de arena en el Líbano, no hay ninguna ambigüedad de este tipo por parte de las fuerzas derechistas. Tanto Assad como los derechistas cristianos intentan establecer un régimen maronita proimperialista en el Líbano. Para conseguirlo, tendrán que aplastar en último término a los palestinos y a sus aliados de izquierda. Así, aunque todavía no se ha producido en el Líbano una repetición del "Septiembre Negro" jordano, es real el peligro de que un desastre así tenga lugar.

Ahora mismo, la alianza de derecha

intenta arrancar concesiones de sus oponentes por medio de una combinación de presión militar y negociaciones. Pierre Gemayel, el jefe del derechista Partido Falangista, hace el papel de un policía suave. Ha mantenido que una retirada de los palestinos de tres ciudades en las montañas al Este de Beirut—Sanin, Ain Tura y al-Metein—“es la clave de la paz en el Líbano.”

El diario de Beirut *An-Nahar* del 5 de septiembre citaba a Gemayel prometiendo que si los palestinos se retiraban de esas posiciones, “les daríamos garantías sobre su seguridad en el Líbano y seguridades para continuar la lucha por la causa palestina.”

Los falangistas también han pedido la aplicación estricta del acuerdo de El Cairo de 1969, en cuanto a la restricción del armamento de los campos de refugiados palestinos, la libertad de movimientos de las guerrillas, y las áreas donde se les permitía actuar. Pero estos acuerdos solamente se firmaron después de que el ejército libanés intentase destruir la organización de guerrillas de la OLP y fracasara. Una vuelta a estos acuerdos ahora, sólo significaría una pausa temporal antes de nuevos ataques a la posición de los palestinos, y también sobre las masas de obreros y campesinos musulmanes.

El segundo dirigente de la OLP, Abu Iyad, dijo en una entrevista que se publicó el 2 de septiembre en el periódico italiano *Corriere della Sera* que las guerrillas estaban dispuestas a acatar el acuerdo de El Cairo y a retirarse de las posiciones en las montañas a cambio de una retirada de las tropas sirias.

“Estamos dispuestos a dejar las armas y a hacer todas las concesiones compatibles con la supervivencia de [la] resistencia palestina, pero Damasco ni siquiera va a discutirlo,” dijo.

Recientemente, Dory Chamoun, secretario general del Partido Liberal Nacional e hijo mayor del ex Presidente Camille Chamoun, indicó lo que buscan realmente los derechistas. Una nota del 4 de septiembre desde Beirut en el *New York Times* informaba que Chamoun insistió en que el acuerdo de El Cairo “está anticuado, y la única forma en que el Líbano puede aceptar a los palestinos es que depongan las armas y vuelvan a ser refugiados.”

No todos los derechistas se quedan en la demanda de que los palestinos abandonen su lucha por recuperar su patria. Según la misma nota del 4 de septiembre, “Abu Arz, comandante de una fracción radical [derechista] conocida como los Guardias de los Cedros, ha dicho que la lucha no terminará hasta que ‘todos los palestinos sean expulsados del Líbano.’ En una reciente rueda de prensa, dijo que el deber de todos los libaneses era matar por lo menos a un palestino.”

Los palestinos han estado a la cabeza de la lucha en el Líbano; un cálculo en el *New York Times* del 22 de agosto estimaba que

la mitad de las muertes de la guerra civil han sido de palestinos. Después de la caída de Tel Zaatar, se han establecido puestos de reclutamiento de luchadores palestinos en Saida y Beirut. El 28 de agosto, la OLP llamó a una movilización general de todos los palestinos entre las edades de dieciocho y treinta años.

¿Será capaz la coalición de izquierda de los musulmanes y los palestinos de resistir un ataque a fondo, si Assad ordena a las tropas sirias que entren en acción?

Militarmente, y más en combinación con los derechistas libaneses, las fuerzas de Assad tienen claramente la ventaja. Pero existen importantes factores políticos que transformarían una confrontación así en una apuesta peligrosa para Assad.

En primer lugar, hay una gran confusión y desconfianza entre las tropas sirias sobre su papel en el Líbano. Por ejemplo, el corresponsal de la agencia Reuter Tim Pearce dijo en una nota del 22 de julio desde Saida:

“Un comandante militar local palestino aseguraba que la moral entre las tropas sirias en Hilaliyeh [fuera de Saida] era baja. Los artilleros a menudo desviaban los disparos hacia el mar para evitar herir a los ciudadanos, dijo.

“Gran parte de su información sobre los planes y movimientos de los 4,000 soldados sirios procedía de aldeanos que habían sido advertidos por oficiales sirios, afirmó.”

A las tropas sirias se les ha informado que están en el Líbano para ayudar al pueblo libanés, pero su utilización como un ejército de ocupación descubre lo falso de esta propaganda. Informaciones recientes describen cómo respondieron las fuerzas sirias a una emboscada en el valle Bekaa, corriendo en busca de refuerzos “mientras la artillería bombardeaba las aldeas donde se creía que se habían ocultado los atacantes. . . .” (*New York Times*, 19 de agosto.)

Después de la emboscada, las tropas sirias “apresaron a cientos de personas para interrogarlas,” según una nota del 20 de agosto del corresponsal del *Washington Post* Douglas Watson. Finalmente, la radio de Beirut informó que se había ejecutado a cinco libaneses. (*New York Times*, 25 de agosto.)

Hasta ahora, parece que Assad ha podido contener cualquier deserción de sus tropas en el Líbano. ¿Pero qué sucederá si comienzan a tener severas pérdidas en un enfrentamiento con la OLP?

Además, la oposición a la política de Assad en el Líbano se ha reflejado en su propio país. Según una nota en el *New York Times* del 13 de agosto, viajeros que llegaron desde Siria “hablaron de problemas de seguridad, habiéndose escuchado por lo menos una explosión en Damasco todas las noches de esta semana.”

Las dificultades económicas también están creciendo en Siria como resultado de la aventura de Assad en el Líbano. El régimen iraquí ha cortado el suministro de

petróleo a la refinería de Homs, que proporcionaba a Siria toda su gasolina y gran parte de sus divisas. El costo del mantenimiento de 20,000 soldados y 450 tanques en el Líbano ha debilitado aún más la economía siria. La inflación y el racionamiento de productos básicos están aumentando.

El impacto de la guerra civil tampoco se ha limitado a Siria. En Kuwait, el Sheik Sabah al-Salem al-Sabah, anunció el 29 de agosto la disolución de la Asamblea Nacional y una nueva ley que permite la suspensión durante dos años de periódicos disidentes.

Este ataque a los derechos democráticos lo explicaba Watson en el *Washington Post* del 31 de agosto: “Ultimamente, varios miembros del parlamento . . . aumentaron sus críticas hacia el gobierno kuwaití y hacia su política en el Líbano, que ha estado más a favor de Siria que de los palestinos.”

En Washington, personalidades del Departamento de Estado dijeron el 31 de agosto al *New York Times* que “un número creciente de kuwaitíes ha estado dando apoyo a causas radicales. Parte de la prensa kuwaití, así como algunos miembros de la Asamblea apoyaban también las demandas palestinas.”

Los acontecimientos de Kuwait muestran una vez más el poderoso apoyo que encuentran los palestinos entre las masas árabes. La perspectiva en el Líbano es oscura, pero mientras exista este apoyo, la situación no es desesperada. □

### Joven Militante Asesinado por la Guardia Civil

Las grandes movilizaciones que se han producido en España durante este año han forzado a la monarquía a hacer algunas concesiones limitadas en lo que se refiere a la libertad política en el país. Pero la actuación de la policía y la Guardia Civil muestran que en realidad estas concesiones no han cambiado los métodos de la dictadura.

El 21 de agosto, la Guardia Civil disparó contra unos jóvenes que estaban pintando “Pan, Trabajo y Libertad” en el barrio El Zapillo de Almería, matando a Francisco Javier Verdejo, de diecinueve años de edad, militante de la Joven Guardia Roja (organización juvenil del Partido del Trabajo.)

A pesar de que la bala entró por delante en la garganta de Francisco Javier Verdejo, la versión facilitada por la Dirección General de la Guardia Civil dice que “uno de los guardias tropezó y el arma, un ‘Z-62,’ se le disparó, causando la muerte de uno de los que huían.”

El asesinato de Verdejo produjo varias manifestaciones en los funerales celebrados en diversas ciudades (Almería, Bilbao, Pamplona, Granada) y las principales organizaciones de la oposición, entre ellas Coordinación Democrática, han hecho públicas notas de protesta.

## Manifestaciones contra Apartheid en Ciudad del Cabo

Por Tony Thomas

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 13 de septiembre, bajo el título "Coloureds and Africans March in Cape Town." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

Una semana después de la huelga general de Soweto, miles de africanos y personas de color\* hicieron una manifestación y se enfrentaron a la policía en Ciudad del Cabo, la segunda ciudad de Sudáfrica.

La acción más amplia tuvo lugar el 2 de septiembre, cuando varios miles de jóvenes de color fueron atacados por la policía en el centro de Ciudad del Cabo. Se informó que éste había sido el mayor enfrentamiento entre los manifestantes y la policía sucedido en un área reservada para los blancos, desde que comenzó en junio la actual ola de luchas.

Precedieron a la manifestación una serie de acciones más pequeñas en ciudades segregadas y en los miserables campamentos alrededor de Ciudad del Cabo donde viven los campesinos que llegan ilegalmente a la ciudad.

A mediados de agosto, estudiantes de color hicieron una manifestación en la Universidad de Cabo Occidental, expresando su solidaridad con los negros que habían protestado contra el régimen del *apartheid* en sus propias áreas.

Michael Kaufman, corresponsal del *New York Times* informó el 2 de septiembre que gran número de estudiantes de color, así como algunos "simpatizantes blancos," fueron arrestados después de la manifestación en la Universidad.

El Rvdo. Alan Hendrikse, presidente del Coloured Labour party (Partido Obrero de la Gente de Color), un partido que lucha contra el *apartheid*, también fue detenido.

Hendrikse fue detenido bajo una ley especial que permite al régimen del *apartheid* mantener prisioneras sin juicio a las personas acusadas de ser "una amenaza para la seguridad del estado." Más de 850 negros han sido detenidos bajo esta ley desde la rebelión de Soweto en junio.

\*Los 2.3 millones de personas de color que hay en Sudáfrica son descendientes de los primeros colonizadores holandeses, los esclavos hindúes, y los Khoi-Khoi, bosquimanos y otros pueblos nativos de África. La mayoría de ellos viven en la provincia del Cabo, de donde son originarios, y hablan afrikaans, el idioma basado en el holandés de los blancos afrikaners.

El 1 de septiembre, policías armados con cachiporras atacaron a un grupo de varios cientos de jóvenes de color, que supuestamente tiraban piedras a los carros que pasaban en un barrio segregado de gentes de color en Ciudad del Cabo. Esa misma tarde, cuatrocientos o quinientos estudiantes africanos marcharon a través de la entrada principal para blancos de la estación de ferrocarril de Ciudad del Cabo.

Humphrey Tyler informaba en el *Christian Science Monitor* del 3 de septiembre: "La policía declaró inmediatamente que no permitiría que esto se repitiera, y que iban a prohibir todo tipo de reuniones en Ciudad del Cabo por todos los medios, especialmente en el centro de la ciudad."

El reto de la policía fue recogido el 2 de septiembre por la juventud de color de Athlone, el centro de una zona donde viven 300,000 personas de color. Después de que la policía cargase en Athlone, Gerald Shaw informaba en el *Times* de Londres del 3 de septiembre: "... gran número de jóvenes de color tomaron trenes para el centro de Ciudad del Cabo, llevando su protesta política al mismo centro de la comunidad blanca."

Tyler informaba en el *Monitor* que "cientos de estudiantes de color salieron de repente de la estación central de la ciudad, cantando canciones de libertad y enarbolando banderas." Kaufman informaba que los jóvenes llegaron también en autobuses y carros, y que se reunió una multitud de alrededor de 3,000 personas.

La policía no hizo nada contra los manifestantes hasta que se acercaron a la principal calle de la ciudad, Adderley Street. Allí, los policías intentaron acordar la zona comercial.

Kaufman informaba en el *New York Times* del 3 de septiembre: "Sin embargo, los jóvenes, algunos de ellos llevando pancartas contra el *apartheid* y las leyes que limitan el tránsito de la población a través del país, consiguieron pasar el cordón para mezclarse con los blancos que estaban de compras."

En este momento, la policía atacó tanto a los blancos como a los manifestantes de color, intentando despejar las calles. Shaw informaba en el *Times* de Londres que los manifestantes de color "siguieron agrupándose una y otra vez en Ciudad del Cabo durante toda la tarde, mientras convoyes de camiones antidisturbios patrullaban las calles, lanzando bombas de gas lacrimógeno y disolviendo la multitud a intervalos."

La policía dijo que en un cruce de caminos, trabajadores de color de la

construcción atacaron con piedras y ladrillos un automóvil de la policía.

El mismo día, la policía sudafricana disparó para dispersar manifestaciones de gente de color en el centro cívico de Hanover Park, un barrio donde vive gente de color. La policía informó que allí se había matado a un joven de un disparo.

Shaw informaba el 2 de septiembre que la policía había matado a cinco personas desde que comenzaron las manifestaciones de la gente de color.

Las manifestaciones de Ciudad del Cabo han tenido un gran impacto. Han contribuido a disipar las ilusiones del régimen del *apartheid* de que los 2.3 millones de gente de color que hay en Sudáfrica se pondrían del lado de los blancos en un conflicto entre los blancos y los africanos.

Estas ilusiones se basaban en el hecho de que la gente de color tiene un nivel de vida superior y goza de unos pocos derechos políticos más (como, por ejemplo, el derecho a participar en los sindicatos reconocidos legalmente) que los africanos.

Sin embargo, durante los últimos años, los militantes de color, particularmente entre la juventud, se han identificado cada vez más con la tendencia de "Conciencia Negra," que está asociada con las grandes luchas de Soweto.

Un ejemplo del potencial que tiene la unidad de los pueblos no blancos de Sudáfrica se planteó en Durban, la cuarta ciudad en tamaño del país. El 2 de septiembre, se pusieron en huelga los conductores de autobuses africanos, de color e hindúes, paralizando durante horas el sistema de transportes de la ciudad.

En Soweto, según una nota de la agencia Reuter del 5 de septiembre, se decía que se había convocado a otra huelga de los negros a nivel nacional para el 7 de septiembre. No se informó de ninguna distribución extendida de volantes ni de folletos llamando a la huelga, como se hizo en la huelga del 23-25 de agosto.

La nota decía: "La llamada se transmite de boca en boca, y al parecer los organizadores quieren que el paro dure tres semanas en lugar de tres días." □

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### Represión contra Socialistas Argentinos

[A continuación traducimos extractos de una entrevista con Julio Mendoza, un dirigente del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) de Argentina. La entrevista completa apareció por primera vez en el número del 19 de agosto de *Red Weekly*, semanario socialista revolucionario de Gran Bretaña.]

\* \* \*

*Pregunta. ¿Cuál es el objetivo de su visita a Gran Bretaña?*

*Respuesta.* El principal objetivo de mi visita es tratar de lanzar una campaña internacional para salvar las vidas de José Francisco Páez y Arturo Apaza, militantes obreros y miembros dirigentes de nuestro partido. Páez actualmente está preso en Córdoba, mientras que Arturo Apaza ha desaparecido tras de ser detenido por las fuerzas militares en su lugar de trabajo.

Estos dos camaradas simbolizan los cientos de miembros del PST que han sido encarcelados, secuestrados y perseguidos de una manera u otra, muchas veces teniendo que abandonar sus trabajos y sus hogares. Estoy aquí para subrayar la importancia de su solidaridad para desarrollar una campaña que exija al gobierno argentino garantías para la vida de Páez, y la inmediata ubicación de Arturo Apaza.

Estamos pidiendo declaraciones públicas de miembros del Parlamento, sindicatos, organizaciones políticas, personalidades destacadas, artistas, etc., dirigidas al General Videla exigiendo que las vidas de estos dos compañeros sean salvadas.

*P. ¿Cuál es el nivel actual de la represión en Argentina?*

R. Bueno, desde luego ya había represión cuando estaba el régimen peronista. Durante los dos últimos años, el PST ha sido blanco particular de las bandas terroristas de derecha que operan con completa impunidad. La gran mayoría de las oficinas regionales del PST fueron bombardeadas, y quince dirigentes habían sido asesinados para cuando se dió el golpe en marzo. Desde entonces, estas bandas han continuado sus acciones, matando también a 'refugiados políticos' de los países vecinos.

Nuestro partido ha sido ilegalizado, nuestra oficina nacional fue ocupada por el ejército, más de 100 camaradas están en la cárcel—la mayoría de ellos dirigentes obreros—mientras que otros han desaparecido durante las acciones que han llevado a cabo las fuerzas armadas en las fábricas, oficinas y barrios obreros.

Para darle un ejemplo, estamos casi seguros de la muerte de nuestro camarada

Carlos Agustín Falcón, activista de una fábrica de Buenos Aires. Fue detenido junto con otros dos delegados de esa fábrica, llevado a un lugar donde se encontraban detenidos otros compañeros, y brutalmente torturado. Desde entonces no hemos sabido nada más de él ni de los otros dos compañeros.

El cuarto número de una publicación quincenal, *La Yesca*, que expresaba veladamente la posición del PST, fue decomisado por la policía. Este acto mostró la determinación del gobierno de parar su publicación.

José Francisco Páez, al que ya mencioné anteriormente—ha estado detenido desde enero—nos ha escrito contando cómo varios detenidos han sido sacados de sus celdas durante la noche y encontrados muertos al día siguiente. Sobre esto el gobierno ha declarado que los presos "murieron durante enfrentamientos entre las fuerzas armadas y las guerrillas." Aunque la mayor parte de esas personas habían sido acusadas de pertenecer al movimiento guerrillero, Páez dice que una de las últimas víctimas no tenía conexión alguna con organizaciones de ese tipo. Esto nos hace temer que la vida del propio Páez se encuentre en grave peligro.

En cuanto al camarada Apaza, fue detenido junto con los otros compañeros por oficiales uniformados de las fuerzas armadas ante muchos testigos, incluso los dueños de la fábrica. Sin embargo, a pesar de las peticiones de su familia, sus compañeros, e incluso de los dueños de la fábrica, ningún organismo oficial admite que se encuentre detenido. □

## DOCUMENTOS

### Argentina: Lo Fundamental, las Libertades Democráticas

[A continuación reproducimos un artículo titulado "Lo fundamental, las libertades democráticas," que apareció en el número del 20 de julio de *Adelante*, boletín de informaciones que se publica en Buenos Aires, Argentina.]

\* \* \*

Desde fines de mayo, con los asesinatos de los ex legisladores uruguayos Michelini y Ruiz (y el posterior del General Torres), se produce un fenomenal agravamiento del terrorismo llamado derechista. Las ilusiones liberales de que la toma del poder por parte de las fuerzas armadas haría cesar el crimen paralelo (esto como consecuencia del denominado "monopolio de la fuerza"),

están completamente en crisis. La revista *Time* del 12 de julio ha informado que las muertes producidas en los tres meses del gobierno militar totalizarían 450. Por la prensa diaria se sabe que los atentados foquistas produjeron 100 víctimas y que las bajas guerrilleras en enfrentamientos reconocidos oficialmente suman otras 100. De lo que se obtiene un resultado terrible: alrededor de 250 personas—tres por día—han sido asesinadas por el terrorismo llamado derechista. Pero el *Time* agrega: "... un número desconocido de otras personas ha sido secuestrado por terroristas o arrestado por fuerzas de seguridad que las mantienen incomunicadas."

La escalada del terror, entonces, no tiene

su origen ni su causa en las represalias por el asesinato del jefe de la policía, General Cardozo, o por la bomba colocada en la superintendencia de seguridad—bien que en cada caso estas represalias provocaron veinticinco asesinatos no oficiales en las siguientes 48 horas (*Buenos Aires Herald*, 4 de julio.) El terrorismo llamado derechista tiene una función política precisa y no es una consecuencia de los "desbordes," lo que explica su extraordinaria impunidad. El estatuto del crimen protegido goza de privilegios mucho mayores que bajo el "reinado" de Isabel.

El terrorismo dirigido contra activistas sindicales, estudiantiles y personalidades liberales o progresistas, puede ser denomi-

nado "derechista" si se quiere indicar con esto que representa la forma extrema de represión y ataque contra los trabajadores. Sin embargo, esto no significa que este terrorismo responda a un movimiento de derechas, supuestamente ajeno a las fuerzas armadas o políticamente independiente del alto mando militar.

La cobertura oficial de los crímenes derechistas está de hecho probada por la impunidad de los autores, así como por la total parálisis en las investigaciones de la AAA [Alianza Anticomunista Argentina] desde el 24 de marzo. Numerosas personas han señalado que las comisarias se niegan a recibir las denuncias por el secuestro de familiares y amigos. En el caso de los congresales uruguayos, el grupo secuestrador operó a los gritos en pleno centro, sin atraer la acción de las fuerzas de seguridad. No puede sorprender, entonces, que tanto la esposa de Torres cuando llegó a México, como el dirigente del Partido Blanco,<sup>1</sup> Ferreira Aldunate, en Nueva York, acusaran al gobierno argentino de culpabilidad por los asesinatos de Torres y Michelini y Ruiz, respectivamente.

El acontecimiento que más espectacularmente ha revelado la localización de los grupos criminales, e incluso su identidad, fue la crisis producida entre el General Corbetta y la plana mayor de la policía federal. *La Razón* del 6 de julio informó que a raíz del atentado en la superintendencia de seguridad, las "jerarquías superiores" (de la policía) "querían actuar de inmediato con una reacción proporcionada a la magnitud de la agresión recibida. A (esta) posición se habrían sumado la mayoría de los comisarios mayores y de los comisarios inspectores."

Según el *Buenos Aires Herald* del 11 de julio, el jefe de prensa del ministerio del Interior, Ferrari, exigió a los diarios la no reproducción del informe de *La Razón*. Este ejemplo flagrante de encubrimiento no es, con todo, lo más destacado. Es que el alzamiento de la jefatura policial contra Corbetta casi nada tiene que ver con el atentado: como lo informa el diario *Hoy* el 7 de julio, el bloqueo contra Corbetta comenzó desde el mismo día en que éste se hizo cargo de la jefatura, cuando comenzó a poner en práctica medidas de control sobre la acción parapolicial. Como se sabe, Corbetta fue retirado de la policía, las "jerarquías superiores" de ésta no fueron tocadas, con la excepción de los dos jefes del amotinamiento, que fueron nombrados asesores de Harguindeguy.

Esta crisis no impidió que se hiciera efectivo el reclamo policial en favor de una "reacción proporcionada." El *Buenos Aires Herald* del 7 de julio lo dice con todas las letras en un editorial: "Hubo sin duda una reacción violenta desde algunas dependencias, ya que en las horas siguientes se verificaron una docena de asesinatos sin explicación." Pocas veces se ha dado el

1. Partido burgués conservador de Uruguay.

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caso de denuncias tan explícitas sobre criminalidad que un gobierno pasa olímpicamente por alto.

Entre la masa de asesinatos se destacó el de cinco sacerdotes de la orden de los palotinos, por sus posiciones tercermundistas.<sup>2</sup> Los criminales dejaron la inscripción, "para aquéllos que envenenan la mente de nuestros jóvenes." Pero no sólo esto. El semanario *Ultima Clave* del 5 de julio informa que en este asesinato "se utilizaron ametralladoras Sterling, con silenciador." Y prosigue: "Por supuesto que cabe esta pregunta: ¿Es que hay tantas de estas armas en el país como para no saberse casi con exactitud en qué manos han caído?"

De todo esto se desprende una conclusión superclara: el terrorismo derechista no responde ni parcialmente a un movimiento ajeno a los organismos estatales, en particular los de seguridad. La impunidad es absoluta y el gobierno no ha iniciado ninguna investigación al respecto. Por el contrario, ante cada ascenso terrorista el gobierno incrementa la legislación represiva: apenas después de los asesinatos de Michelini, Ruiz y Torres, se dictó la total prohibición de actividad política (con aplicación de elevadas penas) y la pena de muerte.

Ahora bien, la crisis policial permitió que se revele abiertamente la situación de ilegalidad criminal en esa institución, lo que no significa que tenga la exclusividad. No se debe olvidar que una gran parte de los operativos criminales se hacen invocando a las fuerzas armadas.

Según el *Time* del 12 de julio, un ex embajador argentino en Washington les habría dicho: "Muéstreme una fórmula para combatir a la guerrilla que no sea actuando con sus mismos métodos. Yo no la encontré, ustedes no la tienen, las fuerzas armadas tampoco." Según la misma revista, un ex senador afirmó que "el gobierno no ha centralizado las operaciones de seguridad. Cada comando tiene

2. El 4 de julio tres sacerdotes palotinos (Pedro Dufau, Alfredo Kelly y Alfredo Leaden) fueron asesinados junto con dos seminaristas palotinos (Salvador Barbeito y José Emilio Barletti) en una iglesia de Buenos Aires.

su propia fuerza independiente y cada rama de los servicios tiene sus propios planes."

La extensión del ataque criminal a los propios curas ha motivado una reacción obligada de los obispos. Es que sin una reacción, siquiera protocolar, corren el riesgo indudable de sufrir una seria crisis con el bajo clero y con una gran parte de los fieles. Ni qué decir que esta acción ha sido completamente inefectiva, por la razón de que la curia no pretende ni remotamente gestar una oposición real y con un programa consecuente de reivindicaciones. En este sentido la línea fue precisada por la conferencia episcopal de abril pasado, y ratificada por el nuncio apostólico, Monseñor Pío Laghi, recientemente (*La Nación* del 29 de junio): "Hay situaciones en las cuales la autodefensa exige a veces tomar actitudes que pueden implicar el respeto del derecho hasta el límite de lo posible."

¿Quiere decir todo esto que Videla, fuerzas armadas, terroristas, Iglesia, forman un todo indivisible? ¿Cómo explicar, entonces, el atentado a la biblioteca del Centro de Ingenieros, institución controlada por elementos del gorilismo liberal afines al presidente de la nación?

El planteamiento es éste. El golpe del 24 de marzo fue ejecutado por un frente único de los explotadores, expresado entre otros en el frente único de todos los sectores militares y policiales. Este frente único implicaba la solidaridad de derechistas nacionalistas como Capellini, derechistas gorilas como Menéndez, y derechistas liberales como Videla y Viola. Todas estas alas han colaborado entre sí en el común propósito de quebrar el ascenso revolucionario de los trabajadores, desde junio y julio de 1975.<sup>3</sup> Ahora bien, este frente

3. El 27 de junio de 1975, decenas de miles de trabajadores de los principales sindicatos abandonaron el trabajo, en protesta por los intentos del gobierno de reducir su nivel de vida, y para exigir la renuncia del ministro de economía y hombre fuerte de la derecha José López Rega. Las protestas duraron diez días, paralizando la actividad económica del país y forzando finalmente la renuncia del gabinete peronista.

único, esta colaboración está en crisis, pero ello no afecta en principio la solidaridad política y de casta de los mandos militares contra las masas.

Es así que Videla denunció en la parte improvisada de su discurso, en oportunidad de la comida de las fuerzas armadas, las "acciones arteras, disfrazadas bajo el signo del atentado, a través de la violencia o de la sutileza del panfleto anónimo." Se refirió de este modo, según el *Buenos Aires Herald* del 11 de julio, a volantes aparecidos en guarniciones que critican a la Junta Militar, y también a la bomba en el Centro de Ingenieros. El diario inglés concluye

que "el planteo del presidente señala la dificultad en mantener la unidad dentro de la fuerza ahora que ha ingresado en la política y mientras no exista en su seno una fracción política dominante." Para *Carta Política* en su número de julio de 1976, igualmente, "el riesgo principal del proceso de reorganización nacional no reside fuera sino dentro de las fuerzas armadas."

No es la oposición entre una supuesta voluntad democrática de Videla contra el terrorismo llamado de derecha la causa de esta crisis en desarrollo. Es la crisis de los

planes políticos y económicos del golpe militar lo que explica el enfrentamiento que se está produciendo en los distintos escalones del poder militar.

Los trabajadores debemos intervenir en esta crisis, que puede llegar a adquirir contornos más violentos que los ocurridos en la policía. Esta intervención no puede ser de respaldo a ningún sector militar, sino enteramente independiente, con un programa efectivo de imperio de las libertades democráticas.

Por el frente único de todas las organizaciones y ciudadanos por las libertades. □

## Nuevos Avances del Juicio Socialista

# El SWP Desenmascara Infiltración del FBI

Por David Frankel

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Clarence Kelley, director del Federal Bureau of Investigation [Oficina Federal de Investigaciones—FBI], ha dicho más de una vez que dimitiría antes que revelar la identidad de los informadores del FBI. Documentos dados a conocer el 4 de septiembre por el Socialist Workers party (SWP), indican que si Kelley está decidido a cumplir su promesa, están contados sus días como jefe de la policía secreta de los Estados Unidos.

Como resultado de la acusación legal que ha presentado el SWP contra la persecución y el espionaje gubernamentales, el FBI se ha visto obligado, por primera vez, a dar datos exactos sobre cómo utiliza a sus informadores. El FBI admitió que durante los últimos dieciséis años ha infiltrado 316 informadores en el SWP y en la Young Socialist Alliance [Alianza de la Juventud Socialista—YSA]. Todavía en estos momentos, sesenta y seis informadores realizan su odiosa labor dentro del movimiento trotskista norteamericano, según los documentos del FBI dados a conocer recientemente.

Actualmente, el SWP está exigiendo que el gobierno entregue el expediente completo de un grupo de diecinueve informadores cuyas actividades se describen en los documentos dados a conocer el 4 de septiembre. Seis de esos diecinueve informadores todavía están infiltrados en el SWP.

En un documento de cuarenta páginas, en el que se pide que se dejen de utilizar informadores, el SWP sostiene que éstos

son "armas ofensivas" dentro de la campaña del gobierno por silenciar todos los puntos de vista que no le satisfacen. De hecho, los cientos de informadores del FBI no pudieron descubrir—ni inventar—ninguna prueba de que el SWP, la YSA o alguno de sus miembros hayan cometido ningún acto criminal. Por el contrario, fueron el FBI y sus agentes quienes violaron la ley y los derechos del pueblo de los Estados Unidos.

"No se trata de que el FBI se haya desquiciado," señaló Jack Barnes, secretario nacional del SWP en una declaración que fue dada a conocer junto con los documentos. "El uso ilegal de informadores por parte del FBI es una política y una práctica que han sido autorizadas y aprobadas por los dos partidos gobernantes, y por todos los gobiernos desde Franklin Roosevelt. El Congreso ha destinado más de 7 millones de dólares en 1976 tan sólo para los informadores del departamento del FBI que se llama 'inteligencia interna.'"

Además de los informadores infiltrados en el SWP, los expedientes arrancados al FBI revelan que desde 1960 éste ha mantenido un ejército de 1,300 informadores "flotantes" para espiar las actividades y los miembros de muchos grupos, incluidos el SWP y la YSA.

Los espías del FBI han recibido la tarea de robar documentos, informar sobre las direcciones y la situación laboral de activistas políticos, organizar atracos, desorganizar las actividades partidarias y crear discordias. Por ejemplo, los expedientes del FBI muestran que "se aconseja" a los informadores "cuestionar la lealtad de otros miembros del partido en cada oportunidad que se presente."

En su declaración, Barnes señalaba de manera particular que los informadores

del FBI fracasaron completamente en este objetivo de su programa: "El gobierno no logró hacer que el partido lanzara cacerías de brujas internas, en los que hubieran sido inútiles intentos por identificar a los informadores del gobierno.

"Otros expedientes han demostrado que la 'mala información,' frecuentemente dada por los mismos informadores para crear dudas sobre la lealtad de los miembros, es una de las técnicas de desorganización favoritas del FBI. Esta táctica le permite al FBI crear confusión, temor, y desconfianza."

Como resultado de una orden de la corte que obtuvo el SWP después de que se descubrió el atraco de su local en Denver por un informador del FBI el 7 de julio, el FBI fue obligado a entregar más expedientes. En ellos se demuestra que el FBI había estado quitando información de los documentos que había entregado anteriormente, sobre las acciones ilegales de sus empleados. Después de esto, el Juez Federal Thomas P. Griesa ordenó al FBI que entregara, sin ningún tipo de censura, los expedientes de seis informadores que estuvieron infiltrados en el SWP, y cuyos nombres eran conocidos por el partido.

Este nuevo triunfo del SWP promete sacar a la luz más de los secretos sin los cuales el FBI no puede funcionar. □

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