



Rouge

PARIS, October 21: Pierre Juquin (left), representing French CP, greets Leonid Plyushch, former Soviet political prisoner. Juquin and Plyushch later addressed rally of several thousand, called to defend imprisoned dissidents in USSR and other countries. See page 1592.

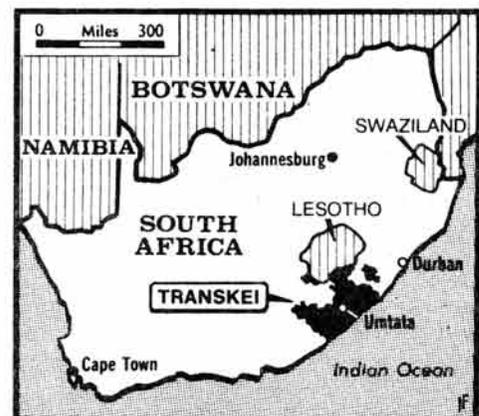
French CP Leader Scores Moscow's Treatment of Dissidents

Two Socialists Beaten at SLL Meeting

Australian Healyites Revive Stalinist Methods

Under Guns of 2,000 South African Troops

Fake Independence Imposed in Transkei



Christian Science Monitor

Britain's Economic Impasse

By William Gottlieb

The dramatic fall of the pound, which reached an all-time low of US \$1.57 on October 28 before rallying somewhat the following day, indicates that the long drawn-out sickness of British capitalism is reaching the point of acute crisis.

Danger signals include unemployment, which according to official figures has reached 1.3 million; inflation, now again approaching 14%; an expected decline of real wages of 10% over the next year, and a level of industrial production below the early 1974 level and stagnant.

On top of this, interest rates have reached astronomical levels. The Bank of England is lending money at a record rate of 15%. Large firms are paying a 14.5% rate of interest for short-term loans. Government bonds have a yield of 16%.

Various theories have been advanced on how Britain got itself into this impasse. Eric Heffer, a prominent leader of the left wing of the Labour party, sees a massive political plot. He is quoted in the October 26 issue of the *New York Times* as follows: "Many of us are now convinced there is a conspiracy on the other side of the house and by certain press barons trying to force this Government out." If Heffer is right, Watergate would be small potatoes indeed.

In reality, the cause is to be found in the intersection of two historical trends, the general decline of the world capitalist economy as a whole and the relative decline of Great Britain within it.

The roots of this relative decline are to be found in the last century when Britannia ruled not only the waves but the world of capital. Its industry could produce commodities with less human labor—that is, cheaper—than any of its rivals.

As a result, Britain enjoyed a monopoly of world markets. But monopoly breeds decay. British industrialists, sure of their markets and profits, preferred to do things as they had always done them. Gradually Britain began to lag behind its most dynamic rivals, first the United States and Germany, and later Japan as well. Two costly imperialist world wars accelerated this process.

For a time after World War II this process was cushioned by the general expansion of the world capitalist economy. But even during these prosperity years, ominous warning signals of approaching crisis were felt.

Growth was slow, recessions frequent, and recurrent balance-of-payments crises

ever more threatening. Worst of all, Britain continued to lag behind in the growth of labor productivity. For example, between 1955 and 60 Britain's output per hour of labor grew at an annual rate of only 2.3%, compared with 3.6% for France and 5.9% for Germany.

This trend continued in the 1960s. In 1965 British labor productivity was at an index of only 115 (1960=100) compared with 125 for France, 129 for West Germany and 147 for Japan.

The 1970s reveal the same trend. While Britain's growth in productivity between 1970 and 1975 averaged 3.1% per year, it increased at a rate of 3.4% a year in France, and 5.4% a year in Germany and Japan.

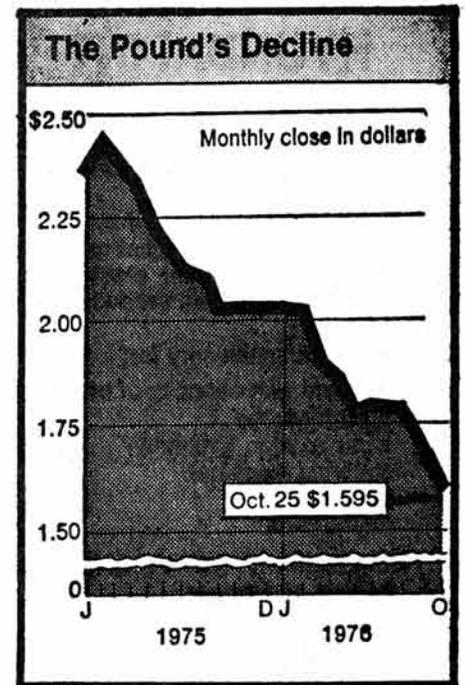
And things apparently are not getting better. According to a report in the October 16-22 London *Economist*, Britain's manufacturing investment from April to June of this year was only one-third its 1970 peak. Since growth of labor productivity depends largely on continued investment, this figure indicates that British productivity is lagging behind at an accelerating rate.

The British capitalist economy can be compared to a high-cost firm which has been falling behind the competition for many years. As long as business remains brisk it can manage to hang on, but once business turns sour and competition intensifies the high-cost firm finds itself in an increasingly untenable position.

As the long-term boom of postwar capitalism began to slow down in the late 1960s and international competition increased, it became harder and harder to finance Britain's traditional trade deficit. As the markets of the world became increasingly saturated, each country began to look more aggressively for new markets abroad. Britain found itself being flooded with a mass of more cheaply produced foreign commodities.

Faced with this worsening situation, the British bourgeoisie sought a cure by devaluing the pound. A lower value of the pound would mean lower export prices in terms of foreign currencies, and higher import prices in terms of the pound. Britain's balance-of-payments deficit would thereby be corrected.

However in the final analysis it is not the rate of exchange of the currency that determines international competitiveness, but the comparative levels of labor productivity.



New York Times

As the pound was devalued, British capitalists tended to raise prices in terms of those devalued pounds and thereby increasingly offset the benefits of devaluation. These price rises were a response both to the higher cost of imported materials and to growing deficit expenditures by the government, especially for arms. The resulting inflation occurred despite the existence of industrial stagnation and mass unemployment.

Of course, the bourgeoisie and their lieutenants in the labor movement have tried to blame this inflation on the workers. The cry from these quarters is that wages are too high, social benefits are too liberal, the workers must sacrifice. This logic has led both Wilson and Callaghan to do everything in their power to hold down wages, whether under the guise of an "incomes policy" or the current "social contract."

But British wages are not high relative to Britain's competitors. For example they are only about half those of West Germany. The fact is that the British workers have been sacrificing, but these sacrifices have not prevented the situation from growing worse. Actually the British workers desperately need a massive across-the-board wage increase to protect themselves from the effects of the worsened inflation the latest decline of the pound is sure to unleash.

The fate of the pound has produced a worldwide wave of concern in the ranks of the bourgeoisie. To allow the pound to continue to fall could not only mean a massive social crisis in Great Britain. It would also involve other currencies and

perhaps lead to a chain-reaction world financial crisis.

For this reason world bankers have lent huge sums to Britain. On September 29, Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey announced that Britain was applying for a new loan from the International Monetary Fund that would total \$3.9 billion. This would boost Britain's foreign borrowing to \$24 billion.

But the bankers, after all, want some assurance that the money will be paid back. They are demanding that the British government slash social services, hold down wages, and restrict the domestic money supply. These measures are designed to reduce domestic demand and lower the standard of living, with the aim of forcing British firms to export and thereby raise enough money to pay back the loans.

Of course, the economic stagnation that these measures would reinforce would further depress investment, and the root cause of Britain's difficulties would be increased. But at this point the world bourgeoisie is less and less interested in root causes. It is forced to concentrate on saving the immediate situation, even at the risk of precipitating a head-on clash with the working class of Britain. □

CIA Covering Up for SAVAK in U.S.

The shah of Iran admitted in a television interview broadcast in the United States October 24 that his secret police are operating in the United States with the approval of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). SAVAK, the Iranian secret police force, was organized by the CIA in 1956.

Columnist Jack Anderson reported October 29 that SAVAK agents in the United States were carrying out illegal burglaries, wiretapping, and forgeries. One secret SAVAK document obtained by Anderson states that "all branches should send . . . information regarding demonstrations of dissident Iranians, strikes, suspicious traffic, students' calls to the imperial embassies and consulates, holding of meetings, publishing of publications, conventions and seminars."

SAVAK agents do not restrict their attention to Iranians. One memo quoted by Anderson orders agents to "penetrate the Arab student community," while another discusses the "activities of Kurds residing in Europe" who had been developing "some nationalistic tendencies."

On October 27, in response to the stir created by the shah's acknowledgement that his agents were operating in the United States with official approval, Henry Kissinger announced that he had ordered an inquiry into whether SAVAK was really harassing Iranian dissidents. □

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Australian Healyites Revive Stalinist Methods of 1930s

By Dave Holmes

[The following article appeared in the October 21 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist weekly published in Sydney, Australia.]

* * *

SYDNEY—In a year of escalating violence and disruption aimed by the Socialist Labour League against other organisations on the left, SLL thuggery reached new heights with a premeditated attack on members of the Socialist Workers party (SWP) and the Spartacist League (SL) on Sunday October 17.

There were two main incidents involved in the attack, which occurred outside the Sydney Trades Hall, where the SLL (which publishes the weekly paper *Workers News*) was holding a rally. Both incidents and other minor jostling which took place were entirely the result of open assaults on the part of the SLL, directed personally by its leading members including SLL National Secretary Jim Mulgrew.

During the afternoon, two people, Dave Deutschmann of the SWP and Keith Olerhead of the SL, were quite badly injured, both as a result of unprovoked assault by SLL members. Deutschmann needed hospital attention as a result of a vicious, intentional kick to the side of the head as he lay on the ground from a previous blow. Olerhead suffered a heavy blow to the stomach and a full-force elbow in the face. Another SWPer and an SL member received bloody noses from the assaults of the SLL thugs.

The central reason for this hooliganism was the Socialist Labour League's refusal to permit members of other political organisations to hand out and sell literature to SLL members, supporters, and independents entering the SLL's meeting. This is despite the fact that absolutely no obstruction was being caused to entry to the Trades Hall. The SLL leaders also objected to photographs being taken by SL and SWP members although SLLer Nick Beams insisted on taking a considerable number of photos throughout the episode.

Of course, the SLL insists on its right to distribute its literature and to take photographs outside meetings called by other organisations such as the SWP. Consistency is not their strong point.

The first major incident took place around 3:30 p.m., half an hour before the Healyite meeting was due to start. Dave Deutschmann, national organisation secretary of the Socialist Youth Alliance,

End Violence in the Workers Movement!

[The following statement is being circulated by the Australian Socialist Workers party and Spartacist League as part of a public campaign to protest the attacks by the Socialist Labour League. We have taken the text from the October 21 issue of *Direct Action* (P.O. Box 151, Glebe 2037, New South Wales, Australia).]

* * *

Reports have come to our attention that Socialist Labour League (SLL) members have used physical violence against members of the Socialist Workers party (SWP) and the Spartacist League (SL). It has been reported that several members of the SWP and the SL were set upon and severely beaten in a completely unprovoked attack outside the Sydney Trades Hall on October 17. Other reports of intimidation of sellers of *Tribune*, *Direct Action*, *Australasian Spartacist*, and the *Socialist* in the past months and the disruption of SWP public meetings have also disturbed us.

These incidents lead us to make this statement in favor of the free exchange of differing views within the labor movement without fear of physical reprisal from anyone. Taking such a stand certainly does not mean repudiating the right of self-defence against violent attacks. It means making clear that differences among those fighting for social justice cannot be resolved by fists or other weapons. Any attempt to do so simply provides openings for police and other enemies of the workers movement to tear us apart.

Further, it certainly does not help us oppose the Government's use of violence against us if some of us use it against people who may not agree with our points of view. These attacks must stop and we must respect each other's democratic rights if we are to have an environment where there can be progress in the struggles of the oppressed.

We call on all individuals and organisations of the labor and radical movements to support this stand and add their signatures to this statement.

which is the youth organisation in political solidarity with the SWP, was the first SWP supporter present at the hall. He gave the following account of the earlier incident.

Deutschmann stated that he went to the Trades Hall on October 17 in order "to sell the Socialist Workers party newspaper *Direct Action* and to distribute replies to the slanderous accusations of the SLL that George Novack and Joseph Hansen of the SWP [Socialist Workers party] in the U.S. were accomplices of the GPU. This was my democratic right.

"The first incident arose when Jim Mulgrew of the SLL went across Dixon Street and approached a member of the Spartacist League who had a camera. He grabbed hold of the camera and proceeded to abuse the Spartacist League member. Mulgrew wouldn't let go of the camera and started jostling a bit. One or two members of the SL went over and I went over also and insisted that he let go of the camera, that he had no right to be holding on to it. Mulgrew went back over to the Trades Hall. He had already made it quite clear that he didn't want members of the SL on

the footpath at all. Supposedly, they had been obstructing it, but that just wasn't the case. I don't know what happened as soon as he went back, but within a few seconds he was screaming out, "Get Logan, get Logan," and he repeated this several times. An SLL member—I think his name was Peter Soley (fairly short with long dark hair)—who was trying to provoke incidents most of the time, as well as another SLLer and Greg Adler commenced hitting people. Keith Olerhead of the SL was punched several times. Also Brett Stebbing of the SL finished up getting a bloody nose."

Deutschmann's account of this incident is verified in statements by other members of the SWP and of the SL.

Leading SWP member Gordon Adler commented on the situation at this time: "None of these people were obstructing the passage of people attending the meeting, nor was there any attempt by any of those gathered outside the entrance to interfere with the conduct of the meeting in any way." Adler also remarks on the incident of the Spartacist League member and the camera. "I heard Jim Mulgrew tell Greg

Against Healy's Frame-up of Hansen and Novack!

Following the publication of the statement denouncing the Healyite slander campaign against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and the American Socialist Workers party (*Intercontinental Press*, September 6), additional signatures have been added to the document.

These include D.R. O'Connor Lysaght on behalf of the Movement for a Socialist Republic, Irish section of the

Fourth International; and John Bryne, a veteran of the Irish Trotskyist movement of the 1940s.

Also, for the Revolutionary Communist party, Chinese section of the Fourth International: Lee See, Fong Shing, Lin Yuen, Kong Chi, and Yip Ning. The first four have been militants in the Chinese Trotskyist movement for more than thirty years.

Adler, 'If he takes any more pictures, smash his camera and then smash his face in.'

The second major violent incident took place about half an hour after the first. In the meantime, SLLers continuously jostled, threatened, abused, and even spat at SL and SWP members. The second major assault occurred after SWPer Jon West was pushed by an SLL member against a parked car when West tried to hand out literature to people coming into the meeting. John Percy, *Direct Action* editor, took photos of the incident from Dixon Street.

A leading member of the Spartacist League, Bill Logan, related that Percy was then approached by several SLLers. He recounted that Jim Mulgrew, accompanied by several thugs, took the lead in trying to take the camera away from him. He explained that Mulgrew removed his glasses, discarded his cigarette and then hit Percy in the mouth.

From that point, things moved very fast. Logan said that he saw Dave Deutschmann lying on the ground groaning loudly and being kicked by SLLers, including Greg Adler. Logan said that shortly afterwards he himself was struck on the chin by one SLL thug.

"I tried to move towards John Percy," Dave Deutschmann recounted, "and it was then that a tall blond SLLer moved in very quickly and looked as though he was going to get pretty vicious so I retreated to the other side of the road. He ran straight at me and hit me on the side of the head. There was someone behind him too, but I didn't see who it was. Before this character hit me I saw Greg Adler coming from the other direction screaming, 'Get him!' After I was hit the first time, I went down to my knees and then Adler punched me on the other side of the head. This put me right down on the footpath and I tried to protect my chest and head. I know that at this stage I was kicked once in the head because that is the thing that I felt most, but I was also hit elsewhere. I also got kicked on the shoulder because there is a boot mark there. In short, I have bruises on the arms and thighs, so I must have been kicked and punched numerous times."

Jon West reported: "I saw one SLLer

approach Keith Olerhead and say something to the effect of 'If you do it again I'll kill you.' I clearly remember the words 'I'll kill you.' He turned, as if to go, and suddenly smashed his elbow into Olerhead's face. Olerhead fell to the ground."

This latest, and most serious, hooligan attack by the SLL against its political opponents peacefully exercising their democratic rights is part of a continuing pattern. They have regularly resorted to violence and disruption to settle political differences in the left and labor movement.

In this the Australian SLL are merely following the example of their parent organisation in Britain, the Workers Revolutionary party (formerly the Socialist Labour League) led by Gerry Healy.

On November 17, 1966, Ernest Tate was selling literature outside an SLL meeting in London's Caxton Hall. Six young SLL thugs under Healy's personal direction jumped Tate, smashing his glasses and bringing him to the pavement. They then repeatedly kicked him in the head, genitals, and kidneys. Tate had to be hospitalised. Healy later took legal action to intimidate several left papers which publi-

cised an account of Tate's beating. This year, the SLL in Australia has further stepped up its acts of disruption and violence against left opponents.

Gerry Healy visited Australia in 1975 and spoke at a number of meetings organised by the SLL. At a meeting for Healy at the Sydney Trades Hall on June 16, members of the SWP (or Socialist Workers League as it then was) and the SL were distributing their literature outside the Goulburn Street entrance.

At one point Jim Mulgrew, the SLL's national secretary, was seen to point to the SL people standing on the steps. About six SLL thugs then tried to muscle the Spartacists off the steps and began punching them when they stood their ground. Bill Logan received a punch in the face. The SLL claimed that people were being "obstructed," but the way in to the Trades Hall was quite clear.

At assembly area for the Sydney May Day this year the SLL leaders attempted to prohibit other groups from distributing literature and selling papers to their contingent. Sellers of *Direct Action*, *Australasian Spartacist*, and the *Socialist* were all abused and threatened with physical violence if they attempted to sell to the SLL group.

There have been numerous incidents this year where SLL members have harassed and abused (usually in very sexist terms) sellers of other left papers. Sellers of *Direct Action* in the suburbs have been jostled by SLL members, had their toes trodden on, and papers knocked out of their hands.

In May sellers of the SLL paper *Workers News* harassed a woman Communist party member selling *Tribune* at Sydney's central station. SLLers later spat on other CPA members who were there to protect



Direct Action

SYDNEY, July 15: Healyite thugs disrupt meeting for Willie Mae Reid.

their sellers.

In July of this year the U.S. socialist Willie Mae Reid toured Australia for the Socialist Workers party. Her main Sydney meeting at the Teachers Federation on July 15 was subject to noisy disruption by thugs from the SLL and its youth group, the Young Socialists.

During the question time the SLL-YS group of about 10 people yelled and screamed at the speaker and the chair.

They stood up and chanted and waved their literature in the air. They were supported by nobody else in the audience and refused to obey the chairperson. Afterwards a broad cross-section of the audience signed a statement condemning this hooliganism.

Several other of Reid's meetings in Sydney and Canberra were also the subject of disruption by the SLL.

These examples show that the resort to physical violence by the Socialist Labour League is not simply a recent development. It has a lengthy history. In the October 17 assault on the SWP and the SL, two people were badly beaten. Next time the consequences could be truly tragic. Such violations of the norms of democracy in the left and labor movement must be condemned as widely as possible to ensure that there are no repetitions. □

Under Guns of 2,000 South African Troops

Fake 'Independence' Imposed on Transkei

By Ernest Harsch

When South African Prime Minister John Vorster was asked by an interviewer October 18 if he foresaw the possibility that the Black majority would ever rule the country, he replied, "I cannot foresee such a day at all . . ." (*New York Times*, October 19).

Just eight days later, on October 26, the white supremacist regime in Pretoria proclaimed the "independence" of the Transkei, an impoverished African reservation, or Bantustan, along the coast of the Indian Ocean. It was precisely in an attempt to put off the assumption of power by Blacks in all of South Africa that Pretoria went ahead with the fraudulent "independence" ceremonies. The formal separation of the Transkei from the rest of South Africa is a key part of the apartheid regime's overall strategy of divide and rule.

Vorster and his Black administrators in the territory claim that October 26 marked the achievement of "national self-determination" for the inhabitants of the Transkei. But it is the very opposite of real national self-determination, having been imposed by force against the wishes of the African population.

The Transkei is only one of ten Bantustans, which comprise 13 percent of South Africa's total land area. All eighteen million Africans, who make up 72 percent of the population, are assigned to one or another of the Bantustans, whether they live in them or not. Pretoria has cited fictional political "rights" Africans supposedly have in the Bantustans as a justification for continuing to deny them their basic human rights in the country as a whole.

In fact, the imposition of an "independent" status on the Transkei is a further attack on African rights. According to Pretoria, the 1.7 million inhabitants of the Transkei—as well as the 1.3 million Africans living in "white" South Africa



VORSTER

who have been assigned there—will no longer be considered South African citizens.

The impoverished Bantustans can never be economically independent. They are an integral part of the South African economy, serving essentially as dumping grounds for "superfluous" Africans and as sources of cheap migrant labor. There are virtually no real industries in the Bantustans.

About 85 percent of the income of Africans assigned to the Transkei is earned outside of the territory. The Transkei administration itself is financially dependent on Pretoria, with the apartheid regime supplying \$95 million of the Transkei's \$156 million budget.

The "citizens" of the Transkei have thus been reduced to the status of foreign laborers in their own country, with no political rights whatsoever.

It took the white supremacists more than a decade and a half, however, to suppress most of the active opposition to this scheme within the Transkei itself. A state of emergency has been in force there since 1960, when massive peasant rebellions broke out against the imposition of government-paid tribal administrators. That unrest was stifled only after 5,000 persons were arrested and more than twenty executed.

Repression in the Transkei is continuing. To ensure that no embarrassing criticisms were raised during the "independence" ceremonies, Chief Kaiser Matanzima arrested more than a dozen leaders of the Transkei opposition Democratic party in July, including Hector Ncokazi, an opponent of the phony "independence" scheme. Two of South Africa's most prominent Black actors, John Kani and Winston Ntshona, were arrested October 11 and expelled from the Transkei two weeks later for their criticisms of the Bantustan program.

Just before October 26, about 2,000 South African troops and more than 650 police were rushed to the Transkeian capital of Umtata. The October 23 weekly edition of the *Johannesburg Star* reported:

A security net has been thrown around Umtata to prevent disruption of the celebrations culminating in the granting of independence to the Transkei at midnight Monday. . . .

Transkei police have been given intensive riot and crowd control training over the past two months and are patrolling residential areas of the town—especially the White section—at night.

Plainclothesmen are keeping a close watch on visitors. . . .

Although this show of force forestalled any major demonstrations in Umtata, it did not prevent the African population from expressing its disdain for the "independence" fraud in other ways. In the Transkei general elections held a few

weeks before October 26, there was a turnout of less than 45 percent in the constituencies where seats to the Legislative Assembly were being contested.

New York Times correspondent Henry Kamm reported from Umtata on the day of the ceremonies, "The hastily erected Independence Stadium showed wide open spaces in its stands prepared for 35,000 spectators. . . . A steady flow of citizens headed for the exits during the speeches of the South African President and their Prime Minister."

In an effort to drum up some diplomatic recognition for Transkeian "independence," Pretoria has conducted a \$500,000 international publicity campaign, portraying the Transkei as a "free society" and offering attractive investment incentives. But because of the widespread opposition to the scheme, no government in the world, except for Pretoria itself, has so far officially recognized the Transkei.

A resolution introduced by the Nigerian delegation in the United Nations October 26 declared Pretoria's designation of the Transkei as an "independent" state invalid and stated that all Transkeians "remain citizens of South Africa." It condemned the entire Bantustan program as "designed to consolidate the inhuman policies of apartheid, to destroy the territorial integrity of the country and to perpetuate white minority domination and to dispossess the African people of South Africa of their inalienable rights."

The resolution called on all governments to deny any form of recognition to the Transkei and "to take effective measures to prohibit all individuals, corporations and other institutions under their jurisdiction from having any dealings with the Transkei and other Bantustans."

The resolution was approved 134-0. Washington, one of the main supporters of the Vorster regime, was the only government to abstain on the vote, although it has also indicated that it will not formally recognize the Transkei.

While the Transkei ceremonies were under way, Black youths in other parts of the country continued to demonstrate against the racist regime. Protests were reported in at least four Black townships: Soweto, Krugersdorp, Mamelodi, and Guguletu.

On October 24, police fired submachine guns and shotguns into a crowd of 4,000 Blacks in Soweto, killing six persons. The crowd had gathered for the funeral of Jackie Mashabani, a university student who had died in jail. Another Black was shot down at a similar funeral the day before.

In Cape Town, 20,000 students are conducting a boycott of classes to press their demands for the release of political prisoners and an end to the apartheid laws. Pamphlets have been circulated in the Johannesburg area calling for another Black strike. □

National Front Denounces 'Half-Caste Mongrels'

Racist Attacks Increase in Britain

By Jo O'Brien



RACIST LEADER POWELL

LONDON—There has been an increase in racist attacks on immigrants and Black people in Britain in recent weeks. One such attack resulted in the death of Mohan Devi Gautam, a seventy-six-year-old Asian woman who was found by her grandson lying on the floor of her living room.

Gautam was suffering from burns over 77 percent of her body and died after sixteen hours in a hospital. Before she died, however, she gave the police a sworn statement describing how two white youths in masks and gloves had entered her home. They collected newspapers, bundled her into a garden shed, and set fire to the newspapers which they had placed around her.

It was clearly a racial attack, since the youths left money and jewelry untouched. Nevertheless, the police have refused to admit the racial nature of this and other attacks.

The immigrant community in Leamington, where Gautam lived, has suffered other attacks in recent weeks. One Asian was standing outside his home when a car stopped and a group of white men piled out and beat him up. Bricks wrapped in leaflets put out by the racist National Front have been thrown through the windows of four shops owned by Asians.

The National Front demands the expulsion of the immigrant population from Britain, and on October 4 the same

demand was raised by Enoch Powell, the leading racist in Parliament. In a speech before the Monday Club, an organization of right-wing Tories, Powell threatened that massive violence would break out if nonwhite immigrants were not sent back to their countries of origin.

While figures like Powell openly encourage the racist thugs in the streets, more "respectable" leaders are also urging action against the immigrant community in Britain. William Whitelaw, the deputy leader of the Conservative party, recently demanded that the Labour government provide figures on the number of immigrants entitled to come to Britain, establish a register of the dependents of immigrants, and reduce the number of immigrants allowed into the country by about 8,000 a year.

Meanwhile, the National Front has declared that it will field 318 candidates in the next general election. During local council elections this May the National Front put forward 176 candidates in wards with large immigrant populations. In addition to making physical attacks on Black people, the Front publicizes its racist program by producing leaflets such as one they distributed in Bolton, warning that "British people will be replaced as owners of the British Isles by half-caste mongrels."

In July the House of Lords made its contribution to the attack on immigrants, ruling that they could no longer appeal for an extension of their stay in the country if their visas had already expired.

The growth of an atmosphere of white racist violence became most clear with the massive police attack on Black youths at the Notting Hill Carnival in London at the end of August. A force of 1,500 police went on a rampage that broke up the festival and led to numerous injuries.

The immigrant population has responded to the attacks on it by forming self-defence groups and demonstrating for its rights. On September 11, 5,000 persons attended an antiracist demonstration in Blackburn, in the north of England, that was held in opposition to a National Front demonstration. Among the participants in this action were the International Marxist Group (the British section of the Fourth International), the Labour party Young Socialists, and the International Socialists. Contingents also came from the Indian Workers Association, the National Union of Public Employees, the Merseyside Dock Labourers, and the Ford plant in Halewood. □

French CP Leader Scores Kremlin's Treatment of Dissidents

By Gerry Foley

The French Communist party has been sharply rebuked by the Kremlin for participating in a rally in Paris October 21 in defense of six victims of political repression, including two in the USSR and another in Czechoslovakia.

The meeting made a considerable impact in France, and a crowd of thousands packed Paris's La Mutualité to overflowing to hear the French CP representative speak alongside an exiled Soviet dissident and a former member of the deposed Dubcek leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist party.

In an October 23 statement, the Soviet news agency TASS denounced the meeting as "a provocative attempt to mix up real fighters for freedom and social progress imprisoned in fascist jails with spiteful anti-Sovieters fighting against the socialist system."

The statement concluded: "Soviet public opinion does not understand how representatives of the French Communist party could participate in such a dirty project." The "Soviet public opinion" referred to could only be the reaction of the Kremlin tops. The TASS statement itself was not published in the Soviet press, nor still less any account of the meeting and what the representative of the French CP said.

The Kremlin's statement denounced the organizers of the rally as "well-known for their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist views." In reality, the meeting was sponsored by the International Committee of Mathematicians, which played the leading role in building a worldwide campaign to win the release of Leonid Plyushch, a Ukrainian antibureaucratic fighter imprisoned in a "psychiatric hospital" in the Soviet Union.

The fact that the mathematicians committee was able to get the French CP to make a public protest against the victimization of Plyushch was an important factor in forcing his release in January. At the October 21 meeting, Pierre Juquin, who spoke for the French CP, greeted Plyushch, who also spoke there, in a very friendly way.

The meeting focused on defending Vladimir Bukovsky, who is now spending his thirteenth year in a Soviet prison camp for denouncing the imprisonment of political dissidents in "psychiatric hospitals"; Semyon Gluzman, a psychiatrist jailed for exposing the "diagnosis" on the basis of which dissident leader Pyotr Grigorenko was locked up in a "hospital"; J. Müller, a leader of the Prague student movement,

Rally Wins Wide Backing



VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY: His defense case was major focus of meeting.

The rally in the Paris Mutualité organized by the mathematicians committee was supported by the following organizations: Amnesty International;

International Committee Against Repression; League for Human Rights; French Democratic Confederation of Labor; Force Ouvrière, a conservative French labor organization; National Education Federation; Committee for a Union of French Students; Union Action Movement; National Union of Students of France, Trade Union Unity faction; Committee Against the Special Psychiatric Hospitals in the USSR; January 5 Committee for a Free and Socialist Czechoslovakia; Young Friends of the Ukraine; International Movement of Catholic Jurists; the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; and others.

A large number of prominent individuals also sponsored the meeting. They included Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, Noam Chomsky, Alfred Kastler, Arthur London, Charles Tillon (veteran of the sailors' revolt in the French fleet sent to the Black Sea to support the forces fighting the Red Army in the Russian civil war), Jean-Marie Domenach, Daniel Mayer, Paul Ricoeur, Jean Daniel, and Vercors.

The rally was chaired by Laurent Schwartz, a Nobel-Prize-winning scientist.

now serving the fourth year of a six-year sentence; Jose-Luis Massera, a noted mathematician and member of the Uruguayan CP imprisoned by the military regime; Miguel Enríquez, leader of the Chilean Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR—Movement of the Revolutionary Left), who has disappeared in Argentina, where he was in exile; and López Arias, an imprisoned Bolivian mine-workers leader.

Jiri Pelikan, an exiled member of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party under Dubcek, spoke on the Müller case. He said that the student leader is being held under intolerable conditions. Prison authorities have even refused to let him read books by Lenin because they say "in your hands, even Lenin is subversive."

A letter from Gluzman was read from the platform in which the imprisoned

psychiatrist said: "I am always hungry. I am subjected to constant cold on the cement floors of solitary confinement cells. They force me to march in lockstep. Any time they feel like it, they force me to take off all my clothes and do innumerable exercises. I am a slave. The first sadist who comes along can force me to do any humiliating job."

Plyushch, for whom a similar rally had been organized a year ago, was strongly applauded when he spoke, the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported in its October 24 issue. He denounced the repressive regime in the USSR and urged support for the case of the Crimean Tatar Mustafa Dzhemilev, imprisoned for demanding the right of his people to return to their historic homeland, from which they were expelled by Stalin.

A representative of Amnesty International spoke on behalf of the three Latin

American victims of repression.

An appeal on behalf of the Polish workers jailed for taking part in the strikes and demonstrations against food-price hikes in late June was read from the platform. It was signed by Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, prominent opponents of the Stalinist regime in Poland. Kuron was imprisoned for three years in the mid-1960s for coauthoring a Marxist critique of the bureaucratic system in his country.

The French CP representative, Juquin, seemed mainly interested in gaining cover for his party against the attacks of Social Democrats exploiting the issue of bureaucratic dictatorship in the USSR. G. Filoche commented in the October 24 *Rouge*.

"Juquin did not offer the least self-criticism [for his party's past support of Stalinist repression]. He seized on every possible occasion from 1920 on to hail the political past of the CP. And he did not miss a single opportunity to attack the French or international Social Democracy directly or indirectly. 'There can be no eleventh-hour workers in defense of freedoms,' he concluded, criticizing the Social Democrats for not taking up the defense of Communist victims of repression more often and earlier."

As the possibility approaches of an electoral victory by the bloc of the CP, the SP, and bourgeois liberals, the French Stalinists are more and more anxious to establish "democratic" credentials. In particular, they need to do so in order to meet the competition of the SP, which has attracted wide support from sections of the population moving to the left but repelled by the French CP's identification with Stalinist dictatorship in Eastern Europe.

The Kremlin bureaucracy recognizes the French CP's political needs and is prepared to accept gestures of "independence," if they pay off at the polls. This is shown by Brezhnev's praise of the Italian CP at the conference of European CPs in late June in East Berlin. However, the Kremlin's response to the French CP's taking part in the October 21 meeting in Paris indicates that it can find the price for improving the image of the West European CPs an extremely painful one to pay.

The French CP publicly rejected Moscow's protests. In the October 23 issue of its daily newspaper *l'Humanité*, it said: "The French CP's participation in the Mutualité meeting testifies to its determination to act in defense of freedoms. From its standpoint, freedom and socialism are inseparable.

"Criticizing those aspects of Soviet reality that require it is not anti-Sovietism. We pointed this out clearly at our Twenty-Second Congress."

Furthermore, the French CP announced that it was going to print six million copies of Juquin's speech at the October 21 rally to publicize "the Communists' fight for democratic freedom." □

Seeks Joint Slate with Union of the Left

PSU Sets Course for French Municipal Elections

By Tony Thomas

The National Council of the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU—United Socialist party), a left-centrist party, voted at an October 9-10 meeting to organize negotiations that could lead to joint slates with the Union of the Left in the March 1977 French municipal elections. The Union of the Left is a popular-front type coalition that includes the Communist party, the Socialist party, and the Left Radicals, a small liberal capitalist formation.

The majority resolution, which received 66 percent of the vote (340 votes) called for negotiations between the PSU and the parties of the Union of the Left so that joint slates could be presented on the first round of the elections "in the greatest number of cities and towns." The resolution said that "any other policy carries the serious risk of leading us to marginalization, that is, to a total incapacity to intervene in changing the relationship of forces inside the workers movement. . . ."

Cécilia Joxe, a member of the PSU's national political leadership, said that despite its reformism, the Union of the Left is "the political axis of the people's camp, whose confrontation with the camp of the bourgeoisie is the defining characteristic of the present period."

The majority resolution took its distance from the Common Program of the Union of the Left, stating its "total strategic disagreement" with that program. The PSU, it said, would not participate in a joint slate with the Union of the Left unless it were made clear that all participants did not necessarily support the Common Program.

A minority resolution that would have allowed local units to determine electoral policy in each area, as was done in 1971, received 76 votes (15%).

A second minority resolution, which received 104 votes (19%), said that no such agreement could be made with the Union of the Left without "accepting a compromise that would make the PSU a satellite of the parties of the Union of the Left." It said the majority orientation could lead to "another version of the Rocard operation," a reference to former PSU General Secretary Michel Rocard, who joined the Socialist party in October 1974.

The October 10-11 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that this minority was opposed to immediate negotiations with the Union of the Left parties. Instead, they wanted to first set up municipal slates together with other organizations that support workers self-management, and then call for public discussions with the

parties of the Union of the Left.

Only then, said this minority, could an agreement be reached on "clear lines" with the Union of the Left and a common slate established. If no agreement could be reached, the minority proposed that the self-management candidates run as an independent slate.

The *Le Monde* dispatch added that leaders of the minority considered the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International) one of the groups with whom participation in a self-management slate would be "desirable." It reported that the minority leaders "rejected the charge the leadership had made against them, namely, that their real intent was to pave the way for a fusion with the LCR."

After the vote was taken, Maguy Guilien, a member of the PSU's National Bureau, read a declaration for the minority regarding the resolution that had been adopted. It "seriously places in question the existence of the PSU as a revolutionary party," he said. At the same time, however, the minority pledged to continue the fight within the PSU to make it the "true rallying point for supporters of a revolutionary party in favor of workers self-management."

Michel Mousel, representing the majority leadership, called the statement "regrettable." He warned of the danger of "factionalism" and announced that the orientation adopted on the elections would be carried out "by the whole party." □

Uproar Over Spanish Adultery Law

New attention has been focused on Spain's reactionary legal code by the case of María Inmaculada Benito, a twenty-two-year-old medical student who narrowly escaped a five-year prison term for adultery. She was acquitted October 9, thanks to the wide publicity won by her case in the Spanish press and the active support of women's groups. However, many other women are not as lucky. Many are convicted under the law, which is written in a way that makes it much more difficult to convict a man than a woman.

Divorce is illegal in Spain, but, Inmaculada asked, "How can I reconcile with a husband who has just tried to put me in jail for five years?"

Freedom Demanded for Sri Lanka Political Prisoners

By Ernest Harsch

All legal restrictions on former political prisoners in Sri Lanka have been officially lifted by Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

The move came five and a half years after the bloody suppression of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front). The repression launched against the JVP in March 1971 prompted the young militants to attempt an insurrection the following month, which was crushed only after thousands of youths were killed and about 18,000 were arrested.

In the years that followed, the bulk of the political prisoners detained in connection with the insurgency were either released or given suspended sentences. The regime, however, continued to deny them their full democratic rights. The released prisoners were required to report regularly to the police and to special "rehabilitation" committees. They were also restricted to the localities in which they lived.

On September 26, Bandaranaike ordered an end to all surveillance and restrictions on movement of 3,500 persons who had pleaded guilty to involvement in the insurrection and who had been given suspended sentences by the Criminal Justice Commission (CJC), a special tribunal set up in April 1972 to try alleged insurgents. Liberty was also restored to 6,500 former prisoners who had never been charged and had been released over a period of time by executive order.

Bandaranaike's action was the result of a stepped-up campaign, both within Sri Lanka and internationally, in defense of the political prisoners.

In May 1975, Amnesty International submitted a report to Bandaranaike urging her, among other things, to abolish the draconian Criminal Justice Commission, release all political prisoners who have not been charged, end all restrictions on released prisoners, and revoke all discriminatory legislation against political prisoners. Amnesty International agreed to keep the report confidential until the regime replied to the demands. When Bandaranaike failed to comment on the report, it was made public in early 1976.

On January 24, the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU) and the Revolutionary Marxist party (RMP, Sri Lanka section of the Fourth International) launched a Campaign for Political Freedom in '76. In addition to demanding an end to the curbs on released political prisoners, the CMU and RMP called for:



BANDARANAIKE: Target of international campaign of protest.

- The release of all political prisoners, whether they have been convicted by the CJC or are otherwise in detention.
- Saving the lives of political prisoners convicted of crimes carrying the death sentence.
- The lifting of the ban on all outlawed political organizations.
- An end to political witch-hunting or discrimination against activists in any form.

On June 1, 1975, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International issued a declaration demanding the release of Rohana Wijeweera and other political prisoners. "The struggle for his freedom and for the freedom of all his comrades," it said, "is a struggle that deserves the support of revolutionists and liberation fighters the world over. . . ."

"The Fourth International appeals to all currents in the workers movement, to all those who participated in the international movement against U.S. aggression in Indochina, and to defenders of civil liberties everywhere to participate in this campaign on behalf of these victims of repression in Sri Lanka."

Although Bandaranaike was compelled

to end the restrictions on former political prisoners, most of the regime's repressive policies remain in force. The entire country is still under the state of emergency that was declared in April 1971. About 2,000 JVP members and sympathizers continue to rot in Bandaranaike's jails, including the organization's leader, Rohana Wijeweera, who is serving a sentence of twenty years rigorous imprisonment.

According to the Amnesty International report, some of the prisoners have made allegations before the CJC that they were tortured while in police custody. In addition, members of Amnesty International "spoke to three members of the Tamil community who alleged that they had been seriously beaten by the police following their arrest between August 1972 and May 1974. At least one of them showed convincing evidence that serious beatings on all parts of the body and head had taken place."

Trials of some of the young militants are still being held. M.A. Chandradasa was arrested in June on charges of participating in the insurrection and was sentenced by the CJC October 13 to two years rigorous imprisonment. The October 19 *Ceylon Daily News* reported that R.M.H. Ratnayake has also been sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment on similar charges.

In May, the regime issued a new repressive ordinance, the Emergency (Prevention of Subversion) Regulations. It was immediately used against leaders of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF),¹ a Tamil nationalist group that has demanded the creation of a separate state for the country's three million Tamils, who have been oppressed for centuries by the dominant Sinhala nationality.

Five leaders of the TULF were arrested May 22 on charges of "distributing seditious literature." One was soon released, but the four others were slated to be tried before the High Court at Bar, a special tribunal set up by the new emergency regulations. In another case before a similar tribunal, seven Tamil youths have been indicted on charges of murder stemming from the July 1975 assassination of Alfred Duraiyappa, a former mayor of Jaffna.

The Bandaranaike regime received an important setback when its own hand-picked judges in the TULF case ruled September 10 that the new emergency regulations were invalid. They also discharged A. Amirthalingam, the first of the TULF leaders to be summoned before the court. Bandaranaike is appealing the decision.

Whatever the outcome of that appeal, the ruling has already given a boost to the campaign in defense of political prisoners.

1. The TULF is composed of the Federal party, the Tamil Congress, and the Ceylon Workers Congress.

Although the Lanka Sama Samaja party² supported Bandaranaike's repression against the JVP youths while it was a member of the coalition regime, it has now adopted a more critical stance. Shortly after the court ruling, LSSP Secretary Leslie Goonewardene issued a statement that said, in part: "The Lanka Samasamaja Party demands the immediate and unconditional release of all those being held under the 'Emergency regulations.' The Lanka Samasamaja Party also calls upon all those who value liberty and freedom to join in this demand with a view to compelling the Government to prompt action to effect the releases."

A September 22 meeting of the student body at Vidyalankara University adopted a unanimous resolution calling for the unconditional release of all political prisoners.

Messages in support of the campaign in defense of political prisoners and requests for further information may be sent to: Campaign for Political Freedom in '76, No. 3, 22nd Lane, Kollupitiya, Colombo, Sri Lanka. □

2. Ceylon Equal Society party, an ex-Trotskyist group that was expelled from the Fourth International in 1964 for accepting cabinet posts in Bandaranaike's capitalist regime. In 1971, the LSSP praised Bandaranaike's "fortitude and firmness" in putting down the JVP insurrection. The LSSP's participation in the coalition regime ended in September 1975 when Bandaranaike dropped the LSSP leaders from her cabinet.

Shan Returns Soviet Defector

The Soviet government announced October 28 that Iranian authorities had returned Lieut. Valentin I. Zasimov. Zasimov landed a small mail plane in Iran September 25 and asked for political asylum in the United States.

A statement appealing to the shah not to hand Zasimov back to Soviet authorities under the pretext of the 1973 anti-hijacking treaty between the two governments was issued October 27 by five Soviet dissidents. Signed by Andrei Sakharov, Yelena Bonner Sakharov, former Maj. Gen. Pyotr Y. Grigorenko, Ukrainian poet Mikola Rudenko, and Yuri Orlov, who heads a group of dissidents monitoring Soviet compliance with the Helsinki accords, the statement said of Zasimov:

"He did not use violence, he did not put anybody's life at risk but his own, and in our opinion his action could not possibly be classified as air piracy."

However, Moscow regularly returns fugitives from the shah's repression who flee across the 1,200-mile border between the two countries, and the shah returned the favor.

After Zasimov's return, *Izvestia*, the Soviet government newspaper, reported a new four-year trade agreement with the shah had been signed by Moscow.

Report From Paraguay

Under the Iron Heel of the Stroessner Dictatorship

An inkling of what life is like in Paraguay under the despotic regime of President Alfredo Stroessner was given in a fifty-eight-page report issued in September by the International League for Human Rights.

The organization, which has extensively publicized violations of human rights in Paraguay, sent two representatives to Asunción in July.

The report, written by Professor Robert Alexander of Rutgers University and former U.S. Ambassador to Bolivia Ben Stephansky, described mass arrests and torture, ongoing repression of the country's Indians, the use of a twenty-two-year state of siege to make all civil liberties subject to the whim of the dictator, and the pervasiveness of corruption within the government.

Attached to the report was a list of about 200 of the regime's estimated 500 to 1,500 political prisoners. Professionals and students from Asunción make up the bulk of the list, although the report stated that peasant leaders have been the principal victims of the latest wave of repression.

Among those on the list were Alfredo Alcorta, Saturnina Almada, Ananias Maidana, and Julio Rojas, who have been held since 1958.

"We talked with several family members of political prisoners who had been in jail without trial for eighteen years. There are many who have been kept in jail for periods shorter than this, but against whom no formal charges have ever been brought," Alexander told a congressional subcommittee following the trip. "We also talked to a relative of one prisoner who had been sentenced to two and a half years incarceration, but who is still in jail eighteen years after he was arrested."

The most recent wave of repression reached a peak in April and May of 1976, the report stated. Many of those picked up in large scale arrests have disappeared. Some persons died under torture.

"Arrests, tortures, murders have been perpetrated in a random fashion," the report said. The aim is to terrorize the population as a whole.

The Catholic church has been a central target of the recent repression. A June 12 pastoral letter from the bishops of Paraguay, which was read in all the country's churches, contained a section entitled "Things Which Worry Us."

Among the church's concerns are:

- "The indiscriminate repression and jailing of students and peasants."

- "The practice of torture has revived, and there is more than one case of arrested people dying or disappearing in circumstances which have not been adequately

clarified."

- "The Church is suffering through the intervention of its high schools, police raids on its seminaries, its apostolic institutions and its high schools."

- "Among those accused, without any proof, of acts of violence are priests (regular and secular, Paraguayans and foreigners), lay Christians who in one way or another have had contact with Catholic institutions or movements, especially those dealing with the youth."

Another target is the Marandu Project, a program run by anthropologists aimed at improving the conditions of the Aché Indians.

Four members of the project were arrested in December 1975 and accused of being Communists. Although an international campaign finally won the release of Project Director Miguel Chase-Sardi, Victoria Villalba Suárez, Gloria Estrago, and Mauricio Schwartzman remain in jail awaiting trial.

Even leading figures in the legal opposition parties have not escaped the latest wave of repression. Two editors of *El Radical*, the journal of the Partido Liberal Radical (Radical Liberal party), have been sued for "libel." One of them was sentenced to twenty-one months in prison and fined.

The report pointed out that "the only periods since Stroessner's ascent to power [in 1954] during which the State of Siege has been suspended have been election days. Then, the emergency measure has been suspended for twenty-four hours. However, during all of the period of election campaigns the State of Siege has been firmly in effect, then depriving opposition parties of virtually all opportunity to campaign by radio, television, posters and other means of publicity."

Corruption and smuggling are the "cement" that binds large numbers of persons to the dictatorship, the report concluded. Some individuals have made large fortunes, others more modest ones, but all of them "have something to lose if the dictatorship disappears."

Stephansky and Alexander noted, "On our tour of the contraband sights of Asunción, we were shown the impressive new home of a minister who in less than a year in office was transformed from a man of modest means into one who could afford a house costing several hundred thousand dollars."

Furthermore, they said, "Paraguay is said to oscillate between being the largest and second largest importer of American cigarettes. It has a population of about two million people. Its ability to 'consume' liquor is equally spectacular." □

Mexico—Devaluation of Peso Slashes Buying Power

[The following article appeared in the September 20-October 1 issue of *Clave*, a fortnightly newspaper reflecting the point of view of the Bolshevik Leninist Faction of the Liga Socialista (Socialist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Mexico. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The flimsy barrier of economic controls and measures the government erected to prevent a monetary catastrophe has broken. On August 31, one day before the traditional annual report by the president of the republic, it was announced that the Mexican peso would be allowed to "float." On September 1, the press reported that the peso had fallen to less than half its former exchange rate measured against the dollar.

The official explanation for taking this step has very little to do with reality. For example, Finance Minister Mario Ramón Beteta, in his official announcement of the float, said that this step was absolutely normal, that more than fifty countries were exercising "controlled floats." President Luis Echeverría explained in his annual report to Congress that the step would benefit the country because it would attract tourism and foreign investment.

Explanations like these tend to hide what is behind the move, that is, the existence of a grave economic situation in the country.

A rise in prices unlike any seen in decades followed the "float" of the peso. Entire chains of big department stores were closed, supposedly to prevent unjustified price hikes. What actually was involved was a step taken to prevent a spell of panic buying by the public, and to assure that when these stores opened their doors again, the prices of the merchandise would have been changed.

Although no official statistics are available yet, the daily papers announced that the rise in prices in the Federal District fluctuated between 60 and 100 percent. For those who live from their labor, the devaluation means that the pay they bring home has been markedly reduced.

The devaluation is simply a reflection of the grave economic situation. According to the August 8 issue of *Excelsior*, the president of the Asociación Nacional de Consultores en Mercadotecnia [National Association of Marketing Consultants] said that 47 percent of Mexican industry was "idle." This means that industry is producing at 53 percent of its capacity; it is a sign of the stagnation affecting the economy.



JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO

Another sign of the stagnation is the unemployment and "underemployment" affecting 40 percent of the economically active population. The economist Luis R. Casillas, whose conservatism is shown by the fact that he won the economics prize of the Banco Nacional de México [National Bank of Mexico] in 1975, estimated—in statements that appeared in the August 24 issue of *Excelsior*—that by the end of 1976 there would be 2.5 million unemployed in Mexico. Casillas did not mention the number of "underemployed" who survive without jobs and earn their living in many different ways. But he did mention what he called the "external strangulation" of the economy, that is, that the pace of [foreign] investment in Mexico has dropped substantially.

This situation of stagnation is crowned by the country's huge foreign debt. Along with Brazil, Mexico has the honor of occupying first place among those indebted to North American private banking interests. According to Henry Reuss, chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Mexican government owes North American private banking interests a cool \$5.5 billion (approximately 112 billion pesos according to the current exchange rate).

There is not enough money in the budget to repay this sum. To pay its debt, the only

recourse the government has is to inflate the money supply by printing currency not backed by reserves and by issuing bonds without funds. Inflation, which in previous years rose to more than 20 percent, has leveled off at around 15 percent in 1976.

But it is not only the government that is responsible for our currency being in such a precarious state. The trade deficit has increased with the "stagflation" [simultaneous inflation and stagnation]. As a result of buying more from abroad—especially from the United States—than is exported, the trade deficit reached \$729 million in the first three months of 1976 alone. The ventures known as "private initiatives" are also in debt and the country has to suffer the consequences of it. Private banking, through loans and credits that are not backed up, has made its contribution to the inflation.

Currency is a commodity that is acquired at a lower "price" on the world market if its real value has been undermined. If the peso "used to cost" US \$.08 before, now that its value has been cut to ribbons by the economic situation, it "costs" less.

There were considerable pressures from American officials to lower its price, including for example, the statement by seventy-five congressmen that the Echeverría regime was leading the country toward "Communism." On September 2, two days after the devaluation, one of these congressmen—Thomas Rees—retracted the statement in the name of seventy of his colleagues. It really matters very little to Rees and Company if "Communism" is written with a "k" or a "q", let alone what the word means. What they were trying to do was to pressure the government to act in accord with their interests.

Neither the businessmen nor the government are willing to pay for the economic situation. Beteta, who speaks as if he were the spokesman for President-elect J. López Portillo, has said that the budget they are preparing for the coming six years will be an "austerity budget." This statement appeared in the daily papers August 25, so that some days later Beteta himself could decree the "float" (or perhaps the water was rising to their necks and they had to resort to floating). The signs saying, "The peso was not devalued, a promise kept," will have to be saved for better days.

As we have explained in previous issues of *Clave*, the course the government has opted for is to lay the groundwork for López Portillo to enter the presidency in a situation in which he will be able to maintain control over the population.

But the workers and the people who live from their labor are not responsible for the economic situation, and thus have no reason to pay for it.

An immediate wage increase of 60 percent and a sliding scale of wages and hours are the only measures that can protect their standard of living from the

consequences of the devaluation.

Naturally, we can expect the bosses and the government to resist granting such measures. The course they have chosen runs contrary to granting progressive

reforms that will lessen the blows delivered to the purchasing power of wages. But they do not have the final say on this. It is within the power of the workers to force these measures out of them. □

Under Pretext of 'National Emergency'

Fresh Attack on Rights of Peruvian Workers

[The following article appeared in the September 10 issue of *Palabra Socialista*, a revolutionary-socialist news bulletin published in Lima, Peru. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The escalation of repression that began July 1 with the suspension of civil liberties and the imposition of a brutal package of economic measures reached a new peak in the last two weeks.

It has been announced that the minister of labor is preparing the draft of a new law on layoffs. According to Labor Minister Galindo Chapman, the law will "seek to establish an equilibrium between the functions of the worker and the interests of the company so as to guarantee an increase in production and productivity."

Also in the works is the formation of a higher body "that will hear cases of layoffs and whose rulings cannot be appealed."

Such a law is seen as part of a series of legal measures designed to reduce "labor tension" so as to overcome the "emergency."

Another law included in this package is the recently issued Supreme Decree, in which the norms established for computing vacation time (workdays lost because of work stoppages are deducted) are extended to the peasantry, along with the regulations banning work stoppages and strikes during the "state of emergency" and the decrees that raise the threat of layoffs for "insubordination."

Thus, under the pretext of the "national emergency," the government is trying to impose a "social truce" that would facilitate the capitalists' relentless offensive against the workers—increasing the work load, firing activists, and making a travesty of the rights of labor. Above all, this would permit the government itself to deal with the current period of crisis, placing the burden of it onto the backs of the workers and peasants.

This "social truce" or "labor peace" that they are hoping to impose by law conceals another step in the regime's escalating attack on the workers. That is the continuation of measures like the ones decreed since June 29, which brought about a loss in buying power, a freeze on wages and on

many other labor gains, and suspension of the right to strike for as long as the "emergency" lasts.

With the latest steps, the government is seeking to take advantage of the current situation to consolidate its offensive against the workers. Its aim is to use repressive laws to counter in advance the new conflicts that are on the horizon.

More than likely, this will not succeed. The "social truce" the government wants to impose will not be signed by the workers, even though our leaders are negotiating antilabor decrees with the bosses and the government from above, in the Multisectoral Commission.

Recent struggles have shown that the working class and the peasantry are not about to be easily silenced by the regime's threats of repression. The most striking demonstrations of the fact that Peruvian

workers have not been defeated or demoralized were the forty-eight-hour walkout by transport workers in metropolitan Lima to protest the murders committed under the "curfew," and the strike of sugar workers in Pucallá and Tumbán in an open challenge to the state of emergency. In reality, the repressive steps have only added to workers' grievances and to the explosive potential of their struggle.

In this context, we reiterate our stand on the need to prepare for the new battles that the workers and people's movement will have to launch to protect their wages and labor rights.

Starting now, in the factories and work places, we workers must declare our opposition to the latest steps and the projected labor legislation. We must reactivate our trade unions and the trade-union and regional coordinating committees that were formed recently in the heat of struggle. And from these bases, we must organize pressure from the workers and the people to demand that the CGTP [Confederación General de Trabajadores Peruanos—General Federation of Peruvian Workers] call a coordinated national work stoppage to demand wage increases, the resolution of grievances, defense of the right to strike, and an end to layoffs.

The way to defend our class interests is not through the Multisectoral Commission, where further attacks against the workers are being prepared. It lies in struggle and in our independent mobilization. □

KCIA Agents Threaten Korean Dissidents in U.S.

Like the secret police agencies of Iran, Chile, and other dictatorial regimes allied with Washington, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) has agents stationed in the United States. The KCIA's function, which could not be carried out without White House collusion, is to spy on and intimidate the 250,000 Korean residents in the United States.

According to Koreans in the United States who are opposed to the dictatorship of Park Chung Hee, the number of known KCIA agents under official cover in the United States has risen from about five in 1971 to about twenty-five today. Many of them pose as diplomats or consular officials in New York, Washington, Los Angeles, and other cities that have sizable Korean communities.

According to a report in the October 29 *New York Times* by Richard Halloran, one of the senior KCIA agents stationed in Los Angeles is Kim Ki Whan, who was the KCIA station chief in Tokyo in 1973, when KCIA agents kidnapped former presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung and took him to Seoul, where he is now in prison.

In Los Angeles, where 70,000 Koreans live, South Korean agents are reported to have beaten up or threatened violence against several dissidents. A Los Angeles

police detective was quoted by *New York Times* correspondent Robert Lindsey in the October 30 issue as saying, "The K.C.I.A. has people in almost every important organization in the community. . . . They're always at anti-Park rallies gathering information."

Kim Woon Ha, the editor of the anti-Park weekly *New Korea*, told Lindsey, "They sent agents to my office last year and told me if I didn't stop criticizing the Government, 'You and your children will be retaliated against'; they also said they could detain my children in Korea."

Because of the disclosures of the KCIA's harassment and revelations about South Korean bribery of American officials, the Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the State Department have begun an investigation of the KCIA operations in the United States.

The South Korean ambassador to the United States, Pyong-Choon Hahm, has admitted some of the KCIA harassment but tried to blame it on "rogue" agents. "There have been undesirable characters in the KCIA who have been assigned and working here," he said. "We have had our rogues. They have used goon psychology and tactics. . . ." □

Indian Liberals Fear Repression May Cause Mass Upsurge

By Pankaj Roy

NEW DELHI—Since June 26, 1975, India has lived under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's "emergency." Normal bourgeois-democratic political processes have been suspended and all avenues for the ventilation of grievances have been closed, as has all access to accurate information about the country. The population is fed rosy news about the supposed benefits made possible by the declaration of emergency.

But the suspension of democratic rights has some inherent dangers for the bourgeoisie in India. Some shrewd capitalist politicians have begun to warn that if Gandhi's dictatorial regime is maintained for a prolonged period, the inevitable eruption of grievances among the masses may assume a violent and uncontrollable form.

This point was made in an editorial in the July 26 issue of *Seminar*, a liberal academic journal based in New Delhi. After detailing Gandhi's record of repression the editorial stated, "Censorship creates the official myth of political silence and acceptance. Who knows if the silence may not be a deliberate cover for turbulence?"

In the same issue of *Seminar*, Rajni Kothari, a well-known liberal political scientist, argued that the emergency has become a liability even for the rulers and called for its repeal.

Countering the regime's claims about the gains made under the emergency, Kothari pointed out that:

- Many of the changes promised by Gandhi under the emergency remain on paper.
- Those that have been implemented did not require the use of emergency powers, and frequently came about as a result of factors that had nothing to do with the regime's policies under the emergency.
- Many of the steps taken by the regime have involved repression and intimidation of the most vulnerable sectors of the population, which in turn has produced resentment and violence. This is the case with actions relating to compulsory sterilization and the forced eviction of the poor from the cities.

Kothari argued that the price paid for rather limited gains was far too heavy, "namely, complete loss of personal freedoms, an atmosphere of fear and insecurity, ruthless use of police and para military forces and MISA [Maintenance of Internal Security Act] and DIR [Defence of India Rules] for the suppression of political



Don Hesse/St. Louis Globe-Democrat

opponents and the muzzling of not only the press but all forms of political expression and normal channels of articulation, including within the ruling party itself."

These warnings, however, were not appreciated by the regime, and soon after this issue *Seminar* was forced to cease publication under precensorship rules.

In an interview given in June, after the completion of one year of the emergency, Gandhi stated that opposition parties had been subdued but not vanquished, and insisted that the emergency would continue indefinitely since its gains were still to be consolidated.

In fact during her emergency rule Gandhi has routed all opposition parties that used to play a role in parliament, from the extreme right-wing Jan Sangh to reformist groups like the Socialist party. The ruling Congress has become the main party of the Indian bourgeoisie and Gandhi its unrivaled leader.

For the moment, therefore, the emergency has imparted a certain stability to bourgeois rule in India and put an end to the centrifugal tendencies that were so evident during 1974 and 1975. Gandhi's success reflected the fact that the bourgeois opposition parties like Jan Sangh, BLD (Bharatiya Lok Dal), and Congress (O) (Organisation Congress) had no viable alternative for salvaging Indian capitalism. Their main aim was removal of Gandhi and her party from power, to be

replaced by them. Developing mass movements were subordinated to this supreme goal.

As for the parties of the left such as the Communist party of India (CPI), the Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)], and the Revolutionary Socialist party, they were completely bogged down in the mire of parliamentary cretinism. They subordinated extraparliamentary struggles to the needs of their parliamentary maneuvers. They never went beyond the framework of bourgeois opposition politics in the parliamentary system.

At the present time, these parties have become virtual nonentities. They cannot freely propagate their views, and even the speeches of their parliamentarians cannot be printed in the newspapers or reported in the mass media. Only the CPI, by completely subordinating itself to the regime, has been allowed some latitude to speak in its own name.

In the ruling Congress party itself, the effects of the dictatorial regime are felt. All are expected to eulogize Gandhi, and every rung of leadership has to hail the "dynamism" of Sanjay Gandhi, Indira Gandhi's son and her chosen heir.

The character of the regime was indicated when K. Brahmananda Reddy, Gandhi's union minister for home affairs, told parliament that "fear could be a potent motivating factor when all other means failed." This need to rule on the basis of fear led Reddy to call for an increase in expenditures for his ministry from Rs. 3 crores [thirty million rupees, or about US\$3.42 million] to Rs. 160 crores [1.6 billion rupees, or about US\$182 million].

"We push in a lot of money to the states to assist them to modernise the police force," the home minister said on April 2. He pointed to the newly organized Central Reserve Police and the Border Security Force as examples of where the money is going.

According to a report on Reddy's plans in the April 5 *Times of India*, the 23,964-member Central Industrial Security Force will also be expanded. This industrial police force is currently being used against workers in eighty-two state-owned enterprises, and there is demand for its services in many others.

Even those bourgeois figures who have called for an end to Gandhi's emergency and have protested the supercentralization and growing arbitrariness of the government are agreed on the need to keep the workers in check.

Kothari, for example, does not plead for a return to the bourgeois-democratic regime that prevailed in India prior to June 26, 1975. He opposes strikes, bandhs (general strikes), and demonstrations, calling them the "culture of confrontation." He says they should be replaced by a "culture of consensus"—a scheme for arbitration of disputed issues.

The Trotskyists of the Communist League of India (the Indian section of the Fourth International) have coupled the demand for repeal of the emergency with the demand for complete restoration of democratic rights, the release of all political prisoners, the removal of the ban on political parties, and the repeal of the repressive Maintenance of Internal Security Act and the Defence of India Rules.

ty Act and the Defence of India Rules.

Gandhi, meanwhile, is in the process of pushing through a wide-ranging series of amendments to the constitution in order to institutionalize her dictatorial powers. She demagogically claims that the changes are necessary because the constitution is holding up her "war on poverty."

Both the CPI and the CPI(M) have published their views on the proposed changes, and both have failed to protest Gandhi's proposal to remove legal safeguards against arbitrary arrest, detention, and other police actions. Both speak in terms of abstract democracy, refusing to explain Gandhi's regime in class terms.

Finally, both have succumbed to Gandhi's ploy of making the judiciary—and judicial guarantees of democratic rights—

the scapegoat for the inability of the bourgeois regime over the last twenty-seven years to ameliorate the conditions of the masses. It was left to former judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts, and other politicians of the right, to point out that there was nothing to prevent the regime from undertaking progressive measures if that had been its intention.

While pointing out the limitations of the current constitution, which was framed by a body that was a creature of British imperialism and that was not democratically elected, the Communist League has also stressed the antidemocratic nature of the proposed changes. It calls for the convening of a democratically elected constituent assembly that should discuss all proposals on the constitution. □

Appeal by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International

For Solidarity With Struggle Against Thai Dictatorship!

[The following appeal was issued October 17 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

On October 6, 1976, the army of Thailand established a new open military dictatorship. For an entire year, the Thai general staff and the American secret services had been stepping up acts of provocation or terror and had been waging a hysterical propaganda campaign, creating paramilitary far-right movements for this purpose. They had to put an end to the rise of activity of the student, worker, and peasant masses that followed the advances of the Indochinese revolution and the fall of the previous dictatorship under the pressure of the October 1973 popular uprising.

The massacre of students at Thammasat University on October 7 and the severity of the measures taken since then must leave no doubt as to the intentions of the dictatorship and its imperialist masters. Dozens of students have been lynched, murdered, sometimes hanged and burned alive. Arrests now number in the thousands. The press is muzzled and all the democratic rights won by the masses in three years are drowned in blood. Part of the Vietnamese population living in Thailand has been rounded up into concentration camps and is in great danger. The objective of the coup is clear: to break the urban and rural mass movement; to halt the rise of workers and peasant struggles in a lasting manner; to prepare a sweeping offensive against the Communist party guerrillas; to make Thailand a more effective base of action for imperialism

and a bastion against the Indochinese revolution.

The importance of the evolution of the situation in Thailand need not be demonstrated. After American imperialism's defeat in Indochina and the opening of a period of growing social agitation in the rest of Southeast Asia, the stakes in the struggle now going on in this country are considerable. Active solidarity must be developed with those who are continuing the fight against the dictatorship under extremely difficult conditions. Such solid-

arity can save the lives of many of those imprisoned and stay the criminal hand of the new dictatorship. The greatest publicity must be given to these events and to the responsibilities of the imperialist powers—in particular the U.S. and Japan—in this coup.

The Fourth International calls for stepping up worldwide solidarity, for an immediate halt to the torture and acts of terror, for the immediate release of all political prisoners, and for support to the struggle against the dictatorship. □

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Workers Parties Score Modest Gains in Belgian Elections

By François Massion and Eddy Labeau

BRUSSELS—Belgians above the age of eighteen went to the polls October 10 to elect municipal councillors. From the beginning, it had been clear that these elections would have a national significance. They were a test for the policy of the bourgeois coalition headed by Tindemans.¹

Nonetheless, it cannot be said that the response of the electorate was the same throughout the country. The election results confirmed the political differences existing between the Walloon country, Brussels,² and Flanders.

In the Walloon country, the Parti Socialiste Belge/Belgische Socialistische Partij (PSB/BSP—Belgian Socialist party), the country's largest workers party, increased its vote. The governments of almost all the large cities in the Walloon country will be headed by PSB/BSP mayors. The coalition parties all suffered losses, with the exception of the PSC/CVP, whose vote remained stagnant.

Particularly notable were the defeats suffered by the RW and the PLP/PVV. The most right-wing leaders of the PSB/BSP also experienced setbacks. In some Walloon towns rich in traditions of struggle, the PSB/BSP registered large votes. For example, where the PSB/BSP chairman, Cools, was running, the party got 70.97% of the vote.

The Belgian section of the Fourth International, the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs/Revolutionaire Arbeiders Liga (LRT/RAL—Revolutionary Workers League), participated in these elections through joint slates. In Liège, the Union Progressiste included, in addition to the

LRT/RAL, the Groupe Politique des Travailleurs Chrétiens (GPTC—Political Group of Christian Workers). It got 1,296 votes, or 0.96% of the total. In Quaregnon, the Union Démocratique et Progressiste (Progressive Democratic Union) included the LRT/RAL, the GPTC, and the Communist party. It got 2,438 votes, or 21.73% of the total.

The PSB/BSP's gains in the Walloon country showed a clear rejection of the government's antisocial policies in this region. At the same time, they were a reflection of the workers' struggles that have taken place and of the fact that the PSB/BSP has adopted a more radical language since it left the coalition government in 1974, in which it had been associated with the parties of the bourgeoisie.

In Flanders, a traditionally more right-wing and Catholic area than the Walloon country, the PSB/BSP lost votes. The bourgeois PSC/CVP gained. Thus, the polarization between the Walloon country, where the PSB/BSP is in the majority, and Flanders, where the PSC/CVP is in the majority, sharpened in these elections.

This can be explained by the fact that the Flemish section of the Socialist party is much more right-wing than the Walloon one. The Flemish Social Democrats' opposition to the government is more than timid. The Flemish Social Democratic union, the Algemeen Belgische Vakverbond (ABVV—Belgian General Confederation of Unions) is also much less dynamic than its Walloon equivalent, the Fédération Générale des Travailleurs de Belgique (FGTB).

A great many cities, such as Antwerp, for example, have been governed for years by a coalition of the PSB/BSP and the PSC/CVP. In Flanders, the Christian Democratic party made its gains at the expense of the PSB/BSP and Volksunie (Flemish National Unity party, right-wing nationalists).

Nonetheless, in certain recently industrialized Flemish regions, where union membership has been growing, the PSB/BSP made gains.

In the capital city of Brussels, the most notable result of the elections was an advance for the Front Démocratique des Francophones (FDF—French-Speaking Democratic Front, a bourgeois party based in Brussels with a certain influence among the petty bourgeoisie). The FDF gained at the expense of the PSB/BSP in some

municipalities in Brussels governed by the right wing of the Social Democratic party. In other municipalities, where the PSB/BSP is more of a minority party, it made gains. The ruling PSC/CVP suffered a major setback.

In the October 14 issue of *La Gauche*, the French-language organ of the LRT/RAL, Eric Corijn, a member of the Political Bureau of the organization, summed up the lessons of the October 10 vote as follows:

There was only one constant nationwide. Everywhere the CP gained, and despite everything this represented a left radicalization. . . .

As compared with the legislative elections in 1974, the 1976 municipal elections represented an overall gain for the workers parties. In Liège, the PSP/BSP went from 30% to 37% of the vote; in Mons, from 38% to 44%; in Charleroi from 40% to 49%. Even in Antwerp, the comparative gain was significant; the PSB/BSP went from 31% to 35%. The lesson of these elections is clear. They did not constitute a stinging rebuff for the government parties. But it was the workers parties themselves that were responsible for this. Where they concentrated on opposing the government, they won. Where they simply play the role of neutral administrators in the style of Claes (a cochairman of the PSB/BSP), the bourgeois parties remained in a favorable position. In Flanders, the PSC/CVP took advantage of such opportunities in a brilliant way. To expect that in such a context, the Christian workers would demonstrate their desire for class independence is not realistic.

The worst aspect of these elections is that in their great majority, the workers belonging to the Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens/Algemeen Christelijk Vakbond (CSC/ACV—Confederation of Christian Trade Unions) did not vote for a working-class party. The responsibility for this falls primarily on the PSB/BSP, which, because of its policy of class collaboration, was unable to attract these workers.

The position of the LRT/RAL on the elections, expressed in a statement from its Political Bureau September 16, was as follows:

We call on the workers to vote, in any case, against the bourgeois parties and for the workers parties, either for the PSB/BSP and the CP, or for the CP alone, where the PSB/BSP has acted at the municipal level as a watchdog for the capitalist order, or for the PSB/BSP alone where no other workers party is running. In particular, we call for a vote for anticapitalist activists on the PSB/BSP slates, for the CP, and for united-front slates linked to the workers movement.

1. In addition to Premier Leo Tindemans's Parti Social Chrétien/Christelijke Volkspartij (PSC/CVP—Social Christian party), the coalition includes the Parti pour la Liberté et du Progrès/Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang (PLP/PVV—Party for Freedom and Progress), and the Rassemblement Wallon (RW—Party of Walloon Unity). In Belgium, parties active in both Flemish- and French-speaking areas have names in both languages.—IP

2. Brussels is formally a bilingual area. Historically, it was Flemish speaking. However, the city was built up as the capital of a unitary state dominated by a French-speaking bourgeoisie and was Frenchified in the process. It remains essentially a French island in Flanders, although there are Flemish-speaking neighborhoods. In general, the greatest tensions between Flemish- and French-speaking populations are in Brussels.—IP

What the PSB/BSP hoped these elections would accomplish was to open up the way for a new governmental coalition with the PSC/CVP and possibly with other capitalist parties. The headline in the PSB/BSP paper *Le Peuple* the day following the election was, "Severely Defeated in the Walloon Country and in Brussels, the Government Can No Longer Lead the Nation."

The PSB/BSP's well-known leaders have not concealed their desire to rejoin the government. Unfortunately for them, they ran up against a rejection (at least for the time being) from the PSC/CVP, which estimates that it has enough strength to get through the life of the present legislature (whose mandate runs out in 1978).

The workers voted for the PSB/BSP full of hope that it would defend their interests, above all in the Walloon country. They seized on the PSB/BSP as the most readily available instrument to combat the capitalist parties and the government. The reduced vote for those PSB/BSP candidates most in favor of a new governmental coalition demonstrates this. Immediately after the elections, the PSB/BSP leaders could think of nothing better to do in the municipalities than to join coalitions with the PSC/CVP and the PLP/PVV.

The revolutionary socialists of the LRT/RAL take up the fight inside the ABVV/FGTB and along with members of the PSB/BSP against all alliances with the bourgeoisie. We recognize what consequences a new governmental coalition between the PSB/BSP and capitalist parties would have for the independence of the workers movement and for social struggles.

In the October 12 issue of its paper

Drapeau Rouge, the Belgian CP took a view more to the left than in the past:

In fact, if Sunday's elections did not bring a greater condemnation of the government's policy, if the left experienced setbacks along with its gains, this was because the political support for the struggles the workers have been waging for months against the economic crisis and austerity was not sufficient to evoke more than a very partial response at the polls.

However, the CP continues to push its "progressive" alternative to the present government. Its answer to the alliance of the PSB/BSP and the PSC/CVP is a coalition of the PSB/BSP, the CP, and "progressive democrats" (who would be, nonetheless, representatives of the bourgeoisie). This formula as well fails to safeguard the class independence of the workers.

These elections have not solved the

workers' problems. They took place in an atmosphere dominated by a new rise of social struggles. There have been strikes by teachers, by high-school students, by workers in the Walloon steel industry, and in plants in Flanders. The horizon is filled with impending social struggles: The renewal of labor contracts is coming up. Program Law No. 77, which contains a whole series of reactionary measures, is before the parliament. A battle against the government is on the agenda.

In this context, the LRT/RAL is trying to link up the struggles and to assure the independence of the workers from bourgeois control. It is trying to unify the economic struggles around the political perspective of a "government of the workers organizations without any stooges for big capital." □

Máire Drumm Murdered in Belfast

Máire Drumm, former vice-president of Provisional Sinn Féin, was shot to death October 28 by three terrorists as she lay in her bed in Belfast's Mater Hospital recovering from eye surgery. She was fifty-three years old. The hospital is located on the predominantly Protestant Crumlin Road.

Máire Drumm was well known as a fiery and moving republican speaker. She was a fervent believer in the republican tradition of personal sacrifice for national freedom. She was frequently imprisoned in the brutal Northern Irish jails for her outspoken support of a free and united Ireland and for her refusal to recognize the legal

institutions established by the imperialists.

She defied the repressive forces almost alone in the years before the rise of the civil rights movement, when the oppressed Catholic community was intimidated and atomized. Her family shared her convictions, and her husband and children have also been imprisoned for their support of the republican cause.

Máire Drumm was an eminently public figure, a political speaker. Her brutal and cowardly murder is an attack on the right of Irish nationalists to express their views in the British imperialist enclave of Northern Ireland. □

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The Battle Over Wage Controls in Denmark

By Torben Kristensen and Frede Jakobsen

COPENHAGEN—"If we want to keep the Danish trade-union movement from becoming an office for enforcing antisocial parliamentary deals, we've got to reject this wage limitation and start preparing for the 1977 contract negotiations by fighting for the demands that were raised long ago by the unions."

This was the conclusion of a statement by two hundred employees at the Peerlees factory in Copenhagen. On August 23, they approved this statement and decided to begin an immediate strike against the parliamentary agreement on a national incomes policy.

The strike in the Peerlees factory was one of the more belated responses by workers to this agreement. For a week before, walkouts had been occurring everywhere. About 200,000 workers participated in the strike wave.

A whole series of strikes and demonstrations showed the determination of the workers to fight back against the government's attack. They were unable, however, to gather enough strength to stop the incomes policy.

The most immediate cause of this tactical defeat for the workers movement was the attitude of the DKP [Danmarks Kommunistiske Parti—Communist party of Denmark] and the SF [Socialistisk Folkeparti—People's Socialist party, a centrist formation]. Both reformist parties were unable to defend the interests of wage earners in a situation where the Social Democratic government was responsible for the parliamentary agreement.

Social Democrats Cave In

For several years, the bourgeois parties and the employers association had been discussing the methods for introducing a government incomes policy, that is, a reduction in the real wages of the working class. As in the past, an attack of this sort was possible only if the Social Democracy, which plays the dominant role in the workers movement, went along with it. With the agreement on an incomes policy in the Danish parliament, the Folketing, the hopes of the employers and the bourgeois parties were fulfilled.

On August 17, the Social Democrats and the bourgeois parties—the Radikale Venstreparti [liberals], the Conservatives, the Kristelig Folkeparti [Christian People's party], and the Centrum-Demokratisk parti—united behind a government incomes policy. The most important points

in the agreement they reached were as follows:

In the next national contract,¹ which is to be negotiated early in 1977 and remain in force for two years, annual wage increases are to be limited to 2 percent over and above any automatic cost of living increases.² Such adjustments for price increases can be made only twice a year. When a rise in the cost-of-living index requires a wage adjustment, such increases are to be financed by the so-called ATP account.³ This means that increases will not be paid out of the pockets of the employers but out of government funds, that is, out of the taxes of the workers. It is the workers themselves, therefore, who will have to pay for these adjustments with money that they will get back only after they retire in the form of pensions.

The unions lost their right to collective bargaining free from the state interference. Thus, during the two-year life of the contract, wages cannot rise more than 5.7 percent, even with four cost-of-living adjustments. The parliamentary agreement includes a commitment to establish this wage ceiling by law if need be.

Finally, a series of indirect taxes will be raised by a yearly total of 5 billion Danish kroner [5.8 kroner equal US\$1].

According to estimates that the government has not been able to refute, the parliamentary agreement will result in a cut of 5,600 kroner per year in the income of the average family, that is, a family with a disposable income of 60,000 kroner a year.

The strike wave began on August 17, when 1,500 workers walked out at the traditionally Social-Democrat-dominated Brdr. Gram factory in southern Denmark. At the same time, they called on all workers to "wage an active struggle against the probourgeois and promanagement line being carried out by the Folketing." In the following five days, at least 225 factories went on strike. About 25,000

1. In Denmark, where there is one national union federation, a single national contract is negotiated for most categories of workers.—*IP*

2. Danish workers have won and consolidated the right to cost-of-living increases. However, these are determined by a government price index that includes only a few items and tends to understate the actual inflation rate.—*IP*

3. Arbejdsmarkedets Tillaegspension, a special fund for pension increments for workers, subsidized by the employers and unions.

persons demonstrated in front of the Folketing, and still bigger strikes and demonstrations were expected. It was notable that on this occasion the initiative came from factories that normally do not participate in political strikes, such as Peerlees and Brdr. Gram. These are provincial plants that traditionally follow the line set by the Social Democracy.

At the same time, those factories that have a real militant tradition, where the DKP and the SF, and to some extent the far left, have a strong influence, took part only in a limited way in the actions. This indicates how effective the protest actions could have been had there been a leadership with clear objectives and without any squeamishness about fighting a Social Democratic government. As an illustration of this peculiar situation, we can cite the traditionally militant B&W shipyards in Copenhagen, which, for example, initiated a general strike in 1956.

Stalinists Apply the Brakes

The workers at B&W were ready for action, but they were held back by Eric Hansen, the head shop steward and a member of the DKP Central Committee. Only strong pressure from militant and revolutionary-minded workers forced him to agree to a one-hour strike in the form of an on-the-job meeting. And then only the still greater pressure brought to bear by other plants got him to propose that the several thousand workers at B&W take part in the protest strikes and the demonstration in front of the Folketing.

The line of the Social Democratic cabinet conflicted so sharply with the interests of the workers, and the numerous strikes, especially by Social Democratic workers, were so extensive that the leadership of the LO [Landsorganisation—National Union Federation] found itself forced to take its distance from the government. LO Chairman Thomas Nielsen talked about "a final sellout" and "un-Social Democratic" policies. He didn't dare defend the government's policy to the union rank and file.

In the same breath, however, Nielsen assured the Social Democratic party of the continued cooperation and loyalty of the unions. There is no reason, therefore, to give any credibility to the LO leadership's criticism of the parliament's incomes policy.

In reality, Thomas Nielsen and the union bureaucracy do not hold a different position from the Social Democratic party.

In principle, they are for an incomes policy. They only want it to be accompanied by provisions for "economic democracy" (i.e., the Social Democratic plan for developing comanagement of the economy through the unions buying stock in the companies). Moreover, the LO leadership wanted a wage increase ceiling of 8 percent instead of the government's 5.7 percent.

At the National Union Conference on September 21-22, it became clear that the LO leadership's criticisms were just eye-wash. At this meeting the union tops were to present the most important demands for the coming contract negotiations. The suspicion that the LO leadership was going to accept the 5.7 percent ceiling was proven to be correct.

The so-called Formands-Initiative [Shop-Stewards' Initiative Group], including forty head shop stewards and local union leaders in Copenhagen, mostly DKP and SF members, has been regarded by many workers as an alternative to the LO leadership. In the spring of 1974, when 250,000 workers struck against the tax increase proposed by the bourgeois government in office at the time, the leadership of this nationwide workers' mobilization came from the Formands-Initiative.

It was precisely this body's reluctance to assume its responsibility as a leadership and respond to the demands of the situation that explained the wait-and-see attitude taken this time by those groups of workers in the Copenhagen factories that on other occasions have been the most militant. For example, Erik Hansen at B&W is a leading member of the Formands-Initiative. The reason for this body's hesitation in August is to be found in the line of the DKP and the SF, which are putting their hopes particularly on parliamentary deals with the Social Democracy.

In January 1975, the bourgeois Venstre government headed by Poul Hartling was forced to resign. The workers' protests led to the formation of a Social Democratic government presided over by Anker Jorgensen. When, not long after taking office, this government passed a law extending the old national labor contract, only a few thousand workers held protest strikes. Even the recent actions against the parliamentary agreement did not attain the scope of the struggles against the Venstre government.

This difference between the fight put up against the Hartling cabinet and the kind of fight the workers are putting up now shows the difference between a government presided over by the bourgeois parties and one under Social Democratic leadership. Since the majority of the Danish workers continue to follow the Social Democrats, this party is better able to carry out a policy cutting the living standard of the workers and other social strata, the policy that Hartling could not

carry out. Without the help of the Social Democratic leaders, the incomes policy the bourgeoisie wants could scarcely be gotten through.

Even before the August agreement, the Social Democratic government had re-



DANISH PREMIER JORGENSEN

duced the workers' standard of living through all sorts of legislation. For example, there were cutbacks in social services, education, and kindergartens. Since the present government was formed, rents have increased an average of 25 to 50 percent. And at the same time the government has set a wage-increase ceiling of 5.7 percent for the next two years, in many areas another 50 percent increase in rents is expected.

One Worker in Ten Unemployed

Denmark has been hard hit by the international capitalist economic crisis. Throughout the past year, the number of unemployed stayed well over 100,000; that is, 10 percent of the work force.

The untenability of the Social Democratic reformist policy has been demonstrated with full clarity. It is no longer possible to conduct a policy satisfying the capitalist's demands for profit at the same time as raising the living standards of the workers and offering them social reforms. The "welfare society" of the Social Democrats has been dealt severe blows.

Faced with a choice between the interests of the workers and the interests of profit, the Social Democracy has always opted for the latter. In its attempt to justify this policy, it has always pointed to the "greater evil" of having a majority of bourgeois deputies in the Folketing.

The shortcomings of the Social Democrats' policy prepared the ground for the petty-bourgeois, right-wing populist Glistrup movement, the so-called Progressive

party. It was the Social Democrats' lack of a clear, class political answer to the economic crisis that today has driven important sections of the working class to the Glistrup movement.

While defending the "lesser evil," the Social Democracy has retreated further and further in the face of the reactionary onslaught represented most forcefully by the Progressive party, which the other bourgeois parties try as hard as they can to emulate.

In a recent annual conference of the Social Democratic party, its leaders defined the party's task today as "keeping the steps backward to a minimum." They delude themselves that they can check the political advance of the Glistrup movement by conciliating it as much as possible. Such an attitude prompts their feathered counterparts, when danger approaches, to stick their heads in the sand.

It is the lack of a credible alternative to the Social Democrats in the workers movement that has led to this situation. None of the "left" reformist parties, neither the DKP or the SF, has proved capable of putting forward a clear policy for defending the interests of the working class against the effects of the capitalist crisis. Both these parties have the same shortcoming. They are unable to give an effective focus and direction to mass actions that would have to come to bear against the rightward course of the Social Democracy, since they have an interest in limiting the scope of these actions so as not to obstruct a future alliance with the Social Democrats. The objective of the DKP and SF is simply to put political pressure on the Social Democrats.

The centrist Venstre Socialister [VS—Left Socialists] follow no consistent line as regards a common front with the Social Democrats. Sometimes, they follow a right opportunist policy of accommodation, supporting the Social Democracy without political conditions. At other times, they take a left sectarian abstentionist attitude, declaring that it is all the same whether Hartling or Jorgensen is in office. This oscillation results from the political line of the VS itself, in which the tactic to be followed toward the Social Democracy is not clearly defined.

Role of Danish Trotskyists

The Revolutionaere Socialister Forbund [RSF—Revolutionary Socialist League, Danish section of the Fourth International] is not yet able to have much of an effect on the present situation or to change its future course. However, even with the small forces we have in comparison with the gigantic tasks that face us, we will pursue the policy we think the situation demands. No one else is going to do this for us.

The most important aspect of the Danish class struggle in recent years, especially since the Social Democracy assumed responsibility for the government, is the

lack of coordination among the various immediate battles, and the disconnection of these struggles as a whole from any general political plan for defending the interests of the workers.

Many local strikes have been waged against the de facto wage freeze. There have been big mobilizations against the cutbacks in appropriations for day-care centers, education, and health. And at the present moment large numbers of people with housing problems are mobilizing against the enormous rent hikes. In several neighborhoods, many tenants are refusing to pay the rent increases, or even are withholding the entire rent.

So, a lot of people are ready for action, but their interests are directly affected. But their militancy does not carry beyond this immediate sphere. Many of these same people who are ready to fight to defend their own interests still support the Social Democracy or even the bourgeois parties, that is, they support the very parties responsible for the attacks on their living standards.

This contradiction does not surprise us, but the RSF cannot overcome it just by writing and speaking against this kind of inconsistency. So, we try to bolster the demands that are raised by the various mass movements. We try to link up the demands of the various sectors and bring them together in an action program for today, a program consistently defending the interests of the wage earners and of other strata of the population in a similar position in society. To give force to this program, the RSF fights in the various situations for the unity in action of all forces that may support these demands.

Consistent with this line, our propaganda calls for an end to the collaboration between the workers and bourgeois parties and for a common front of the workers parties based on a program such as we raise.

In this perspective, we see a possibility for changing the situation in favor of the working class and its allies in the struggle against the capitalists and the results of their economic system of boom and bust.

As an immediate step toward developing a leadership for the struggle, the need for which was clearly shown by the conflicts in August, the RSF is supporting the Formands-Initiative proposal for a national conference of shop stewards who have spoken out against the government's incomes policy. On the other hand, it is not likely that we will be able to fully support the line put forward at this meeting by the Formands-Initiative.

After the total capitulation of the LO tops to the government's 2 percent wage guidelines, this conference represents the only possibility of an alternative leadership for the struggle in the present situation. Therefore, the RSF is working to promote the greatest possible participation by shop stewards and other plant leaders from all over the country.

We ourselves, if possible in collaboration with other organizations and parties, will present the following proposals at the conference:

- A resolution proposing rejection of the decisions of the LO tops and backing the main demands raised by local union general assemblies early this year. The LO leadership should represent the interests of the membership. It was not elected to accept anti-working-class deals made in the Folketing.

- A resolution demanding that the four workers parties in the Folketing end their collaboration with the bourgeois parties and conduct a policy in the interests of the workers.

- A resolution proposing a union action plan for after the end of the contract negotiations to meet any attack by the government. It will point out how key industries such as transport can be hit without throwing all the millions of LO members on the organization's strike funds.

- A leadership should be elected at the conference responsible for carrying out its decisions, as well as for coordinating activities up till the contract negotiations and for calling a new conference if this situation drags out until February or March 1977.

The August agreement of the five parties

has already been breached. More than a thousand workers at the Royal Porcelain plant in Copenhagen have won their wage demands after a thirteen-week strike.

On the basis of the many labor rules established by the LO and the employers association, the Royal Porcelain strike was illegal. Therefore, the workers got no strike pay from their own union's funds. The Labor Court ordered them to pay 5,000,000 kroner to the boss.

Since the August agreement was concluded while this strike was going on, the action became a general test for the upcoming contract negotiations and a declaration of war against the parliamentary deal. The bosses wanted to impose the wage freeze in this conflict as well and boasted about their 600,000,000 kroner war chest.

But the porcelain workers held out and won, thanks above all, to the generous solidarity from workers in other plants and from other sections of the population. All told, more than 4,000,000 kroner in voluntary contributions were collected to support the strike. Originally, the workers had demanded a wage increase of 3,000,000 kroner per year for the work force. The boss offered 300,000. The workers finally won 2,700,000 kroner.

That was the first contribution to burying the incomes policy. Now we have to make sure that it will not be the last. □

Appeal for Victimized Polish Workers

Three months after the wave of strikes and demonstrations that spread across Poland following the abrupt announcement of a major increase in food prices, harsh repression continues to be carried out against workers whose only crime is to have sought to defend their standard of living by strike. There have been many trials. Although the Polish authorities have claimed there are 53, the number of those convicted is at least 100, some of whom have been sentenced to ten-year prison terms. But how many more remain imprisoned without knowing the charges against them or how long they will be jailed, after having suffered repeated violence from the police?

Thirteen Polish intellectuals have appealed "to all who have taken up the defense of those persecuted in Chile, Spain, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR, to all who support the struggle of the workers of the whole world for the liberation of labor."

Recently, a Support Committee for Worker Victims of the Repression Following the Events of June 25, 1976, was established in Poland itself. The members of this committee, in fact all those who have shown their solidarity with the victims, risk paying a heavy price for their courage, including continual harassment by the government and the loss of their jobs.

We demand of the Polish authorities:

- The immediate release of all those imprisoned following the events of June 25, 1976.

- The rehiring of all those fired from their jobs, without loss of pay or of job grade.

- A stop to all official and judicial harassment and police brutality against intellectuals who have expressed solidarity with the prisoners.

N. Poulantzas, M. Rodinson, J.M. Vincent, M. Nadeau, Foucalt, Maxime Le Forestier, M.F. Kahn, A. Krivine, F. Chatelet, D. and J.T. Desanti.

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Selections From the Left



The paper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.

Writing in the October 21 issue, Greg Benton states that Mao Tsetung's death "immediately and dramatically revealed the limits" of his achievements.

The recent events "have resembled not the burial of a great revolutionary but the macabre re-enactment of a Ching dynasty succession crisis. The emperor's will is said to be forged. His widow, his nephew and some of his closest associates and proteges are arrested or killed, after a reported attempt to kill his successor."

Both contending factions—the "mis-named 'radicals'" and the "so-called 'moderates'"—are "essentially Stalinist, combining a policy of 'socialism in one country' with hostility to socialist democracy" while their "rival programs simply emphasised different aspects within this identical political framework."

Accordingly, "the resolution of the dispute at the expense of the Shanghai group should be interpreted as a defeat not for the left, but for a bureaucratic current analogous in many ways to the Malenkov group ousted in the mid-1950s by Khrushchev."

Although "the speed and violence with which the leadership clash climaxed took most observers by surprise," there are a number of reasons why it happened this way:

"1. . . . the 'radicals' are weak and isolated. This is clear above all from the course of events in their former power base of Shanghai, where hundreds of thousands of jubilant Chinese took to the streets to welcome their arrest.

"2. The central bureaucracy is better organised and more determined than ever before, adamant that the experience of the Cultural Revolution should never be repeated.

"3. The pressing nature of the various economic problems facing the regime, especially in the wake of the Tang Shan earthquake, require a speedy resolution of the deadlock at the top.

"4. Many ordinary Chinese are restive and anxious for political change, as the unprecedented riots in Tien-An-Men square showed."

The "evident isolation" of the Shanghai group "has its roots in the Cultural Revolution, when Chiang Ching betrayed and brutally repressed those sections of her 'beloved' Red Guard movement who refused to toe the Maoist line."

Subsequently, the Shanghai group's "'egalitarian wages policy,' which favoured a downward compression of wage scales and exaggerated opposition to 'material incentives,' earned them the hostility of large sections of the working class." Similarly, their "crude cultural dictatorship, reducing China's rich and varied theatrical heritage to a mere handful of 'model operas,'" angered intellectual and cultural workers.

"Does this therefore mean that the so-called 'moderates' enjoy real support in the country?" Benton asks. "Many of the issues that they raise, in particular their stress on the need for a partial and limited liberalisation of certain aspects of national political life, are capable of evoking a powerful response among the masses. In this sense, the present political upheaval represents a continuation—at the level of the bureaucracy and in the cynical interests of its major section—of the events in Tien-An-Men square. . . ."

"The fact that 'moderate' leaders appear to bear none of the responsibility for the series of political crises which have brought such discredit on Mao and his supporters in the leadership in recent years is another strong plus in their favour.

"But to the degree that the Chinese masses look to the 'moderates' for fulfilment of their hopes, they are under an illusion. The real power bases of the 'moderate' leaders are the army (which reportedly played an important role in the preparation of the recent purge) and the bureaucracy. Teng's use of troops to suppress the Hangchow general strike of 1975, the immediate closing of ranks in the bureaucracy during the recent Tien-An-Men riots, and the classically bureaucratic way in which the present crisis was resolved all demonstrate the limits of the 'moderates.'"

rouge

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

The October 25 issue reprints long excerpts from a joint resolution by the two main French Maoist spontanéist groups. In this statement, the OC-GOP (Communist Organization-Workers and Peasants Left) and the Communist Organization-Revolution come out in defense of the ousted Shanghai group in China.

Both of these French groups had accepted the rhetoric of the Cultural Revolution and the utopian themes the Mao group used to justify its actions, and they made this the basis of their appeal to the

radicalized youth. In their declaration, they say:

"The ouster, in obscure conditions, of a group of leaders and members of the Political Bureau [PB] of the Chinese CP [CCP] must be assessed in the light of the decisive role and position held by these persons in several respects.

"• They were the main leaders who emerged from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution still remaining in the PB of the CCP.

"• The documents that guided the struggle against the 'bourgeoisie in the party' represented the most complete balance sheet of the class struggle under socialism and contributed to the enrichment of the thought of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tsetung.

"• These leaders were the spearhead of the recent campaigns against revisionism and, in particular, the right deviationist wind represented by Teng Hsiao-p'ing:

"Because of the role they played, the ouster of these leaders represents a shift in the center of gravity within the CCP that favors the development of new revisionist tendencies and thus an evolution in the relationship of forces unfavorable to the proletarian revolution. This remains true, regardless of any errors the Shanghai group may have committed in applying the principles it defended as regards the choice of objectives and means, regardless of whether they were excessively audacious or excessively prudent in the struggle in past years."

Internationalen

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

Sweden is one of the countries where the Maoist organizations have had the most influence among the radicalized youth. Following the sudden fall of Chairman Mao's widow and other close associates, reporters from *Internationalen* attempted to find out what the positions of the three main Maoist groups were on the campaign to "crush the four dogs." The results of the inquiry are published in the October 22 issue.

"First we rang up the office of the KFMLr [Communist League/Marxist Leninist (revolutionary)]. Here is the transcription of the tape:

"Hello, we are calling from *Internationalen*. We wonder how the KFMLr views the latest events in China. Have you discussed the possible political consequences and so forth?"

"No we haven't done that . . . yes, but not much, man to man, only a little . . . we

are waiting a little while longer.

"No, we don't really know what is happening there . . . so we don't really know what we are going to write."

"So much for the KFMLR. . . ."

"We also called the SKP [Communist party of Sweden, a Maoist group that took over the old name of the Swedish CP] editorial board of the paper *Gnistan* and asked the same question:

"Listen, we aren't saying boo or baa about it. If you want an authoritative statement, then call the party office."

"No sooner said than done. We called the party office, and got the following answer:

"We are not making any comment. You can read the paper when it comes out. We have no comment."

"This silence said a lot. When the comment comes out, we will bet a good penny that it supports the new leadership. Jan Myrdal [author of a widely circulated book on Albania] has already shown the way with an article in *Expressen*.

"The Förbund Kommunist [Communist League, a Maoist group that leans toward centrism] didn't have to be called. They sent us a statement on the question. It supported the so-called radicals and legitimized the Chinese CP's bureaucratic domination of the masses. FK wants the new leadership to relieve its concern over the recent developments by freeing the 'left leaders' and putting them back in their posts.

"Of course, we support the demand that the 'left leaders' be freed. But should they also be 'reinstated'? That is what the FK wrote in its statement, that the 'left leaders' should be 'taken into the party leadership.' But they were never elected by the Chinese masses."



Arbeiterkampf

"*Workers Struggle*," workers newspaper of the Communist League. Published fortnightly in Hamburg, West Germany.

The Maoist group that publishes this paper leans to centrism. It has been expressing disillusionment more and more openly with "official" Maoism. The October 18 issue makes the following comment on the rise of Hua Kuo-feng and the campaign to "crush the four dogs":

"A few weeks after the death of Chairman Mao, it seems that the rightists around Hua Kuo-feng have succeeded in ousting the 'left' from the party leadership.

"The silence of the Chinese press and official sources has provided the basis for a flowering of the wildest rumors in the bourgeois press. For example, the sessions of the Political Bureau of the Chinese CP have been portrayed in a 'wild west' style (the quickest on the draw wins). There has been talk about people being killed, and even about executions, and so on.

"The official Chinese representatives have had nothing more to say about these rumors than 'no comment.' No one who

has had discussions with fellow workers these days can have failed to notice what confusion has been created by these rumors and speculations, which portray the political confrontations in the People's Republic of China in a way that people find extremely repugnant.

"It is notable, and incomprehensible for us, that the Chinese leadership seems to think that the effects of its abstruse public-relations policy on the masses in the capitalist countries are not worth a crap. The only thing it has been concerned about is reassuring the imperialists that China's foreign policy will not change in any way. . . . The Chinese leadership has not thought it necessary to offer any such reassurances to the international communist and workers movement.

"Whatever the details, the putsch by the rightists around Hua Kuo-feng is a severe setback for the Chinese revolution and thus for the worldwide revolutionary process. The historical importance of this setback is at least equal to that of the ill-fated Twentieth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union."

was fun

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

The October 21 issue comments on the Chinese bureaucracy's campaign to "crush the four dogs," in the light of the paper's experience with the German Maoist sects.

"Either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind, or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind. In questions of political line, there is scarcely any room for compromise.' Faithful to this maxim of the recently deceased Great Chairman Mao Tsetung, two-line struggles have been waged recently with increasing sharpness. Moreover, they have taken quite different forms and the fronts have shifted with startling frequency. They have taken place in the Communist party of China and—to overlook questions of scale—in the Communist League of West Germany [KBW].

"In the Federal Republic a month ago in the KBW's paper *Kommunistischer Volkszeitung*, the masses were alerted. On the editorial board of this paper, three leading members of the KBW had been unmasked as 'representatives of the bourgeois center.' And, since in accordance with the present class-struggle situation, the two-line struggle at all levels of the organization is marked by 'great acuteness,' these three 'chief representatives of the rightist current' were immediately fired from the editorial board of the paper. With this, 'a decisive step toward smashing the bourgeois center' was taken. Unfortunately, it was not possible to arrest the 'renegades.' But in any case, the Great Chairman's directive for building the party was fulfilled: 'throw out the garbage, get rid of the

slag, and remain with blooming vitality.'

"The same thing happened and is happening in the People's Republic of China. But—and this is a dilemma for the KBW—not to the 'center of the right current' but to the 'center of the left current.' Its four main representatives and thirty to forty others have been declared 'unpersons,' among other things, because they are supposed to have worked up a false testament for Mao. Demonstrations in Shanghai are demanding, according to the program card: 'Boil the plotters in oil and smash their dogs' heads.'

"We grant that it is hard to mention in the same breath the Chinese CP, which led a victorious revolution and has a world-historic importance, and the KBW, a small organization degenerating more and more into a sect. The similarity is only that the KBW applies the same method in miniature that is applied on a grand scale in China.

"By using the terminology of myth—bourgeois centers, renegades, degenerate elements, etc.—this method covers up the real controversies and uses the masses in China or the ranks in the KBW as political cattle. How can the ordinary Chinese worker or rank-and-file member of the KBW know anything about the constantly shifting 'two-lines struggles' but the slogans?"

Guardian

An independent radical newsweekly, published in New York.

An article by managing editor Jack A. Smith in the November 3 issue is headlined "What's behind the China purge?"

Smith notes that "the process of eliminating Teng [Hsiao-p'ing] led by the party left, began immediately after the death last January of Premier Chou En-lai and the process of eliminating the party left began immediately after the death of Chairman Mao. That Chou before his death had supported Teng and that Mao had protected the left—even if with reservations—is fairly obvious.

"In theory at least, Chairman Hua now presides over a party which has neutralized its right and now left wings in leadership positions. Precisely what this means politically at this stage is not entirely clear."

The four victims of the purge, Smith points out, "were brought to their prominence in the party under the aegis of Chairman Mao. This does not mean they reflected Chairman Mao's line at all times but that the late leader considered them useful in effecting a political balance. . . ."

Apparently, Smith says, the four have lost their usefulness. "It is possible to speculate that Premier Hua and the consolidated party center now believe that with the ouster of Teng, the party left wing as currently constituted no longer played a constructive role. . . ."

Among the "speculations" that Smith says he finds "unconvincing" is that "the outnumbered party left made a desperate illicit grab for power and lost." He does not note that this is the official charge against the four former officials, but he does—for the first time—evidence some embarrassment at the methods being used against those who fall out of favor with the Chinese party leadership.

Thus, Smith says that the campaign against the "gang of four" used methods of "personal vilification." "Some of the charges [against Chiang Ch'ing] can only be described as sexist. The tactic was to discredit the four from the beginning of their careers, implying they were always bad communists."

According to Smith, "The purge probably means that there will be some modifications in party line in the next period. Exactly what they will be is not known with any certainty—not the least reason being that a frank exposition of the political differences between the party center and Chiang Ching et al has not been revealed. Virtually all the charges made against the four have been devoid of specific political content."

DIRECT ACTION

Socialist weekly published in Sydney, Australia. Presents the views of the Socialist Workers party.

Deb Shnookal reports in the October 14 issue that "the Industries Assistance Commission has now turned its attention to a new victim—the arts. In a report released on October 8 the IAC recommended that Federal Government assistance to the performing arts be phased out over the next 5 years.

"Reviewing the present state of Australian opera, ballet, drama and orchestral music, the IAC argued that because these performances were not making any profit, or even paying for themselves, then they did not deserve federal aid."

The announcement "sent a shock wave through Australia's artistic community." Nobel Prize-winning author Patrick White called the report "ludicrous" and "shameless."

"Ken Horler, general manager of Nimrod Theatre (Sydney) described it as 'absurd to apply the pragmatic values of the market place to the performing arts.

"While the arts must be business-like in their methods, they must be considered in the same way as schools, hospitals and universities which we do not expect to pay for themselves," Horler said.

"But making working people pay for what they consider to be fundamental rights, (education, health care etc) is exactly what the Fraser Government intends to do in its cutback program. . . .

"The commission has used the argument that only about 3 per cent of the population patronise these arts anyway, and they



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have criticised the Australia Council for the Arts as being elitist. But by slashing government funding with the inevitable result of the skyrocketing of prices, the commission is ensuring that even fewer people will have the opportunity to enjoy these arts."

New America

Monthly newspaper of the Social Democrats, U.S.A. and Young People's Socialist League. Published in New York.

"The death of Mao Tse-tung has occasioned a predictable torrent of praise in the American press for the departed Chinese despot," the editorial in the October issue notes.

"What troubles us about the current praise of Mao is that it is just one more sign of the decline of democratic sensibility in the West and of the readiness of many people not merely to resign themselves to totalitarianism but to accept it as a positive good. History has not dealt kindly with the 1930s fellow travelers of Stalinist totalitarianism, and it is unlikely that it will be any kinder to their latter-day counterparts who have such great admiration for Mao."

The editors then get down to brass tacks:

"All of this said, however, Mao should be commended for perceiving the threat of Soviet imperialism and achieving a tentative accommodation with the U.S. Though the struggle for succession between so-called moderates and radicals has already begun in China, it is unlikely that either group will seek to heal the Sino-Soviet split, for it is rooted too deeply in historical and political conditions, and both groups are part of the Maoist establishment and therefore identified with the anti-Soviet

policies. The Sino-Soviet split has provided a modicum of security for Western Europe, over and above what is gained through the Western Alliance. Another benefit, no doubt less significant, is that it has increased the amount of truthful characterizations of Soviet and Chinese totalitarianism. Whatever foolishness about them is printed in the Western press, at least we can count on the Russians to describe accurately the evils of the Chinese system, and on the Chinese to truthfully portray the frightful nature of Russian 'social imperialism.'"

COMBAT SOCIALISTE

"Socialist Fight." Presents the views of the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire of Québec, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. Published in Montréal.

The October 14 issue carries a report on the first convention of the GMR, held September 24-26.

"This congress followed a series of political conferences which, since the foundation of the GMR in the fall of 1972, had defined its politics. The holding of this congress testified to the growth of the GMR and especially to the beginning of its national [Québec-wide] implantation. More than 100 persons—members, candidate members, and invited guests—attended the convention, coming from Montréal, Québec City, Sherbrooke, and Joliette. Fraternal observers from the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Socialist Workers party of the U.S.A., and the sister organization of the GMR in English Canada, the Revolutionary Marxist Group, also attended."

The convention was preceded by a year-long discussion during which two tendencies were formed, one of which dissolved itself in the spring. The political resolution adopted at the congress placed emphasis on the sharpening of the class struggle in Québec and the "necessity for revolutionary Marxists to increase their implantation in the working-class movement."

The convention "directed the leadership to open discussions with the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the other organization of the Fourth International in Québec, on the differences that separate us, and to see if it is not possible to bring about a rapid unification of the forces of the Fourth International in Québec."

A "lively debate" took place on both the theoretical and practical aspects of the struggle for women's liberation, and the convention decided to continue the discussion on this until a special conference, to be held in a few months. The congress also decided to open a discussion within the GMR on unity between revolutionists in Canada and Québec, and on gay liberation.

AROUND THE WORLD



Portuguese Regime Arrests Carvalho

Maj. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho was arrested October 23 and ordered to serve twenty days in prison. A Portuguese military official said Carvalho had been arrested for "expressing political views at a public meeting."

Carvalho ran for president last June with the consent of the military hierarchy. Since then, however, he has been barred from political activity. His arrest, which provoked widespread protest, came after he had spoken at a rally called by the Movement for Popular Unity (a group formed by Carvalho's supporters after the presidential campaign).

"Putting Otelo in prison is like sending 800,000 Portuguese there too," said *Pagina*, a left-wing newspaper, in a front-page editorial that alluded to Carvalho's 16.5 percent of the vote in the presidential race.

U.S. Economic Indicators

Down for Second Straight Month

The U.S. Commerce Department announced October 29 that its index of twelve leading economic indicators was down for the second straight month. The drop of 0.7 percent was the same for both August and September. Particularly ominous was the increasing rate of layoffs in American factories.

Mexican Editor Harassed by Regime

Julio Scherer García, the former editor of the Mexican daily *Excelsior*, told reporters October 25 that the government of President Luis Echeverría Alvarez is trying to block publication of a new political weekly under his editorship. Scherer was ousted from his post at *Excelsior* in July by right-wing members of the staff, who were backed by the government.

After the rightist takeover, the new editors of *Excelsior* charged Scherer with embezzling \$650,000. Scherer charged that a sudden interest by the government in his case was "undoubtedly of a political nature," and was aimed at "intimidating us and impeding the execution of our editorial project."

Hua Rejects Message From Brezhnev

Peking announced October 28 that a message from Soviet Communist party chief Leonid I. Brezhnev to Hua Kuo-feng upon Hua's appointment as head of the Chinese party had been rejected because

"we have no party-to-party relations" with the Soviets. The same reason was given in September for the rejection of messages of condolence on Mao Tsetung's death sent by the Soviet Communist party and its East European counterparts.

Although Moscow has taken the lead—at least on the surface—in probing the possibility for a reconciliation between the two regimes, it continues to maintain an army of forty-three divisions along the Chinese border. This is a larger force than the Kremlin deploys in all of Eastern Europe.

In an October 28 dispatch from Moscow, *New York Times* correspondent David K. Shipler pointed out that one Western diplomat "went as far as to suggest that the Soviet party messages had been sent in the expectation that they would elicit rejections that could later be cited as evidence of Peking's obstinacy in the face of Moscow's good will. Otherwise, the diplomat said, Moscow would have asked Peking privately whether such messages would be acceptable. This is common diplomatic practice in delicate situations."

Camejo and Reid Demand: Stop Execution of Murrays!

Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, called on the Irish government October 26 to set aside the death sentences of Noel and Marie Murray. The Murrays were charged with killing an off-duty policeman in a bank-robbery. They were sentenced to death June 9 by a special tribunal set up to handle political cases, after being denied a jury trial.

In a protest to the president of the Irish Supreme Court, which is scheduled to hear the Murray's appeal on November 1, the socialist candidates said: "The use of the death penalty against this young couple is an act of official terror whose aim is to demoralize the movement against British domination of Ireland and all those struggling for social justice in Ireland."

Since the reinstatement of the death penalty in the United States, the SWP candidates have made the call for its abolition a central theme of their campaign. In an October 23 speech Willie Mae Reid said, "the death penalty is an international problem of increasing concern for working people. It is a weapon used universally by governments repre-

senting the ruling rich against the poor, the nonwhite, and the politically dissident. We must join forces to stay the hands of the executioners whenever and wherever they may attempt to strike, and raise an international outcry to abolish capital punishment."

Soviet Jews Protest in Moscow

A week of actions by Soviet Jews in Moscow was ended October 25 when police arrested about thirty Jewish dissidents. The protests began with a sit-in at the reception offices of the Supreme Soviet, demanding an end to delays for those seeking visas to leave the USSR. On October 19, after a two-day sit-in, a dozen Jews charged that they had been taken to a forest outside Moscow and been beaten by plainclothes police.

Following the beating, which received widespread publicity in the international press, Gen. Nikolai A. Shchelokov, the Soviet minister of internal affairs, agreed to meet with a delegation from the protesters. However, Shchelokov refused to investigate the beating or to agree to say in writing how long the protesters would have to wait for their emigration visas.

In response, twenty-five Jews marched through Moscow wearing large yellow stars of David similar to those Jews were forced to wear under the Nazis. Meanwhile, sit-ins at the offices of the Communist party's Central Committee had also been initiated.

Park Regime Seizes Clemency Petition

A petition signed by 9,500 persons—including 158 members of the Japanese Diet (parliament)—was confiscated by South Korean authorities this August. The petition was in support of I Chol, a Korean resident of Japan, who was arrested and sentenced to death on an espionage charge while studying in South Korea. Protests by the defense committee for I Chol in Japan finally forced the Park regime to return a copy of the original petition, which was handed over to I Chol's lawyer October 5.

Iranian Writer Released From Prison

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran announced October 22 that Fereydown Tonokaboni, one of Iran's foremost writers and novelists, has been released from prison. Tonokaboni

was a founding member of the Writers Union of Iran, which waged a campaign against censorship before being forced to disband in 1969. He was arrested and sentenced to two years imprisonment in March 1974 after the publication of *Money, the Measure of Value*, a satire of the political situation in Iran.

Although Tonokaboni has been released, he is still not allowed to write and teach freely. CAIFI reports that "we have every reason to believe that his life continues to be danger."

Kofi Awoonor Freed in Ghana

Kofi Awoonor, an internationally known poet and novelist, has been pardoned by the military junta in Ghana.

Awoonor was arrested with several dozen others in late 1975 in connection with an alleged coup plot against the regime of Gen. I.K. Acheampong. He was charged with helping Brig. Gen. Alphonse Kojo Kattah, the supposed leader of the plot.

Awoonor was sentenced October 20 to two concurrent twelve-month prison terms, but then pardoned. The Supreme Military Council said in a statement that he might be allowed to resume his teaching post at the University of Cape Coast.

Ninety U.S. Legislators Linked to South Korean Bribes

The increasing revelations that South Korean agents in the United States have paid lavish bribes to dozens of members of Congress have implicated South Korean President Park Chung Hee. According to a State Department source "with close knowledge of the U.S. intelligence reports from inside the South Korean government," quoted in the October 27 *Washington Post*, "There is no question—absolutely none—that Park Chung Hee was personally involved. He directed the damn thing."

The intelligence reports revealed that a meeting was held in the late 1960s between President Park, U.S.-based Korean businessman Park Tong Sun (also known as Tongsun Park), and agents of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA). It was decided at that meeting to "create a favorable legislative climate" in the United States for the Park dictatorship.

Park Tong Sun acted as the principal conduit for the bribes, which may have been given to as many as ninety senators and representatives. Between \$500,000 and \$1 million was reportedly dispensed each year. Park funded the operation through kickbacks from American rice companies that benefited from rice sales to South Korea under the American Food for Peace program. The money was also used to finance the activities of KCIA agents in the United States.

Although the CIA knew of the massive bribery operation as early as 1971, no official investigation was launched until

this year. Even now, the CIA and the National Security Agency are refusing to turn over some information to the Justice Department investigators.



PARK: Sends "Food for Peace" money back to Congress, in \$50s and \$100s.

Why Socialists Fight for Media Time

Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers party candidate for president of the United States, appeared on national television for one-half hour October 14. Although Camejo's appearance was shown at 1:30 in the morning, the SWP received 3,575 letters in the following two weeks. They contained \$3,508 in contributions, and 974 of those writing in subscribed to the *Militant*, the newspaper of the SWP campaign.

New Plan Will Force Soviet Jews to Go Directly to Israel

Zionist groups have come up with new procedures designed to force the growing number of Jewish emigrés from the Soviet Union who do not want to go to Israel to go there anyway. Under the new plan, Soviet Jews will no longer be allowed a twenty-four-hour stopover in Vienna. Instead, they will be flown to Israel within a few hours of their arrival in Austria. Only then would they be allowed to begin the lengthy process of seeking to settle elsewhere.

In practice, this would effectively prevent Jewish refugees from settling in other countries, especially the United States—

the most popular choice of those not going to Israel. Most refugees have no financial resources of their own, and those who tried to leave Israel for the United States would find a waiting list for American visas several years long.

The move to deprive the Soviet refugees of a choice in where they will settle was prompted by the growing number who are refusing to go to Israel—about half of all those arriving in Vienna this year chose destinations other than Israel.

Thirteen members of the executive committee of the organization of Soviet immigrants in Israel resigned to protest the new plan.

The Case of Hsieh Ts'ung-min

An eleven-page brief released by Amnesty International October 24 charged the Taiwan regime with holding several hundred political prisoners who had been tried and sentenced in closed trials by military courts. The human rights group charged that political detainees are held incommunicado for an indefinite period before they are tried, and that torture is frequently used to extract confessions, which are then used as the sole evidence for conviction.

The case of Hsieh Ts'ung-min was singled out for special attention. Hsieh, a Taiwanese editor, was arrested in 1971 for distributing literature calling for self-determination for Taiwan. He had been arrested on similar charges in 1964, and served a five-year term in prison for his activities. Hsieh's collection of material about the treatment of political prisoners is thought to have contributed to his second arrest.

After more than a year of interrogation and torture at the Taipei Garrison Command, Hsieh was sentenced to death in a closed trial. (Under martial law regulations in force in Taiwan, "circulation of [anti-government] rumors" is punishable by death.)

International protests resulted in the commutation of Hsieh's sentence. He was given fifteen years in prison instead. Hsieh has spent several years in solitary confinement. He suffers from asthma, arthritis, and an allergy, and has undertaken three hunger strikes to protest the lack of proper medical attention.

Iranian Refugee Asks Asylum

Rasti Maymandi, a twenty-four-year-old defector from the Iranian air force, has applied to Canadian immigration authorities for political refugee status. A committee formed to defend Maymandi says that if he is returned to Iran "he will face severe torture and long-term imprisonment or immediate execution," because he opposes the violations of human rights in his homeland. In the first four months of 1976 alone, the Iranian secret police shot nearly eighty political prisoners.

La Burocracia China Organiza Manifestaciones Masivas

Por Les Evans

[El siguiente artículo apareció en el número del 1 de noviembre de nuestra revista, con el título "Mass Rallies Staged to Celebrate Fall of Chiang Ch'ing." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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El 22 de octubre, el gobierno chino confirmó oficialmente la purga de cuatro altos dirigentes maoistas, entre los que se encuentra la viuda de Mao, Chiang Ch'ing; también anunció la designación de Hua Kuo-feng como presidente del Partido Comunista de China. El anuncio, difundido por la agencia de prensa del gobierno, Hsinhua, se produjo en medio de las manifestaciones que el Partido Comunista está organizando en todo el país, las mayores desde la Revolución Cultural que comenzó a finales de los años sesenta.

El comunicado de prensa no presentaba ninguna acusación específica contra los dirigentes encarcelados, sino que los acusaba en general de intentar "usurpar el poder del partido y del estado." Decía que "el Comité Central del partido, encabezado por el Presidente Hua Kuo-feng, adoptó medidas decisivas y resueltas para aplastar a la camarilla conspiradora contrarrevolucionaria, y liquidó una plaga en el seno del partido."

Se dijo que los cuatro—que además de Chiang Ch'ing incluyen a Wang Hung-wen, el segundo en importancia dentro del partido; a Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, vicepresidente y principal comisario político del ejército; y a Yao Wen-yuan, que era considerado jefe del departamento de prensa del gobierno—habían "falsificado desenfundadamente el marxismo-leninismo—pensamiento Mao Tsetung" y se "habían opuesto a la línea proletaria revolucionaria del Presidente Mao en una serie de problemas internos e internacionales."

La prensa acusaba a la "banda de cuatro" de falsificar las últimas directrices de Mao. No se presentó ninguna prueba de esto ni de ningún otro cargo, mientras la prensa está publicando casi a diario "nuevas" directrices del difunto Mao en las que llama a apoyar a Hua Kuo-feng y advierte de una posible usurpación del poder por parte de su esposa, Chiang Ch'ing. No se ofrece ninguna evidencia sobre la existencia de estas declaraciones realizadas en el lecho de muerte. Tampoco se ha realizado ninguna discusión pública sobre la política del nuevo régimen.

Con el pretexto de informar sobre comentarios de obreros y campesinos, la prensa china continúa fomentando una atmósfera

de linchamiento contra los maoistas caídos. El 22 octubre se citó a los obreros de la Fábrica de Acero No. 1 de Shanghai diciendo que Chiang Ch'ing y sus socios se "habían vuelto algo sucio y despreciable, como excremento de perro."

Utilizando la calumnia ritual estalinista empleada por Mao y por la misma Chiang Ch'ing contra los oponentes fraccionales de Mao en la Revolución Cultural, el gobierno añade a su lista de acusaciones la afirmación de que Chiang Ch'ing intentaba restaurar el capitalismo en China. La nota de Hsinhua del 22 de octubre citaba a manifestantes que decían que los miembros de la "banda de cuatro" eran "representantes típicos de la burguesía en el seno del partido e impenitentes seguidores de la vía capitalista, que continuaban siguiéndola."

No se ha hecho el menor intento de explicar cómo Mao Tsetung puede haber estado casado con una conspiradora capitalista durante casi cuarenta años, que la haya elevado a la dirección central del partido durante la última década y que nunca hubiese detectado las inclinaciones políticas que se le atribuyen. (En una información de prensa que cita el *New York Times* del 24 de octubre, se llega incluso a describir a Chiang Ch'ing como "fascista.")

La caída del grupo de Chiang Ch'ing y la designación de Hua Kuo-feng a la presidencia del partido se celebraron con diez días de manifestaciones a escala nacional organizadas por el Partido Comunista. Las manifestaciones comenzaron el 15 de octubre en Shanghai, ciudad donde Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Yao Wen-yuan y Wang Hung-wen eran altos funcionarios del gobierno. Las primeras multitudes de 10,000 personas o más quedaron empujadas por concentraciones de un millón o más de personas en Shanghai y en Pekín. El *New York Times* del 24 de octubre informaba:

"La televisión de Pekín mostró en emisiones vía satélite a todo el mundo, que son muy poco usuales, las inmensas manifestaciones, a veces parecidas a un carnaval, que se realizaron en la capital. Las únicas emisiones similares que se habían realizado fueron los funerales de Mao Tsetung y de Chou En-lai este año. . . ."

"Aunque era claro que las manifestaciones de los días pasados habían sido organizadas, muchos de los participantes parecían verdaderamente complacidos. En Pekín, los manifestantes sonreían y saludaban a los extranjeros, e incluso invita-

ban a los hijos de los diplomáticos y periodistas de otros países a que se unieran a las manifestaciones; esto es un gesto muy poco común en una sociedad en que se mantiene a los extranjeros a una discreta distancia."

El 24 de octubre, coincidiendo con un acto de un millón de personas en Pekín donde la nueva dirección del partido apareció en el palco de honor, la agencia de prensa del gobierno publicó la afirmación de que 50 millones de personas habían tomado parte en las manifestaciones contra Chiang Ch'ing en toda China en los cuatro días anteriores.

Aunque el aparato del partido controlaba las consignas y los oradores, tanto el tamaño como el espíritu de estas manifestaciones masivas, parecen confirmar que en realidad los dirigentes depuestos eran muy impopulares entre la clase obrera china. Manifestaciones organizadas oficialmente de forma similar durante el mes de abril, por ejemplo, que llamaban a repudiar la protesta espontánea masiva en la plaza Tien An Men el 5 de abril y a aprobar la destitución del vicepresidente, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, fueron mucho más reducidas y se informó ampliamente que habían sido actos uniformes y carentes de entusiasmo.

Desde luego que los estalinistas chinos han usado durante mucho tiempo el instrumento de movilizaciones masivas obligatorias como forma de plebiscito para dar la apariencia de un mandato popular a la política del gobierno. No se permite ningún debate en las reuniones masivas, no se permite que ningún disidente de la línea oficial tenga acceso a la prensa y todos los críticos del régimen actual son denunciados usualmente como contrarrevolucionarios.

Sin embargo, este procedimiento no carece por completo de riesgos, especialmente cuando la dirección central está dividida. Durante la Revolución Cultural, movilizaciones controladas de este mismo tipo desbordaron los límites prescritos por la jerarquía maoista y produjeron huelgas y ocupaciones de fábricas a gran escala, que solamente se pudieron reprimir con la intervención militar directa.

El nuevo régimen, supuestamente presidido por el poco conocido Hua Kuo-feng, ha ganado una victoria fácil sobre algunos de los socios más próximos de Mao. Pero sin la autoridad personal de Mao es seguro concluir que debe haber inquietud en Pekín por el aspecto jubiloso que presentan las gigantescas multitudes al celebrar la caída de los más conocidos y odiados represen-

tantes de la casta dirigente estalinista. Este sentimiento se puede volver rápidamente contra los vencedores si éstos continúan realizando la misma política, lo cual dan muchas indicaciones de estar haciendo, por lo menos en lo esencial.

En política exterior, los nuevos dirigentes ya han dejado clara su intención de proseguir la distensión proimperialista que inició Mao.

La continua oferta de parte de Pekín de dar apoyo político a regímenes burgueses de todo el mundo contra la Unión Soviética fue reiterada en un artículo central del *Diario del Pueblo* el 14 de octubre:

"Este nuevo advenedizo en las filas del imperialismo [la Unión Soviética] se ha dedicado a realizar una agresión y expan-

sión a fondo contra el Tercer Mundo, con voracidad decuplicada y locura centuplicada. A través de sus experiencias de lucha de muchos años, los países del Tercer Mundo y sus pueblos han comprendido cada vez más claramente que el social-imperialismo soviético ha ido más lejos que el imperialismo de viejo estilo en su agresión y su expansión en el extranjero, y que es su enemigo más peligroso."

Una nota de Hsinhua fechada el 14 de octubre insinuaba claramente que la interpretación del nuevo régimen de esta línea incluiría apoyo a las dictaduras militares de América Latina contra Cuba. En un comentario amistoso sobre el artículo titulado "El Triángulo Estratégico Soviético Amenaza a América Latina," en la

revista argentina *Review of the River Plate*, que reflejaba la propaganda anticomunista del régimen militar argentino, Hsinhua escribía:

"El artículo dice que la intervención abierta de fuerzas armadas cubanas en Angola, tramada por la Unión Soviética, ha conducido a los países del continente americano a reconsiderar la conveniencia de tomar algún tipo de medidas preventivas para evitar futuros actos de agresión soviética que utilicen las fuerzas armadas de un tercer país como mercenarios."

Aunque esta proposición está dirigida formalmente a los generales argentinos, Pekín se da cuenta perfectamente de que los inspiradores de la junta de Videla en Washington la leerán con interés. □

Apoyo al Programa de Austeridad Resulta Costoso

La Base Cuestiona a los Estalinistas Italianos

Por William Ross

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Italian Stalinists Under Fire From Ranks," que apareció en el número del 1 de noviembre de nuestra revista. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

Una revuelta obrera contra el programa de austeridad anunciado el 1 de octubre por el Primer Ministro Giulio Andreotti ha puesto en crisis la alianza implícita del Partido Comunista con el gobierno demócrata cristiano.

El aumento al precio de la gasolina que se incluía en el programa de austeridad, fue un golpe inmediato contra sectores clave de los obreros de las zonas más industrializadas.

En el número del 24 de octubre de la revista semanal romana *Espresso*, Franco Giustolisi describía lo que pasó el lunes siguiente al aumento de precios en las gigantescas fábricas de automóviles de Turín:

"En la Puerta No. 1 de Fiat Mirafiori . . . a las 5:00 a.m., los obreros del primer turno empezaron a llegar en pequeños grupos. Se bajaban de trolebuses o de automóviles en los que viajaban seis personas amontonadas para ahorrar gasolina . . . el litro de gasolina cuesta ahora 500 liras. [US\$1 equivale a 840 liras]. Seiscientos litros de gasolina cuestan ahora 300,000 liras, que equivalen al salario de un mes de un obrero de tercera categoría, incluyéndolo todo, incluso los bonos anuales.

"El alcalde [del PC], Diego Novelli, estaba esperando en la puerta. Nadie se sorprendió. Hubo apretones de manos, unas cuantas palmadas en la espalda. 'Hola, Diego, ¿hace frío, verdad? . . .' Y de repente se produjo un torbellino de pregun-

tas que indicaban precisamente que la cosa estaba muy fría. '¿Qué quieren que hagamos? ¿Siempre tenemos que pagar nosotros? ¿Qué está haciendo el partido? ¿Confía en ese Andreotti?' La atmósfera era tan fría como el clima [del norte de Italia]. Pero los sentimientos interiores eran aún más helados: furia, preocupación, desconfianza y un profundo sentimiento de impotencia."

Después de las elecciones legislativas del 20-21 de junio, la dirección del Partido Comunista aceptó permitir la formación de un gabinete demócrata cristiano encabezado por Andreotti, mientras que él quedaba fuera del gobierno. A cambio, los demócrata cristianos permitieron que el PC adquiriera más adornos de respetabilidad parlamentaria, como la presidencia de la Cámara de Diputados.

El PC presionó para que se desarrollara una relación de trabajo con los demócrata cristianos como preparativo para formar un gobierno con ellos. La prensa italiana llamó a este arreglo un "frente popular en los corredores."

Cuando Andreotti habló por televisión para anunciar las medidas de austeridad, era claro que contaba con la anuencia de la dirección del PC. En el número del 23 de octubre del semanario de Amsterdam *Vrij Nederland*, Loucky Content escribió que antes de la transmisión, el primer ministro "había consultado con dos expertos en economía del Partido Comunista, y con Luciano Barca y Giorgio Napolitano. Personas que vieron entrar a dos dirigentes comunistas en el estudio del primer ministro dijeron que parecían dos ministros reuniéndose con el jefe del gabinete."

Sin embargo, muy pronto el PC se encontró frente a una revuelta de los trabajadores, de cuyo apoyo depende. Se

produjeron manifestaciones de protesta en muchas fábricas. La protesta comenzó en la planta de Alfa Romeo en Arese, cerca de Milán, donde los trabajadores pararon de trabajar antes de que los dirigentes sindicales tuvieran siquiera idea de que algo estaba sucediendo.

Hubo protestas en las fábricas de los alrededores de Turín. En Rivalta, 5,000 obreros pararon el trabajo y organizaron una marcha por la carretera de Turín a Pinerolo, bloqueándola por varias horas. En contra de la dirección nacional que está en Roma, los sindicatos de Turín organizaron una huelga general el 13 de octubre.

Los burócratas sindicales empezaban a ser arrastrados por la revuelta de la base. Content escribió:

"Al principio, el movimiento sindical—igual que el PC—intentó mitigar las medidas impopulares de Andreotti por medio de enmiendas presentadas por los partidos de izquierda en el parlamento. Pero esto no bastó a los trabajadores. Se hicieron públicos los roces y pugnas entre las tres grandes federaciones sindicales, que generalmente trabajan juntas (la católica, la del PC y la del PS). Los dirigentes sindicales estaban bajo una gran presión. Por un lado querían seguir la línea del PC, por el otro querían acomodarse a las demandas de los trabajadores."

Los primeros signos de la revuelta de la base contra el apoyo que dio la dirección del PC al programa de austeridad preocuparon a los políticos capitalistas. *Espresso* citaba el 17 de octubre a uno de los más hábiles, Ugo La Malfa, del Partido Republicano:

"Definitivamente tenemos que reconocer que el PC es algo propenso a aceptar las llamadas medidas impopulares. En el

parlamento veremos si esta propensión se realiza completamente por medio de decisiones concretas. Este problema de la impopularidad es realmente serio. . . .

"Volviendo al PC, me preocupa una cierta tendencia que existe a que las cosas lo rebasen. Cuando el PC muestra que ha comprendido la gravedad de la situación, algunos de sus competidores lo acusan inmediatamente de estar haciendo concesiones. Si Lama [jefe del sindicato del PC] se muestra comprensivo, Benvenuto o Storti toman una línea dura. . . . Algunas veces dudo que podamos superar la crisis ni siquiera con la participación del PC en el gobierno."

En una reunión del Comité Central del PC que empezó el 18 de octubre, salieron a la luz los conflictos que han generado en la dirección las presiones de la base. Luigi Longo, que representa la fachada izquierdista del partido, lanzó un ataque contra Giorgio Amendola, que es quien defiende más abiertamente la necesidad de apoyar el programa de austeridad del gobierno.

También fue Longo quien en 1968 recibió la tarea de tender la rama de olivo a los estudiantes radicalizados, una vez que estuvo claro que el partido no podía seguir denunciándolos simplemente.

En un informe publicado el 20 de octubre en el *New York Times*, se citaba a Longo: "Todos hemos podido tomar el pulso a la opinión pública y a la opinión del partido, y creo que todos hemos notado que existen dudas y reservas sobre nuestra línea.

"Esto debe hacer que nos paremos a pensar." Longo advirtió que si el partido actuaba muy apresuradamente para probar su "respetabilidad," podría perder más que ganar incluso en la política parlamentaria.

"Sólo nos estamos engañando. No únicamente perderemos la influencia y el prestigio que tenemos entre las masas y que es el origen de nuestra fuerza, sino que también perderemos nuestro poder para negociar."

Los comentarios de dirigentes locales del PC demostraron que la presión de la base era muy fuerte. En la campaña para las elecciones legislativas, los comentaristas compararon el crecimiento de la fuerza del PC en relación al desprestigio cada vez mayor de los partidos burgueses, con el avance de un glaciar. La revuelta de la base demuestra ahora que se ha estado produciendo otro poderoso proceso paulatino.

En el número del 24 de octubre de *Espresso*, se citaba a Gianfranco Borghini, secretario regional del partido en Lombardía: "Para resumirlo, todas las dudas y reservas sobre nuestra estrategia que se habían venido acumulando en los últimos años, han salido a flote."

Antonio Bassolino, secretario regional en Campania, dijo: "Se nos acusa de no saber dónde está el enemigo." Igino Ariemma, vicesecretario regional en Piemonte, dijo: "Nos preguntan qué garantía tenemos de que nuestros sacrificios conducirán a un cambio real." □

Desafían Leyes Antiobreras de la Junta

Huelga de Luz y Fuerza en Argentina

Por Judy White



VIDELA

[El siguiente artículo apareció en el número de nuestra revista del 1 de noviembre, con el título "Argentine Light and Power Workers Go On Strike." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

Los trabajadores de Luz y Fuerza del Gran Buenos Aires, Rosario y La Plata comenzaron una huelga el 5 de octubre en uno de los desafíos más directos a la dictadura de Videla desde que ésta tomó el poder por medio de un golpe militar el 24 de marzo.

La huelga se convocó en protesta por el despido de 208 trabajadores de Servicios Eléctricos del Gran Buenos Aires (SEG-BA), casi todos ellos dirigentes del sindicato de luz y fuerza, prohibido por la junta militar.

Otros motivos eran posibles revisiones en el contrato colectivo de los trabajadores.

Trece días más tarde, la huelga continuaba; el 8 de octubre se había recrudecido debido al secuestro de tres obreros de SEG-BA.

Después de una ola de manifestaciones callejeras realizadas por los huelguistas, fueron liberados Víctor Francisco Seijo, Amado Oscar Mere y Oscar Polizzo. Sin embargo, la agencia oficial de prensa Télam informó el 14 de octubre que habían sido golpeados y mostraban señales inequívocas de tortura. Mere y Polizzo estaban entre los obreros despedidos.

La huelga cortó el suministro de agua y

electricidad a grandes sectores de Argentina, o bien redujo el voltaje a un punto en que sólo podía utilizarse para la iluminación.

El número del 16 de octubre del diario *La Opinión* de Buenos Aires informaba que la Compañía Italo Argentina de Electricidad estaba funcionando al 50% de su capacidad y SEG-BA al 64%.

Se informó de actos de sabotaje en diversas instalaciones de electricidad. El sindicato negó cualquier responsabilidad por ellos, declarando que eran provocaciones, y estableció un servicio de vigilancia de los miembros del sindicato para proteger las líneas eléctricas.

También explotaron bombas en diversos locales del sindicato de luz y fuerza y en las casas de dirigentes sindicales, según informaba *La Opinión* el 15 de octubre. Entre las casas que fueron objeto de estos ataques estaba la de Juan Carlos Saluzzi, presidente de la sección de Rosario del sindicato.

La prensa argentina informó que se produjeron arrestos durante la huelga, pero no especificó el número total de detenidos. Entre ellos estaba Neifer Junco, un dirigente de veinte años de edad del sindicato de luz y fuerza en Rosario.

La junta emitió nueve comunicados sobre la huelga, y envió destacamentos de personal militar fuertemente armados para ocupar las oficinas de las compañías eléctricas.

Dos comunicados con fecha del 15 de octubre expresaban la posición de la junta. Uno de ellos decía:

El Proceso de Reorganización Nacional se ha fijado como objetivo primario erradicar la subversión y promover el desarrollo armónico de la vida nacional. . . .

La subversión tratará de capitalizar todo enfrentamiento dentro del Proceso, en provecho de sus intereses foráneos. El trabajador argentino no debe hacerle el juego.

También se les pedía a los obreros "la subordinación de los intereses particulares o de grupo al supremo interés nacional."

El segundo comunicado anunciaba:

Habiéndose comprobado la existencia de piquetes de huelga que intimidan a los trabajadores de las empresas en conflicto, proveedoras de electricidad, impidiendo que realicen normalmente sus tareas, en particular las de mantenimiento de equipos, el Gobierno Nacional ha adoptado las medidas necesarias para asegurar la libertad de trabajo, detener y procesar por infracción a la Ley 21,400 a los agitadores, activistas, intimidadores y saboteadores.

La Ley 21,400 es la Ley de Seguridad

Industrial. Prohíbe "toda medida concertada de acción directa, paro, interrupción o disminución del ritmo de trabajo . . ." y prevee penas de hasta diez años de cárcel, y multas elevadas.

La incapacidad de la junta para romper esta huelga en su comienzo, ha empezado a producir las primeras críticas públicas de su actuación por parte de diversos sectores de la burguesía.

El número del 18 de octubre del *Buenos Aires Herald* decía en un editorial: "El resultado de la [actual] huelga de los trabajadores de luz y fuerza será el que decida quién está gobernando el país: las fuerzas armadas o los sindicatos." El periódico preguntaba: "¿Es el gobierno lo suficientemente fuerte para imponer su voluntad sobre el poderoso sindicato?"

La Opinión, el periódico que llamaba más abiertamente a un golpe militar en las semanas anteriores al golpe del 24 de marzo, caracterizaba la situación como "crítica," y uno de sus redactores, Fanor Díaz, alentaba al gobierno a que fuera "tan flexible como" para que el conflicto se pudiera negociar.

Díaz también proponía que se recurriera a exministros de trabajo, que hayan tenido que enfrentarse a "situaciones conflictivas," para que hicieran sugerencias que permitieran solucionar "amigablemente" el conflicto.

La *Nación*, el diario argentino de mayor influencia, dijo en un editorial el 18 de octubre que el permitir la continuación de la huelga "no le ha hecho ningún bien al gobierno." Señalaba que los huelguistas habían podido aprovechar el hecho de que "no todos los sectores adscriptos al Gobierno tenían una opinión uniforme, por lo menos en cuanto a la oportunidad de las medidas adoptadas por SEGBA."

Sin embargo, los directores de *La Nación* decían: ". . . sigue siendo un error suponer que la disparidad inicial de puntos de vista puede subsistir en cuanto a la metodología para resolver los aspectos de fondo del conflicto. La única metodología viable, es, en efecto, la ratificación del hecho político consumado por SEGBA por la vía de un acto de autoridad del gobierno militar."

La combinación de una campaña de calumnias y el uso de las fuerzas armadas en las plantas eléctricas puede llegar a romper esta huelga, pero su amplitud, combatividad y duración son un claro signo de que a la junta aún le queda un largo camino por recorrer para aplastar al movimiento obrero argentino. □

petición había sido denegada sobre la base de que este derecho había sido suspendido por orden de la junta.

El boletín de noticias informaba de un amplio número de individuos y organizaciones destacados de Colombia, Venezuela y Portugal que habían enviado cartas y telegramas a Videla protestando por la persecución contra los miembros del PST.

Entre ellas, se encontraban cartas de protesta firmadas por veintiocho miembros del Congreso colombiano, encabezados por el dirigente del Partido Liberal Luis Villar Borda; por miembros del parlamento venezolano pertenecientes a la mayoría de los partidos que tienen escaños; y por una serie de sindicatos portugueses. □

Alain Krivine Arrestado en Madrid

El dirigente trotskista francés Alain Krivine y el corresponsal de *Rouge* Michel Rovère fueron detenidos por la policía española el 18 de octubre. También fueron detenidos tres trotskistas españoles—Felipe Izaguirre, Jaime Pastor y Lucía Gonzales—, y Lucio Lobato, miembro del Comité Central del Partido Comunista de España.

Las detenciones se realizaron después de una reunión pública de 3,000 personas en la Universidad de Madrid, en la que se pedía la amnistía para los presos y exiliados políticos españoles. Krivine, que fue candidato presidencial de la Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Liga Comunista Revolucionaria, sección francesa de la Cuarta Internacional) en 1969 y en 1974, habló en esta reunión por invitación de organizaciones estudiantiles.

También hablaron en esta reunión: Lobato, que ha pasado veinticinco años de su vida en las cárceles españolas; Izaguirre, recientemente liberado tras una sentencia de siete años; y Pastor. Izaguirre y Pastor son miembros de la Liga Comunista Revolucionaria/Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna-VI (LCR/ETA-VI, organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional en España).

En la tarde del 19 de octubre, Krivine y Rovère fueron expulsados de España.

Aunque la policía afirma que las detenciones fueron debidas a que la reunión no tenía el permiso de las autoridades españolas, en realidad fueron parte de una operación represiva general.

El 21 de octubre, la policía detuvo a Gregorio López Raimundo, secretario general del Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC—Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña, rama catalana del Partido Comunista de España).

El gobierno español también prohibió la realización del congreso del Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE, el mayor partido socialdemócrata del país), que estaba previsto para los días del 4 al 7 de noviembre. □

José Páez Sigue Preso

Cuatro Trotskistas Asesinados en Argentina

Cuatro miembros del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) argentino han muerto a manos del aparato represivo de la junta de Videla desde principios de julio.

Adolfo Fenon Carrera, Armando Navarro, Cristina Isarregui y otro militante del PST cuyo apellido era Cabello fueron secuestrados y asesinados por personas no identificadas, según un boletín de información que publicó el 5 de octubre la dirección del PST en el exilio.

Fenon Carrera era empleado del gobierno en la Dirección General Impositiva. Fue capturado en la casa de sus padres en julio. Al día siguiente su cuerpo apareció en un baldío de Buenos Aires.

Navarro y Cabello trabajaban en el Frigorífico Swift en Berisso. A mediados de septiembre, ambos fueron secuestrados en sus casas por enmascarados que dijeron pertenecer al ejército. Pocos días después aparecieron sus cadáveres.

Isarregui era una estudiante que también trabajaba en un estudio jurídico. Fue secuestrada en la calle en agosto. Una semana después, la policía llamó a sus padres para que identificasen su cuerpo en el depósito de cadáveres de Buenos Aires.

La lista incluye sólo los nombres de "aquéllos de los cuales se han encontrado ya los cadáveres," dijo el PST, "ya que la lista de desaparecidos es mucho más amplia."

El boletín también daba las últimas noticias de José Páez, uno de los dirigentes centrales del PST que está en la cárcel de Córdoba desde enero de 1976. El 6 de agosto, el juez le concedió la libertad provisional, pero el 5 de octubre continuaba preso. El 13 de septiembre se presentó un recurso de *habeas corpus* pidiendo que se pusiera fin al retraso, pero el gobierno no ha respondido.

En el caso del militante del PST Arturo Pedro Apaza, un dirigente del sindicato metalúrgico que fue secuestrado pocos días después del golpe militar del 24 de marzo, el PST informaba:

"... podría haber buenas novedades, pero no se confirmaron aún. Su esposa, en la ciudad de Salta, recibió una carta que supuestamente sería de él. Aún no se confirmó con certeza su autenticidad; de todos modos, es un índice de que nuestra campaña comienza a dar frutos."

En el número del 7 de octubre de *La Opinión* se informó del caso de otra militante del PST, Luisa Segura. Dirigente estudiantil de la Universidad de Tucumán, ha estado en la cárcel desde el 17 de noviembre de 1974. No se ha formulado en ningún momento cargo alguno contra ella. Antes del golpe de marzo de 1976, había solicitado abandonar Argentina; éste es un derecho de los prisioneros que no están bajo proceso. *La Opinión* informaba que su

Forman en Polonia Comité para Defender Militantes Obreros

Por Tony Thomas

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Committee Formed in Poland to Defend Worker Militants," que apareció en el número del 1 de noviembre de nuestra revista. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Un grupo de disidentes polacos anunció la formación del Comité de Apoyo a los Trabajadores Víctimas de la Represión. Su objetivo es impulsar el apoyo público para los obreros que han sido victimizados a partir de las huelgas de junio en Radom y Ursus.

En un llamado público dado a conocer el 23 de septiembre (ver recuadro), el comité condenó el "desprecio total" del régimen de Gierek "hacia la ley" y declaró que era responsabilidad del pueblo polaco defender a los obreros contra el régimen.

Los fundadores del comité no sólo firmaron con sus nombres, sino que también agregaron sus direcciones y números telefónicos para que los puedan localizar quienes apoyan la lucha por la democracia socialista.

Entre los iniciadores del comité están Jerzy Andrzejewski, uno de los escritores contemporáneos polacos más populares; Jacek Kuron, uno de los autores de la carta abierta de 1965 al Partido Comunista de Polonia; y Edward Lipinski, uno de los economistas más conocidos de Polonia.

Como parte de la campaña de defensa, el comité ha dado a conocer una serie de comunicados públicos en los que documenta la violación de los derechos de los trabajadores por parte del régimen estalinista. El diario trotskista francés *Rouge* publicó el 6 de octubre extractos del primer comunicado, de fecha 24 de septiembre de 1976.

El comunicado informaba sobre las condiciones en la prisión de Bialystok, donde 1,100 obreros de Radom fueron amontonados en cuarenta y cinco celdas, con un mínimo de veinticinco personas por celda.

También decía: "Circulan rumores que no han sido verificados de que cinco personas fueron asesinadas en relación con los acontecimientos del 25 de junio. Se conoce el nombre y las condiciones de la muerte de dos de ellos. El Padre Zenon Kotlarz fue asesinado en su casa por varios desconocidos aproximadamente dos semanas después de los acontecimientos del 25 de junio, tras de haber sido liberado después de que los organismos de seguridad lo habían acusado de bendecir a los manifestantes. Janusz Brodyna, de veintiocho años de edad, murió en la calle Koszarowa, después de haber sido interrogado brutalmente."



GIEREK

De las setenta víctimas de la represión de quienes ha recibido información directa el comité, "todas fueron golpeadas, la verdadera palabra es torturadas," informaba el comunicado.

El comunicado decía: "Cuando menos cinco personas han sido juzgadas dos veces por el mismo delito, por las mismas acciones y con los mismos testigos por la parte acusadora. En estos casos, la corte dictó un segundo veredicto, sin tomar en cuenta el primero, que no había sido anulado."

El comité también está realizando una campaña para reunir fondos con el objeto de ayudar a las familias de los trabajadores encarcelados y despedidos durante las luchas. Para cuando se anunció oficialmente la formación del comité, éste había reunido casi 200,000 zlotys (en 1975, 15.9 zlotys equivalían a US\$1).

El comunicado del 24 de septiembre decía: "Hasta este momento, la ayuda económica para los trabajadores de Ursus y Radom ha alcanzado la suma de 160,000 zlotys. Para el mes de octubre necesitaremos 555,000 zlotys para las dos ciudades. Esto nos permitirá cubrir sólo las necesi-

dades mínimas en Radom, teniendo que renunciar a la esperanza que teníamos de poder cubrir entre el 50% y el 80% del salario de los despedidos, como hicimos en Ursus. Sin mencionar, además, que en Radom es necesario ayudar a muchas más de 200 familias."

El ascenso de la lucha contra la burocracia y las acciones del comité han impulsado la defensa política de los obreros que están siendo juzgados.

F. Dupain, un corresponsal de *Rouge* que pudo asistir al juicio de varios obreros de Ursus, citaba el discurso de uno de los abogados defensores:

Si no fuera el defensor de Chmielewski, hubiera creído lo que afirmaba el periódico *Zycie Warszawy*: que se trata de un pandillero y borracho. Pero ahora sé que se trata de un trabajador ejemplar. ¿Como se puede acusar a los obreros de haber atentado contra los intereses económicos del país, cuando son precisamente esos intereses los que estaban defendiendo cuando manifestaron su descontento? Si en este país existiera una verdadera libertad, no hubiera sucedido nada de esto. Pero es necesario decir que se decían más cosas en los periódicos polacos entre 1876 y 1906, cuando existía la censura oficial, que actualmente.

Quienes apoyan al comité han asistido a los juicios de los militantes obreros, incluso al precio de ser arrestados y golpeados por la policía estalinista.

El comunicado del 24 de septiembre decía que el 16 y el 23 de septiembre seis jóvenes de Varsovia (Ludwik Dorn, Zofia Krajewska, Jan Tomasz Lipski, Antoni Macierewicz, Stalinislaw Puzyna y Zofia Winawer) asistieron en Radom a los juicios de los obreros acusados de haber participado en la acción del 25 de junio.

El comunicado informaba:

Cuando salían de la sala del tribunal una vez terminado el juicio, alrededor de las 3:00 p.m., fueron arrestados por un grupo de milicianos comandados por un funcionario de los órganos de seguridad, el Teniente Lech Kaminiski. Los esposaron y los llevaron a todos a la dirección de la milicia departamental de Radom.

Ahí, trataron de interrogarlos en forma ilegal, sin decirles por qué habían sido arrestados. El interrogatorio se prolongó hasta las 00:30 hs. Durante el interrogatorio fueron amenazados, se les trató de confundir sobre sus derechos y se les insultó. Los miembros de los servicios de seguridad, entre otros el Teniente Prusek, golpearon a Ludwik Dorn. Le lanzaron insultos antisemitas, lo golpearon en el tórax e intentaron estrangularlo.

Una semana después, el 23 de septiembre, L. Dorn, G. Jaglarska, A. Macierewicz y M. Tomezik se presentaron en el tribunal regional de la ciudad de Radom. El Teniente Prusek los siguió y, aproximadamente a las 2:30 p.m., fueron

arrestados y llevados a la dirección departamental de la milicia. Allí trataron de interrogarlos. Tres de ellos fueron liberados alrededor de las 7:30 p.m. M. Tomezik fue golpeado y estuvo detenido hasta alrededor de las 7:30 p.m., del día siguiente. Ese día tampoco les dijeron cuál era la razón legal de su arresto. L. Dorn fue golpeado en la planta de los pies.

El 1 de octubre fueron arrestados en los corredores del tribunal de Radom Antoni Macierewicz y Jan Josef Lipski—dos miembros del comité—y el hijo de Lipski. Habían venido al juicio de Nogi y Gierek, dos obreros arrestados en Radom el 25 de junio.

Dupain informaba que el juicio de Nogi fue pospuesto cuatro veces, porque los testigos no se presentaban. Parece que los milicianos que decían reconocerlos como los responsables de los acontecimientos del 25 de junio "tenían algunos problemas para llegar a la corte," decía Dupain.

Gierek, que ya antes había sido sentenciado a dos años de prisión y tres años de libertad condicional, fue sentenciado en este juicio a pagar una multa de 10,000 zlotys y a veintidós horas de trabajo "voluntario" obligatorio. También se le prohibió "ser encontrado en estado de ebriedad, so pena de ser devuelto inmediatamente a la prisión." (El régimen dice que los obreros militantes eran unos borrachos.)

Informaba Dupain que simplemente por haber tratado de asistir al juicio, que supuestamente era público, Macierewicz, Lipski y el hijo de Lipski fueron acusados de tener vínculos con "Radio Europa Libre" y de ser "indeseables."

Dupain, que habló con ellos cuando salieron de la cárcel, informaba que habían sido llevados a las oficinas locales de la policía y luego a las oficinas regionales, donde se les desnudó e interrogó:

Como se negaron a responder, se les acusó de pertenecer a una organización ilegal, y luego se les encerró en celdas distintas (destinadas para albergar tres personas, pero en las que se encontraban quince). Cuando fueron liberados, veintisiete horas después, se les dijo que se les consideraba responsables de cualquier artículo que apareciera en occidente y que se les reprimiría en consecuencia. Su caso pasó a manos de las autoridades de Varsovia.

El valeroso ejemplo del comité y de los obreros polacos a los que defiende es una señal del ascenso de la lucha por la democracia socialista en Polonia y en toda Europa Oriental. Su ejemplo será aún más poderoso si es apoyado internacionalmente por todos aquéllos que apoyan los derechos democráticos de los trabajadores. □

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Declaración del Comité de Defensa Polaco

[La siguiente declaración se dio a conocer el 23 de septiembre para anunciar la formación del Comité de Apoyo a los Trabajadores Víctimas de la Represión. Tomamos el texto del número del 29 de septiembre del diario trotskista francés *Rouge*. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Llamado a la Población y a las autoridades de la República Popular de Polonia.

La revuelta de los trabajadores contra el alza de precios, que expresaba la reacción de toda la población, propició medidas represivas extremadamente brutales. En Ursus, Radom y en otras ciudades, muchos trabajadores han sido arrestados, golpeados, etc. Esto sin contar los numerosos despidos que, al igual que las detenciones, afectaron particularmente a los familiares de quienes habían sido víctimas de la represión. Estas medidas reflejaban el desprecio total de los órganos oficiales de poder hacia la ley. Los tribunales dictaron sentencia sin ninguna prueba, y los despidos violaban las leyes laborales. Se llegó incluso a obligar a las personas a declarar por la fuerza. Por desgracia, estos métodos no son nuevos en nuestro país. Basta recordar las medidas represivas que se tomaron contra quienes firmaron las cartas de protesta contra las modificaciones a la constitución: algunos fueron expulsados de la universidad, otros fueron sometidos a interrogatorios ilegales y a todo tipo de chantajes. Hacía mucho tiempo que la represión no era tan masiva ni tan brutal.

Por primera vez desde hace muchos años se ha utilizado la violencia física durante los interrogatorios. Las víctimas de esta represión no pueden contar para nada con la ayuda de los órganos que debieran defenderlas, como los sindicatos, cuya actividad es casi inexistente. También las instituciones sociales les niegan todo apoyo.

Por lo tanto, es deber de la población misma jugar ese papel, porque quienes han sido arrestados defienden los intereses de todos. La única manera que tiene la población de defenderse contra la no aplicación de la ley, es la ayuda mutua y la solidaridad.

Es por esta razón que los abajo firmantes decidieron fundar el Comité de Apoyo a los Trabajadores, para impulsar el tipo de defensa que es indispensable en el plano jurídico, económico y médico.

Debemos saber toda la verdad sobre los casos de represión. Estamos convencidos de que solamente un conocimiento pleno de los métodos que utiliza el poder permitirá hacer una defensa efectiva. En consecuencia, pedimos a todos aquéllos que han sido víctimas de la represión, o que conocen algún caso, que transmitan toda la infor-

mación a los miembros del comité.

Hasta donde nosotros sabemos, se han reunido ya 60,000 zlotys para ayudar a los trabajadores. Pero las necesidades son mucho mayores, y sólo la iniciativa de toda la población en su conjunto puede satisfacerlas. Debemos organizarnos de tal manera que podamos ayudar a las víctimas en cualquier lugar que se encuentren. En cada barrio, en cada fábrica es necesario encontrar personas valientes que vengán en su ayuda y empiecen a organizar el apoyo colectivo.

Las medidas represivas que han sido adoptadas contra los trabajadores violan los derechos humanos, vigentes en la ley internacional y en las leyes polacas: el derecho al trabajo; el derecho de huelga; la libertad de expresión, reunión y manifestación.

Es por esta razón que el comité, de acuerdo a la resolución de la conferencia episcopal del 9 de septiembre de 1976, exige la amnistía para todos aquéllos que han sido condenados y detenidos, así como que sean reintegrados a sus trabajos.

El comité llama a toda la población a apoyar estas reivindicaciones. Estamos profundamente convencidos de que al fundar este comité estamos cumpliendo nuestro deber de ciudadanos y de seres humanos, por el bien de la patria, de la nación y de la humanidad.

Comité de Apoyo a los Trabajadores Víctimas de la Represión a Partir de los Acontecimientos del 25 de junio de 1976

Firmas: Jerzy Adrzejewski, Stanislaw Baranczak, Ludwik Cohn, Jacek Kuron, Edward Lipinski, Jan Josef Lipski, Antoni Macierewicz, Piotr Naimski, Antoni Pajdak, Jozef Rybicki.

(El 6 de octubre, *Rouge* informó que hay que agregar a la lista los nombres de Halina Mikolajska, Aniela Steinsbergowa, Adam Szczypiorski, Padre Jan Zieja y Wojciech Ziembinski.)

Un Millón de Trabajadores en Huelga en Canadá

Según cálculos del Congreso del Trabajo canadiense, más de un millón de personas se unieron a la huelga del 14 de octubre, convocada para exigir que se derogaran las leyes de control de los salarios impuestas por Trudeau.

A pesar de que la campaña de los dirigentes sindicales no se centró en la necesidad de las manifestaciones, ésta es la ocasión en que se han visto las manifestaciones obreras más grandes de la historia del país.

El impacto del movimiento de masas se ha empezado a sentir en los sindicatos y en el New Democratic Party [Nuevo Partido Demócrata—NDP], partido laborista del Canadá inglés. Incluso Dave Barrett, dirigente del NDP en Columbia, que había apoyado los controles en su calidad de gobernador, apoyó la huelga de un día.

FROM OUR READERS

T. Thalassinos writes from Athens, Greece, concerning the introduction to the transcript of Leon Trotsky's discussions with leaders of the Greek Left Opposition, published in the August 30 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

It contains two errors, he informs us, in the description and history of one of the two organizations from which the first Trotskyist cadres came in Greece, the Archio-Marxists, a group that operated outside of the Greek CP from the early 1920s. The other Trotskyist cadres came from the opposition inside the Greek CP led by Pantelis Pouliopoulos, which was expelled in the late 1920s as a result of the Stalinization of the Communist International.

In the first place, Thalassinos writes, our description of the early Archio-Marxist group was too flattering. Secondly, while former Archio-Marxists participated in the unification of the Greek Trotskyist movement in 1938, the Archio-Marxists as such did not. By that time, they had broken with Trotskyism and were evolving to the right.

A correct analysis of the political character of the early Archio-Marxist group, Thalassinos suggests, is to be found in a series of three articles by Pantelis Pouliopoulos entitled "Communism and Archio-Marxism" published in the monthly *Spartako* from December 1930 to March 1931. He also cites another source, a note in a book entitled *Vasika Zetemata tou Ergatikou Kinematos* (Fundamental Questions of the Workers Movement), which, he writes, "gives an abridged but thorough picture of Archio-Marxism." With his letter he enclosed a photocopy of the note in question.

Our writers who follow Greek politics were happy to get this material. Documentation available outside Greece on the history of the Greek Trotskyist movement has many gaps.

According to the note in *Vasika Zetemata*, the Archio-Marxists developed in the 1920s as a propagandist group. A contradiction arose between the propagandist leadership and the working-class ranks who wanted to participate in the class struggle.

"This constant pressure from the proletarian ranks forced the Archio-Marxist bureaucracy, after the Pangalos dictatorship [1925-26], to reinforce the group's timid participation in the union movement. . . .

"In the period of the world economic crisis, the pressure of this proletarian base forced the Archio-Marxists to take another political step forward and unite with the International Left Opposition in 1930. This was the brightest period in the dreary history of Archio-Marxism. Despite politi-

cal errors, the group took the leadership of important strikes. . . . This period ended in 1934 with an internal crisis. The leadership left the International Opposition and joined the centrist London Bureau.

"The most enlightened and militant proletarian cadres and members defended the program and banner of the Fourth International in a sharp battle with the Archio-Marxist bureaucracy, and later united with the Trotskyist opposition, which had developed in the Communist party under the leadership of Pouliopoulos and become the ideological pole of attraction for the revolutionary working-class currents that had broken off at various times from the Archio-Marxists."

Thus the fusion of the two Trotskyist organizations that existed in 1938 did not involve a unification with Archio-Marxism as such.

"At the founding conference of the Fourth International that was held on September 3, 1938, in Périgny, France, Greece was represented by two organizations, the Kommounistike Diethnistike Enose Elladas (KDEE—Communist International Union of Greece) and the Eniaia Organose Kommouniston Diethniston Elladas (EOKDE—United Organization of Communist Internationalists of Greece). The central leader of the KDEE was Giorgios Vitsores. The central leader of the EOKDE was P. Pouliopoulos. In the conference of the Fourth International, the two organizations were represented respectively by G. Vitsores and Michel Raptis. They jointly reported the unification of the two organizations, on which a resolution was adopted unanimously by the conference.

"Both Greek Fourth Internationalist organizations of the time . . . were in irreconcilable opposition to, and engaged in public polemics with, the Archio-Marxist organization led by Demetrios Giotopoulos (Witte), which had broken definitively with the ideas of international Trotskyism and left its ranks after 1933. Of course, in the KDEE, as well as in the EOKDE, there were former Archio-Marxists who had become real Trotskyist internationalists."

"Despite the fact that we never received the 9th August issue of *Intercontinental Press*, which carried Joseph Hansen's reply to the illusion-stricken and sectarian G. Healy," L.S. of Athens, Greece, informs us, "we managed to get a copy of it. The reply is stunning. We would publish it in its entirety but owing to lack of space we wrote a rather conclusive article based to a certain extent on the facts given by Hansen.

"This article is to be published in the first issue of our theoretical magazine *NEA PORIA*. . . . We will soon send you a copy of it along with the English translation of a part of our article, referring to the lessons of Healy's frame-up. . . ."

P.J. of Sydney, Australia, writes:

"The October 11 IP arrived today and I was joyfully reading it when I came across a most peculiar mistake.

"On page 1456, in the LTF resolution on Angola, it is pointed out that the transitional government lasted from January to July 1975. Then on page 1457 there is the following:

"When the coalition transitional government in Angola collapsed during the summer of 1975. . . ."

"I don't know if it is just an error or perhaps subconscious Northern Hemisphere chauvinism but July is winter in the Southern Hemisphere and I checked my atlas to find that Angola was still in the Southern Hemisphere!"

A reader in Amman, Jordan, sends the following:

"Unofficial reports—that is, word of mouth from 'little' people who don't want to get their relatives in trouble with the Israelis—from the west bank indicate that the Israelis are carrying out genocide of a type even Arabs living under the occupation have not experienced before. They are killing Arab prisoners in the prisons. . . .

"Keep up the good reportage on the Middle East! Dave Frankel's article last week was perfect. He caught the tone of Tel al-Za'tar perfectly—he's an American Palestinian!"

The following quote is from *Viewpoint*, a weekly publication in Lahore, Pakistan:

"According to Ernest Harsch, a keen student of African affairs, this new militancy among young blacks in South Africa is a part of the growing struggle against white colonial rule throughout southern Africa. Despite Pretoria's continued efforts to contain or crush it through brutal repression, this militancy will lead to even more significant upsurges in the future."

"We have been receiving your weekly *Intercontinental Press* for the last few months," writes a subscriber in Tel Aviv, Israel. "We find it to be the only English newspaper which has both good and reliable data, together with very important analysis. The IPs play a valuable role in widening our horizons and in our political education." □

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