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Anne Teesdale/Militant

National Student Conference Against Racism, held in Boston November 19-21. Participants voted to call for actions against

Washington's complicity in maintaining racist white minority regimes in southern Africa.

***March 25-26 Actions Will Demand
'U.S. Out of Southern Africa'***

For Immediate Majority Rule in Zimbabwe!

[The following resolution was issued November 14 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Once more world imperialism is united in an attempt to block the advance of the Zimbabwean people toward self-determination. The Callaghan-Kissinger proposals and the Geneva conference are a cynical attempt to head off, divide, and blunt the growing struggle of the Zimbabwean masses against the racist Smith regime. The economic, military, and political situation of the Smith regime is serious. It has virtually no foreign currency reserves; its armed forces are quite unable to suppress the guerrilla struggle now encompassing every region; and white Rhodesians—mainly young men avoiding military service—are leaving the country at a growing rate.

Van der Byl, a former military commander of the Smith regime's forces, has spoken of a Vietnam-type situation emerging during the rainy season. The "acceptance" by Smith of Black majority rule is merely the recognition that his regime has been unable to defeat the liberation forces and needs to play for time. The true aim of the white-settler regime is demonstrated by its vicious attacks against Mozambique.

U.S. and British imperialism and the Vorster apartheid regime require more flexibility from the Smith regime to enable them to remove the Rhodesian question as a source of instability and radicalization in the whole southern African subcontinent—negotiated settlement to ease the transition to a neocolonialist setup in Zimbabwe. This is also essential for Vorster's policy of détente and his plans for consolidating the inhuman apartheid system.

The so-called front-line presidents (Nyerere, Machel, Khama, Kaunda, and Neto) and most of the petty-bourgeois Black nationalist leaders in Zimbabwe are complicit in this endeavor. The lure of office in the transitional government, the promise of economic aid from imperialist powers, and fear of the self-activity of the masses escaping their control, unite them in an attempt to contain the militant struggle against the Smith regime. But the front-line presidents and Black nationalist leaders also feel strongly the pressure of the expectations of the Black masses; thus, they are obliged to combine talks with Kissinger, attendance at the Geneva conference, and collaboration with British

imperialism, with militant talk of continuing the struggle. However, it will be extremely difficult to persuade the masses to call off their struggle against the Smith racist regime.

The successful military struggle against Portuguese imperialism, the humiliating defeat of the U.S.-backed South African invasion of Angola, the blows dealt to U.S. aims in the Angolan civil war, the rising freedom struggle in Zimbabwe, and—the most powerful of all in potential—the emerging struggle of the urban Black masses of South Africa, show that time is running out for the imperialists in southern Africa.

The only way that imperialism and the Smith regime can gain a respite is by dividing the liberation struggle. The endeavours of Kissinger, Callaghan, Vorster, Smith, and company are designed to do just that. The front-line presidents and petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders go along with this. They concede in advance the right of the imperialists to intervene in Zimbabwe by their demand that "Britain assume its responsibilities" for a constitutional transfer of power.

Spanish Trotskyists Released

More than thirty members of the Spanish Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) were released on bail from the Martutene prison in San Sebastián November 25. They were among the 154 participants at a conference of the LCR arrested five days earlier. The other persons detained had been released without charges after being held for seventy-two hours.

Among those charged and released on bail ranging from 10,000 to 40,000 pesetas (US\$1-P68.03) were seven top leaders of the LCR—José Francisco Barriola, Begoña Arrien, Francisco Rafael Ayestarán, José Ignacio Uribarri, Jorge Jaumandreu, and José Daniel Garay—who were presiding at the session when the LCR conference was raided, and Jaime Pastor, representing the LCR Central Committee at the meeting.

It is not known what the LCR members are charged with, but the organization is still legally banned, despite the so-called liberalization being carried out by the Juan Carlos regime. Penalties for belong-

The Fourth International states its unconditional solidarity with the freedom struggle in Zimbabwe. It supports those in the national liberation movement who have rejected Smith's arrogant demands. It calls upon the workers movement to give all possible aid to the Zimbabwean freedom struggle. From the workers states (in the first place the Soviet Union and China) it demands that they give unconditional solidarity and all necessary material support to those fighting imperialism and racism in southern Africa. It calls upon the organizations of the working class everywhere to unite in an international campaign of solidarity with the Zimbabwean liberation struggle and to back this up by a campaign of demonstrations, propaganda, and political education.

To the imperialist project of a two-year transitional government, we counterpose:

Immediate majority rule now!

Self-determination for Zimbabwe!

To the various constitutional plans of Kissinger, Callaghan, Vorster, and Smith—which all seek to limit self-determination—we counterpose:

One person, one vote!

Release all political prisoners in Zimbabwe!

End the state of emergency!

To their neocolonialist plots and to imperialist intervention in southern Africa, we counterpose:

U.S. and British imperialism out of southern Africa now! □

ing to a banned organization or for attending one of its meetings can be stiff.

Even more threatening was a November 23 police claim that twenty-two Molotov cocktails had been found in the Paseo de los Fueros in San Sebastián. According to the November 24 issue of *La Vanguardia Española*, the police say they "could" have been left there by some member of ETA-VI Assembly (Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna-VI—Basque Nation and Freedom-VI)—up until recently, the name of the Basque wing of the LCR. The police report speculated that an ETA-VI member dumped the firebombs there when he found out about the arrests at the LCR conference, to get rid of them before house-by-house searches took place.

The arrests were met by immediate protests from various sectors of the left.

Within twenty-four hours, posters in Basque demanding "Freedom for the 100 from Euzkadi" were pasted up by the LCR in major Basque cities.

On November 23, a district-wide university assembly in Bilbao issued a press release protesting the arrests and calling a demonstration.

The Communist party in Euzkadi issued a statement in which they said, "Once again freedom and democracy have been ignored by the reform government." The arrests demonstrated, the statement continued, that "despite the highly touted road toward democracy through reform, we continue to be in a situation of a real lack of democracy."

The Workers Commissions of the Barcelona bank workers issued a press release condemning the selective repression used against "the parties and trade-union organizations that most consistently have fought and continue to fight for freedom and democracy."

Family members of those arrested from Bilbao issued an open letter pointing out that the arrests expose the fraud of the amnesty decreed by the Juan Carlos regime last August. The very persons freed in that amnesty, they said, are the ones that are now objects of the repression.

The National Committee of the LCR in Catalonia issued an appeal for international protest:

"[The arrest of 150 LCR/ETA-VI members] is an extremely serious blow against our organization. Not only because of the number of arrests, but also because the monarchy will view the response the vanguard and the movement are capable of making in solidarity with us as a test. If this response is not broad and forceful enough, the government will try to hold a significant number of comrades in jail and force us underground. That is why the response we are capable of mounting nationally and internationally will be of fundamental importance in the fight to win legality for our organization and, consequently, for other organizations of the revolutionary left." □

Correction

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International has called our attention to an editorial note accompanying a draft resolution entitled "Minority Resolution on Angola," which was published in the October 11, 1976, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

In the opinion of the United Secretariat, the editorial note could be taken to imply that a resolution on Angola adopted by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International last February, and published in the April 12, 1976, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, represented the views of only the International Majority Tendency rather than the Fourth International as a whole as determined by a majority vote of its leading body.

Such an implication was not intended in the editorial note in question, and we hope that this correction will clarify the point. □

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NSCAR Sets South Africa Actions for March 25-26

By Tony Thomas

About 1,100 students and youth attended the third National Student Conference Against Racism, held at Boston University, November 19-21. The National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), which sponsored the conference, grew out of the struggle to mobilize support to Blacks in desegregation struggles in Boston and other U.S. cities.

One of the main themes of the NSCAR conference was linking up the struggle against racism inside the United States with the struggle against Washington's support to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Highlights of the conference were the opening rally, and a panel including young activists from southern Africa.

Tsietsi Mashinini, a leader of the June student revolt in South Africa, made a deep impression on the conference with his description of the heroic struggle of South Africa's Black youth and his demands that U.S. business and government get out of South Africa. The exiled former chairman of the Soweto Students Representative Council addressed the rally that opened the conference and the panel on southern Africa.

"When students stood up and said 'Kissinger go home,'" he told the panel, "students were shot. We don't want Kissinger in Africa. He may sound like a genius to Americans, but to us he represents Western imperialism."

He castigated the racist policies of American corporations in South Africa: "If American corporations in South Africa did not comply with the racist policies then maybe they would be tolerable. But the American companies comply with the racist policies, and we cannot tolerate them. . . . At General Motors [in South Africa] an ordinary white worker gets 200 rands per month and an ordinary Black worker gets 18 rands a month."

Mashinini cited the example of the antiwar movement to the NSCAR conference: "When America pulled out of Vietnam," he said, "it was because inside America there were a lot of campaigns about what was happening in Vietnam. We appeal to the people of America to help us to get America out of our country."

The southern Africa panel also heard speeches by Jeff Baqwa, a leader of the South African Students Organisation (SASO); Cortland Cox, a former leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and current secretary-



Lou Howort/Militant

TSIETSI MASHININI

general of the Sixth Pan African Congress; New York State Supreme Court Justice William Booth, president of the board of the American Committee on Africa; Synos Mangazza, chairperson of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in the United States; and Herbert Vilakazi, a Black South African now teaching in the United States.

Set March Actions

Mashinini's appeal for support was answered by a proposal by Maceo Dixon, outgoing NSCAR national coordinator, and Tony Austin, a leader of SCAR in Philadelphia. The proposal, carried almost unanimously, set March 25 and 26 as dates for national actions against American complicity with racist and colonial regimes in South Africa, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and Namibia.

The dates were chosen to commemorate the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960.

The proposals suggested that March 25, a Friday, be utilized for campus teach-ins, and that March 26 be a date for citywide coalitions to "organize rallies, marches and/or picket lines at South African consulates or other symbols of southern African racism. Demonstrations outside of federal buildings are especially important since the U.S. government is the main prop upholding the racist regimes."

The conference also passed a proposal by Koko Farrow of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ, which enumerated the themes of possible antiapartheid protests. A resolution by Paul Pumphrey of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the USA, which urged NSCAR to consider supporting activities on June 16, the anniversary of the Soweto uprising, was also carried.

Maceo Dixon motivated the proposal during his speech to the rally that opened the conference: "Antiracist fighters have a special obligation to be in the forefront of solidarity with our Black brothers and sisters in South Africa. That obligation is to force the U.S. government out of South Africa now."

The number of leading figures in the antiracist struggle who addressed the rally testified to NSCAR's role in the struggle. It was chaired by Robert Allen, a prominent Black intellectual and editor of *Black Scholar* magazine.

Joe Madison, executive secretary of the Detroit NAACP, gave one of the more popular speeches at the rally, in which he subjected the continued segregation and tokenism facing American Blacks to a biting analysis.

Polly Halfkenny, a member of the national board of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, expressed the group's solidarity with "the programs, the proposals, and the work" of the conference.

Clyde Bellecourt presented the greetings of the American Indian Movement (AIM). He urged the conference to take up the case of Leonard Peltier, a Native American seeking asylum in Canada and fighting extradition to the United States in a frame-up case.

Representatives of other defense cases played a prominent role in the rally and in many workshops during the conference. They included Paul X Moody, who was convicted of a frame-up charge of raping a white woman; Juanita Tyler, mother of Gary Tyler, a Black teenager convicted in Louisiana on trumped-up charges in the shooting of a white youth; and Imani Kazana, coordinator of the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee which is defending a number of Black North Carolina activists.

The rally was also addressed by Mashinini, Baqwa, and Vilakazi, who received thunderous applause after their depiction

of racism in South Africa and the heroic struggle against it.

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, one of the leaders of the civil rights struggle in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s, received a prolonged standing ovation when she was introduced at the rally. Her appearance had a special impact, since many of the leaders of the racist antibusing forces in Boston are Irish-Americans who pride themselves on being supporters of the Irish nationalist struggle.

McAliskey, who was near the end of a U.S. tour, blasted Irish-American racists as betrayers of the cause for which the Irish people have fought for so long.

"When I listen to Clyde Bellecourt talk of the genocide of his people, the destruction of his language, the stealing of his land," she said, "that is what the British did in Ireland. When I hear the Black people talk of their struggle and the racism with which they are confronted . . . that is what the British did in my country."

She demanded that organizations like Irish Northern Aid, the Irish National Caucus, and the Irish Republican Clubs in the USA go into action in support of the Black liberation struggle as the "only way to make it clear," that they support the same principles in the United States as they claim they are fighting for in Ireland.

Desegregation

The conference included activists in school desegregation struggles from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, Louisville, and many other cities. At a panel on desegregation, Maceo Dixon emphasized that the fight for busing to enforce desegregation "is the central question facing the Black liberation struggle in the United States at this time."

The conference passed a resolution submitted by Dixon that called for an educational campaign around the issue of busing and desegregation that could "lay the basis for a powerful movement that could galvanize and organize protests in the streets."

At the close of the conference Dixon stepped down as national coordinator, a post he had held since NSCAR was founded in early 1975. He was replaced by Tony Austin, the Philadelphia SCAR leader who introduced the southern Africa proposal along with Dixon.

The conference involved participants from 130 organizations. They ranged from defense committees to the NAACP, the National Student Association, the National Organization for Women, fifteen trade unions, the American Civil Liberties Union, Amnesty International, the Socialist Workers party, the American Friends Service Committee, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Spark group and the Revolutionary Marxist Committee.

The World Community of Islam in the West (formerly known as the Nation of Islam) participated in the conference and

organized a workshop on their strategy for the antiracist fight.

Several members of the Communist party and the Young Workers Liberation League attended as representatives of student and antiracist organizations.

A bizarre note was lent to the conference by the presence of a small sect known as the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League. The youth league's journal carried an article rejecting the demand for Black majority rule in southern Africa, as "neither a revolutionary perspective nor

even a fully democratic slogan." Instead they proposed "to smash apartheid."

They announced, "we do not advocate an unlimited and total boycott of South Africa." In their opinion such a boycott—which the NSCAR conference demanded—"would tend to increase black unemployment and consequently retribalization," of South African Blacks.

Finally they rejected the demand "for the freedom of all political prisoners" in South Africa, because "there are undoubtedly fascist political prisoners in Vorster's prisons."

Letter From a Namibian Political Prisoner

Behind Bars on South Africa's Robben Island

[The following letter is by a Namibian imprisoned on South Africa's Robben Island, a prison island located a few miles off Cape Town where many of the country's convicted political prisoners are kept. The letter appeared in the September issue of *Namibia News*, a monthly magazine published in London by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO).]

* * *

I am writing to you to tell you of our plight and to try to summarise the conditions prevailing at Robben Island, in the hope that you will be able to make these things known to the world. The South African regime spreads a lot of lies about this place, and we want you to broadcast the truth.

We are forced to do the dirtiest and worst kinds of hard labour thought up by the Boers¹ and designed to make life difficult and unbearable for us. For one year we were working at the "Bamboos" (it is a kind of sea-weed) factory. Some of us were drawing the "Bamboos" from the sea, while others carried them to the factory. After they dry they are milled, put into bags, and exported to the United States, through San Francisco; to Japan, through Yokohama; and to France, through Marseille. We were forced to produce up to 40 bags a day, each weighing 200kg. [440 pounds]. We understand from a reliable source that these imperialist powers—who are now sucking the last drops of blood of the prisoners—are producing about 26 different products from these "Bamboos"—including jelly and perfume.

1. The Boers comprise a majority of the white population in South Africa. They speak the Dutch-based language of Afrikaans and predominate in the government apparatus, the civil service, the police force, and the prison system.—*IP*

The factory where we were milling the "Bamboos" was full of dust from the machines. A doctor established that the dust is dangerous and injurious to the lungs and throat. The "equipment" we were given for protection against the dust was of the poorest quality, and didn't even serve its purpose. In November 1975 we decided to go on strike, since they had constructed an enclosure which was accessible to the dust coming from the machine, and forced us to chop the "Bamboos" in that enclosure. The strike was successful in a sense, for they replaced us with common law prisoners, who have their gaol about one kilometre from ours. Early this year the Boers tried us for this: they found us "guilty" and punished us.

Comrades also have to work in the lime quarry, which is about 80 metres long and 40-50 metres wide. Its depth is approximately 10-15 metres! The surface is hard like a stone, but we are forced, violently, to break it with picks. Often the lime is not needed, and they throw it into the sea. If you were to visit Robben Island and see the lime quarries dug by human strength, you would certainly not believe your eyes. We also have to break stones, for gravel.

South Africa always tries to make visitors to the Island believe that hard labour does not exist there. They do this by concealing the existence of the quarries and wood camps; by giving those who work in these places other kinds of work to do whenever they have a visitor from abroad; and by giving deceptive explanations as to why people are working in such places.

There is in fact a place called the "hospital" but it is one only in name, for people do not get proper treatment there. The "doctors" who visit the Island are quacks: comrades are often given wrong tablets and medicines. Or the officers see to it that we don't get the tablets at all. We have put this matter on many occasions to

the International Red Cross, but the Boers explain it away, and our complaints only intensify our maltreatment. Sometimes those who are ill and need urgently to be in hospital are put in isolation cells and receive no medical attention.

The following comrades lost their lives or parts of their bodies because they were not given proper medical attention by the Boer doctors:

- Erasmus Kapolo had an abscess of the gum while in detention in Pretoria from 1966. The doctor extracted his tooth without anaesthetic, and when the abscess got worse and he asked for further treatment he was given electric shock torture. A few days later, in 1967, he died.

- Angula Shoonyeka was wounded during the capture at Ongulumbashe, but had recovered by the time he was taken to Pretoria. There the Security Police tortured and murdered him. They hung his body in his cell and said he had committed suicide. Two or three days before his death, on 9 October 1966, he told one of his comrades that he had been beaten and was going to be taken back to the torture chamber.

- Festus Nehale had an incomplete rectum operation and was returned to the section only three days after the operation. The surgeon had not sewn him up properly, and comrade Nehale was so weak that the comrades had to wash him and support him. On 8 March 1970, a few days after the Boers had finally taken him to the local "hospital," comrade Nehale died.

- Petrus Nilenge died on 4 March 1974, from TB. He had been taken to Cape Town for treatment, but returned in a worse condition. The back of his head swelled up, and he partly lost the power of speech. All the time until his death he was kept in isolation in the hospital—we were not allowed to see him. The Boers refused to admit for about 20 days after his death that he had died—they said they had released him.

- John Shiponeni's knee was injured by the Boer torturers in Pretoria. One day on the Island he stumbled in the lime quarry and further damaged it. He was refused treatment for a month, then taken to Cape Town where his leg was amputated, without his knowledge or consent. They told him he had cancer and there was nothing they could do to save his leg. He now stays permanently in the "hospital."

- Nghidipo Haufiki has high blood pressure; so does Sakeus Itika; Lazarus Sakaria has TB; Jonas Shimweefeleni has kidney trouble, the doctors have on numerous occasions recommended that he be released, but this request has been refused by the South African regime.

Study on Robben Island is a privilege which the Boers may take away or suspend whenever it pleases them. Books are taken away from us soon after we receive them; those who take examinations never pass them, no matter how hard they work. It is very expensive to study—the greedy capitalist college owners are squeezing prisoners dry. There is a library, but we are only allowed to visit it at intervals of months, if at all. When we are sent books by the Red Cross or other international organizations, they simply do not reach us.

The comrades are punished every day by the Boers to destroy their psychological resistance. But brutality only helps to toughen the comrades. There is a "court" conducted by the Boer warders to punish us. If you are found "guilty" you are sent to isolation cells for 20-30 days, where you undergo a dietary punishment called "spare diet": for breakfast you get mealie-meal in hot water without salt; for lunch you get a beaker of soup without salt; dinner is the same as breakfast.

Maltreatment is an everyday thing. We are assaulted by warders and officers alike, then left in isolation cells until we no longer bear the marks, then taken to the hospital so the doctors can "prove" we have not been beaten. Sometimes they come and beat us with handles in the night.

The food is very unwholesome. For breakfast one gets porridge; for lunch—mealies; for dinner—porridge, with a tiny piece of meat or fish. "Coffee" is made from roasted mealie-meal and tastes terrible. Because of the poor food and brackish water, more than ¼ of the prisoners suffer from high blood pressure.

We are allowed to write one letter a month, and receive one a month; if one has no visitor that month, one can write and receive two letters. The letters take months to reach us; they are censored and mutilated. Sometimes one only receives the name and address of the person who wrote the letter—the contents have been cut out. Our letters are also censored.

We are not allowed to have contact visits, or even to shake hands with our visitors. We have to speak through a glass

panel about 40 sq. cm., so that we cannot even see each other clearly. The visit lasts 30 minutes—once a month—and the Security Police are present and tape our conversations.

There are no beds—we have to sleep on hard sisal mats. Sometimes the cement is so cold that one cannot sleep and has to spend the night awake.

Comrades Ja Toivo, Mandela, Sisulu,² and 37 other South Africans are kept in isolation in what the Boers call "single cells" (in order to deceive the international bodies which visit the Island): they are very tiny.

On days when there is no work we are locked up the whole day and [are] only given a few minutes outside the cells.

The Boers treat us here worse than they would treat dogs. They try to subdue and frighten us. But we are determined and resolved never to cringe before the Boers. We will continue to resist until the day of victory. We are prepared to be killed rather than to go over to the enemy's side.

Rumours have been circulating recently that comrade Ja Toivo and some others are to be released so that they can participate in the Turnhalle.³ This is only South African propaganda aimed at dividing our People's Movement. The Namibians on Robben Island have discussed this issue several times. One of our main decisions was that we will never talk to the South African regime because we are in prison and the South Africans are quite aware of the fact that we don't get any news about what is going on outside prison walls. We have no newspapers or radios. We also feel we have nothing to negotiate with the South African regime, since it was given the Mandate to administer Namibia without consultation with the Namibian people.⁴

I feel that South Africa will only transfer us to Namibia when international pressure and the effect of our political and armed struggle have become unbearable—that is when South Africa will be completely defeated. □

2. Toivo Herman ja Toivo was a founder of the South West Africa People's Organization and has been imprisoned on Robben Island since 1968. Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu were central leaders of the African National Congress until their arrest and imprisonment in the early 1960s; both are serving life sentences.—IP

3. The Turnhalle talks between white officials and Namibian tribal chiefs began in Windhoek in September 1975. Pretoria initiated the talks in an attempt to politically isolate SWAPO, which is fighting for Namibian independence from South African rule.—IP

4. Shortly after World War I, the League of Nations granted South Africa a mandate to administer Namibia, a former German colony, as a "sacred trust of civilization." In 1966, the United Nations revoked the mandate, declaring South Africa's continued occupation of the territory illegal.—IP

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Police Hunt Down Students in Soweto

By Ernest Harsch

After arresting virtually every Black leader in South Africa known to them, the white supremacist regime has now shifted the focus of its witch-hunt against the student movement as a whole.

On the morning of October 22, police, arriving in twenty vehicles, surrounded Morris Isaacson High School in the Black township of Soweto, which has been the center of the massive antigovernment protests that began in mid-June. All teachers and students found in the school were seized. Gen. Mike Geldenhuys, the chief of the security police, announced November 2 that sixteen of the teachers had been released, although most of the students, believed to number about sixty, were still in custody.

In the weeks that followed, the police began house-to-house searches in the Black townships near Johannesburg in an effort to track down students who were boycotting final examinations to protest the regime's racist education policy and the detention of thousands of political prisoners. According to a school official in Soweto, police had seized school registers to obtain the addresses of students on a "wanted" list.

In a dispatch from Soweto published in the November 12 *Washington Post*, correspondent Jim Hoagland reported, "This week police switched to raiding houses and picking up school-age youngsters off the streets in their efforts to break the student movement.

"Soweto residents report, however, that what they see as the indiscriminate arrests of hundreds of Soweto youths in recent days is fostering new sympathy for the students among previously uncommitted adults and creating dangerous new resentment of the police."

Some of the students seized on the streets were as young as 8 to 10 years old. According to a teacher quoted by Hoagland, "None of the students sleep at home now. They go to stay in other townships and hundreds of them have slipped out of the country to save their skins."

An official in neighboring Botswana has reported that more than 500 Soweto students have crossed the border into that country since June. A United Nations report stated that 130 more had sought refuge in Swaziland. Not all of those trying to flee the country made it, however. The November 13 weekly edition of the Johannesburg *Star* reported that, according to Gen. Geldenhuys, a carload of eight Soweto students headed for Botswana was

intercepted and the students were arrested by the security police.

The hunting down of student activists is only the most recent phase of the Vorster regime's massive crackdown against the Black freedom struggle. Between June 16—the day of the first mass Black protests in Soweto—and October 31, nearly 4,200 persons were arrested and charged in court, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

Of that number, more than 1,200 have already been convicted; 926 were "juveniles" and 355 were adults. Fines or suspended sentences were given to 431 of them. One "juvenile" and 182 adults were sentenced to prison terms. The remainder—528 "juveniles" and 139 adults—were sentenced to lashings.

The barbaric practice of lashing prisoners has been described by Allen Cook in his account of the South African prison system.* "A black is tied to a wooden frame;" he writes, "his clothing is pulled down and he is hit with a cane. The flesh of the buttocks is torn. . . . Lashes have led to death, as in the case of Phillip Lekale, a 16-year-old juvenile whose death a few hours after being lashed was certified as due to 'natural causes.'"

In addition to those who have been convicted or who are still facing trial, the SAIRR reported that it knew of 423 persons held without charges under the country's various security laws. Forty-four of them were in the Transkei, one of ten African reserves. Since the apartheid regime does not publish the names of those arrested under these laws, the total figure could be much higher. In October, Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James T. Kruger revealed that 697 persons were being detained for "security reasons."

The witch-hunt has struck every sector of the Black community. In addition to student leaders and activists, the police have seized Black trade unionists, doctors, religious figures, women's leaders, journalists, teachers, playwrights, and poets.

The central target of the repression is the nationalist current known as the Black Consciousness movement, and the groups identified with it, such as the South African Students Organisation (SASO), the Black People's Convention (BPC), and the South African Student Movement (SASM).

**South Africa: The Imprisoned Society*. (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1974), p. 10.

Two of the key leaders of the Black Consciousness movement now held in Vorster's jails are Steve Biko and Barney Pityana. Other leaders known to have been seized include BPC General Secretary Thandisizwe Mazibuko and Acting Publicity Secretary Lentse Mokgatle, and SASM Organising Secretary Zweli Sizani. In addition, SASO General Secretary Thamazanza Zani has not been heard of since his arrest in October 1975.

At least seven leaders of the Black Women's Federation (BWF), which was formed less than a year ago, have also been detained. They are: Winnie Mandela, an executive member of the BWF and of the Black Parents Association (BPA) in Soweto, and wife of imprisoned African nationalist leader Nelson Mandela; Fatima Meer, the president of the BWF at the time of her arrest in August and a well-known author and sociologist; Sally Motlana, a BWF executive member and the president of the African Housewives League; Jeannie Noel, assistant secretary of the BWF; Jane Oshadi Phakathi, the Transvaal regional director of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa; Vesta Smith, an executive member of CORD (Charge or Release Detainees) and of the BPA; and Joyce Seroke, an executive member of the Young Women's Christian Association for Southern Africa.

Among the arrested trade unionists are June Rose Nala of the National Union of Textile Workers in Durban and Pendile Mfeti of the Industrial Aid Society in Johannesburg. Harold Bekisisa Nxasana of the Institute for Industrial Education and Judy Mayat and Joseph Thloloe of the Union of Black Journalists have been detained as well.

In mid-November, eleven whites and two Blacks involved in organizing Black unions were given banning orders, which prohibits them from attending gatherings, preparing anything for publication, or leaving their home locality.

In order to hinder the publication of accurate news about the Black protests, the government has arrested at least fifteen Black journalists since July under the various security laws. Five of them were reporters for the Johannesburg *World*, the country's only Black daily paper.

Among other Black writers swept up in Vorster's dragnet are Gibson Kente, a playwright, and James Matthews, a poet.

As a result of the brutal treatment meted out to Black political prisoners, at least six Blacks have died in jail since June. One, whose name is not known, died in police custody in Carletonville October 1. The others were Mapetla Mohapi and Luke Mazwemba of SASO; Isaac Mbatha and Fenuel Mogatusi, both Soweto students; and Zungwane Jacob Mashabane, a student from the University of Zululand, who died in Johannesburg Fort prison. □

Eyewitness Report From Canton

[The following article is by a Chinese student who is a member of the Revolutionary Marxist League, a Hong Kong organization which is in sympathy with the Fourth International. The author made two brief trips to Canton this year, the first in mid-April and the second at the beginning of November.

[We have taken the text from the November 20-21 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In these two trips I visited the same city, the same people, and the same friends, but I came away with contrary impressions.

At the time of my first visit, all of China was struck with astonishment by the demonstration in Tien An Men Square April 5,* and by similar demonstrations that had taken place in other cities. In Canton, instead of responding with repression, the bureaucracy appeared to be completely bewildered. One of my oldest acquaintances, who is a middle-level cadre in an industrial production unit and a party member, told me that a counterrevolutionary plot had been behind the demonstration. However, he immediately corrected himself and said this did not imply that all who took part were bad or had wrong intentions. When I asked him what sort of action he was going to take in his unit, he hesitated and said after a moment, "All that we can do is follow the general line of the leadership. We are doing nothing, and in fact it is impossible to do anything. We simply explain." Once he forgot himself and said that he would have been at the demonstration if he had been in Peking.

The sympathetic attitude of the masses of people was expressed more openly. In a restaurant I heard a middle-aged industrial worker say, "Even if there were a handful of counterrevolutionaries maneuvering behind the demonstration, the people who took part in it did so in complete innocence and their demands were justified." People in the restaurant responded by smiling and nodding in approval. No one showed the slightest sign of protest or disagreement.

The reaction of the young students and

factory workers I met was more aggressive. I was told that frequently after demonstrations young students and workers held informal meetings to discuss



HUA KUO-FENG

the social and political problems of Chinese society. I myself actually participated in two of these informal political meetings.

My cousin took me to the first meeting. The eight persons present were secondary-school students of about fourteen to eighteen years of age. The meeting was highly informal. Several topics were touched upon, and then dropped for other questions before arriving at complete clarification. One thing was certain, however. They all supported the demonstration and viewed the protesters as a heroic vanguard. At the same time, they questioned the legitimacy of the bureaucracy and the yoke it imposes on Chinese society. The youngest of the secondary-school students said: "In my opinion, no objection can be raised against the statement that our country is highly bureaucratic. The only question is how to get rid of them." To be sure, nothing concrete emerged from this meeting, but it does show that young people are undergoing a political awakening.

It was the second meeting, however, that made a great impression on me. Eleven persons took part in it. The majority were young workers in their twenties, along

with a few teen-age students. They openly expressed their hostility to the bureaucracy, calling it a *new repressive class*. Even in front of me they did not try to conceal their nonconformity and hostility. Some explained that it was necessary to wait for the right moment to take an initiative against the bureaucracy. But when the moment came, the masses would be sure to follow them. One of them told me that there would be either silence or an explosion. I think that this is true. For prior to the April 5 demonstration, the majority of Chinese were exceedingly calm.

I spoke a great deal at this meeting, unlike the first. Of course, I could not tell them I was a Trotskyist. But I put forward our positions when I spoke. I explained to them that in Hong Kong there was an organization called the Revolutionary Marxist League, and told them its positions on China and its reaction to the Tien An Men demonstration.

They were surprised to learn that such a political organization existed in Hong Kong. One of them told me that while he was not sufficiently acquainted with this organization, he thought that given the opportunity, it would be able to speak to the broad masses in China. I was very happy to hear him say that.

But when I asked them about the factional struggle inside the Chinese Communist party, I saw that they still had certain illusions in the conservative faction personified by the late Chou En-lai. That seemed to me to be a sharp contradiction: How can one oppose the bureaucracy as such while maintaining the hope that if the conservative faction came to power the situation would be greatly improved? I thought this over on the train returning to Hong Kong. The Maoist faction had been in power, and the masses had been able to judge it. Some found it inefficient and intolerable. But the conservative faction has not been fully tested. I thought that it might even be necessary for the masses to see the conservative faction in power for a certain period before turning against it.

This belief was reinforced when I made my second trip, at the beginning of November. The masses hoped for improvements after the death of Mao and the fall of the "gang of four." They thought that now the line of Chou En-lai would be applied without Chou En-lai. The masses do not give Hua Kuo-feng the importance that the press tries to convey. What they do view as important and hopeful is the orientation he represents. On this trip my cousin told me: "Things are going to get better now. We should have gotten rid of Chiang Ch'ing a long time ago. Teng [Hsiao-p'ing] should have been placed in the leadership."

I met again with the same young workers and students. But this time I found no trace of the hostility they had expressed toward the bureaucracy. They

*Some 100,000 persons took part in a demonstration in Peking's Tien An Men Square April 5 this year in honor of Chou En-lai, which developed into a protest against the Maoist regime. The demonstration was suppressed and denounced as a "counterrevolutionary incident." See *Intercontinental Press*, Vol. 14, Nos. 15, 34, and 36.

are all under the sway of the same illusion. One of them even told me that "in the next six months there will be significant changes, to the benefit of the people and the society."

The scope and depth of this hope, or better, this illusion, is unlike anything since the Cultural Revolution. No one even has it in the back of his mind that they might be duped again, as during the Cultural Revolution.

When I raised the question, they responded without hesitation: "Be patient, things are going to change for the better."

Another told me: "No one would dare to deceive us again."

In a certain sense, the leaders of the Maoist faction are not treated justly by the masses. They are held responsible not only for having betrayed the people during the Cultural Revolution, but also for all the errors and evils stemming from the bureaucratic structure. People genuinely hate the Maoists, to a degree I had never imagined before.

It appears as if the bureaucracy is exploiting this phenomenon. In the schools, the factories, and all the rank-and-file organizations, the masses are told that

the Maoists are responsible for everything that is wrong. No one has yet spoken to the masses of improvements. But they have been led to believe that there will be changes, and they expect them. The process of politicalization that had been set in motion has been arrested and is regressing. I was very disappointed on the train that took me back to Hong Kong. But I think that the Chinese people will have to go through the experience of the new leadership. Only afterward will the workers understand that they can count on themselves alone, and not on anyone in the bureaucracy. □

Urges Ouster of American Troops

Miguel Antonio Bernal Denounces Pentagon's Grip On Panama

Exiled Panamanian freedom fighter Miguel Antonio Bernal completed a three-week speaking tour of the United States November 24.

During the tour, which was sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), he visited eleven cities from San Francisco to Miami. He spoke at more than twenty meetings on university campuses and in Latino communities. The largest meeting was one of 150 persons at California State University in Northridge.

Among the groups Bernal addressed were a statewide meeting of Chicano law students in Texas and a meeting of Chilean refugees in California.

The point that drew the most sustained applause from audiences across the country was Bernal's demand that Washington withdraw from the Canal Zone immediately.

"Why should we have to negotiate for our own territory?" he asked at one meeting in Houston, Texas.

Bernal was deported from Panama in February 1976. He has never been formally

accused of any criminal act, but behind the deportation lies his outspoken opposition to the Pentagon's presence in Panama and to the military regime of Omar Torrijos.

"American troops are keeping the military dictatorship in power," he told one audience. "Every time there is any kind of demonstration or protest, American troops take control and 'restore order.'"

Bernal's tour received extensive coverage in most cities. In California, he was interviewed by two television and three radio stations. In Houston, he appeared on three television programs and spoke on one radio show.

Articles on his meetings appeared in a number of campus newspapers and in the Hartford, Connecticut, *Courant*, one of the city's daily papers.

A prominent news article in the November 16 issue of *The Daily Cougar* reported Bernal's meeting at the University of Houston. Control of the canal is

equivalent to control of Panama, *The Cougar* quoted him as saying. "There are 700,000 people in the capital city who have to walk across the Canal Zone to get to the other side of their own country." At times, American troops have closed off the Zone to Panamanians, cutting the country in half, and have shut off the water supply to Panama City.

Many persons at the meetings signed an open letter to Torrijos demanding that Bernal and other exiles be allowed to return to Panama.

"Bernal told us that people who attended his meetings are hungry for the basic facts of Washington's domination of Panama," USLA tour organizer Mike Kelly said. "These facts are an essential prerequisite for informing public opinion here on the need to protest the repression of Torrijos's critics and Washington's collaboration in the repression." □

Gangsterlike Attack on Leading Figure in Dubcek Government

Dr. Frantisek Kriegel, one of the main figures in the Dubcek regime, and his wife were attacked in their apartment in Prague November 19 by two men wearing dark glasses and gloves. The assailants, Agence France-Presse reported, tried to strangle Mrs. Kriegel, but the noise brought neighbors to the couple's aid. The attackers fled.

There have been a number of criminal attacks recently on persons who were prominent during the Prague Spring. Exiles accuse the "normalized" regime of resorting to gangster tactics to intimidate its opponents.

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The Buraku Liberation Struggle in Japan

By Hideo Yamamoto

A massive rally of 100,000 was held in Tokyo on October 31 to demand freedom for Kazuo Ishikawa, a victim of Japanese frame-up justice who has been in prison for more than twelve years. Ishikawa came from a Buraku community, and his case has become a focal point of the struggle to end discrimination against Japan's three million Buraku people.

In May 1963, Ishikawa was charged with the rape and murder of a high-school student in the town of Sayama, northwest of Tokyo. The incident had outraged residents of the small town, and local police were under tremendous pressure to solve the crime. After three weeks of unsuccessful attempts to apprehend the killer, the cops accused Ishikawa, a young man from a poor Buraku family who had been arrested on charges unrelated to the murder.

A sensational press campaign, and bigoted police reports emphasizing Ishikawa's Buraku background, whipped up an atmosphere of hysteria against him. Under these circumstances, he was tricked into confessing to the crime in return for a promise of lenient treatment. On the basis of that confession and an assortment of circumstantial evidence, he was convicted and sentenced to death.

The Buraku Liberation League subsequently took up Ishikawa's case, and led a long struggle to appeal the initial court verdict. Petition campaigns were launched and demonstrations were held to publicize the frame-up. In the early 1970s the Japan Socialist party and Sohyo¹ began to give important support to the struggle.

This defense campaign culminated in September 1974 with a rally of 110,000 people in Tokyo. In October of that year, Superior Court Judge Shoji Terao handed down a decision which acknowledged the inconsistency of the evidence used in the first trial, but refused to free Ishikawa. The death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.

The most recent rally was held on the second anniversary of Judge Terao's decision, as Ishikawa's case is being appealed to the Supreme Court. There was a special sense of urgency in view of recent reports from Buraku Liberation League

lawyers that the Supreme Court may refuse to hear the appeal.

The Japanese Trotskyist weekly *Sekai Kakumei* (*World Revolution*) reported that speakers at the October 31 rally included leaders of the Socialist party and several trade unions. In addition, there were greetings from organizations of other oppressed social layers, including the Korean Youth League, the National Federation of Physically Handicapped People, and the Ainu Liberation League.² The high point of the rally was the reading of a message from Ishikawa, declaring his determination to continue fighting, and

Who Are the Buraku People?

[The following interview with Hiroshi Ishida was obtained by a correspondent of *Intercontinental Press* in Tokyo.]

[Hiroshi Ishida is a member of the Central Committee of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League, the Japanese section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Question. Who are the Buraku people of Japan, and what kind of discrimination do they suffer?

Answer. The Buraku people are descendants of the "untouchable" caste in precapitalist Japan. Discrimination against these people began with the establishment of the caste system by the Tokugawa feudal power during the Edo period [1615-1868]. Of course, milder forms of discrimination existed before then, but it was the Tokugawa that forged a rigid system of discriminatory social relations.

In order to maintain their class domination, the Tokugawa laid down a very strict—and very ingenious—system of social stratification. A clear-cut hierarchy of social status was established among the four main classes of feudal society, from the highest to the lowest: Samurai [warriors], peasants, artisans and merchants. There were definite hierarchical relations within each of these layers as well. Ranking above these four classes were the feudal lords, and below all these classes were members of the "untouchable"

appealing for stepped-up support actions.

October 31 was the climax of a year of increasing activity by the Buraku Liberation League. In January and again in May the League organized solidarity actions, including one-day strikes by workers of various local trade unions. At first those strikes were restricted to a few unions that had a large number of Buraku members, but the actions have gradually become more widespread.

In the days leading up to the October 31 rally, solidarity strikes took place involving thousands of workers in at least eleven different trade unions. In addition, leaders of the Buraku Liberation League carried out 96-hour hunger strikes in the last week of October to gain publicity for the rally. *Sekai Kakumei* reported solidarity hunger strikes by student government leaders at five universities. A demonstration of 15,000 was held October 30 in Osaka, and a contingent of 7,000 went from Osaka to Tokyo for the main rally. □

ble" caste. They were regarded as less than human, and called Eta Hinin [filthy non-humans"]

These people suffered many forms of discrimination. They were restricted to the most undesirable occupations, such as slaughtering animals, tanning hides or serving in the lowest ranks of the police. There were restrictions on their contact with people of other social strata, restrictions on the clothing they could wear and even on the foods they could eat. They were forced to live in segregated communities called Buraku, which were built on the most undesirable sites such as river banks, steep hillsides, or on the outskirts of towns. Since most Japanese words that refer to these people have very ugly connotations, they prefer to call themselves simply "Buraku people."

With the bourgeois revolution at the beginning of the Meiji period [1868-1912], the feudal caste system was abolished. The Buraku people were legally "liberated," but discrimination continues to exist. That is, the feudal system of discrimination was reorganized into a new, capitalist form. The Buraku masses, "liberated" from being bound to certain occupations, now found that because of discrimination it was hard to get hired for any job at all. They were forced to choose between working at the dirtiest, lowest-paying jobs or being unemployed.

Buraku people suffer unbelievably severe discrimination even in today's "democratic" society. This includes discrimination in employment, housing, education, marriage, and so on—it extends into all areas of their lives. Discrimination in employment is especially important, and it has

1. Nihon Rodo Kumiai Sohyogikai, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, is the largest Japanese trade-union federation. It is led by left Social Democrats.

2. The Ainu are the native people of Japan's northern island of Hokkaido.



Sekai Kakumei

Part of rally October 31 in Tokyo.

been getting worse since the economic downturn of 1974.

So we can say that the real liberation of the Buraku people is one of the democratic tasks that the bourgeois revolution failed to accomplish.

Q. How many Buraku people are there today? Where do they live?

A. It is commonly estimated that there are three million Buraku people out of 110 million Japanese. The bourgeoisie contends that Buraku people have been completely integrated into "our democratic society," so there are no official figures. There are a total of about six thousand Buraku communities. The number of rural Buraku communities is large, but these are for the most part very small villages. Hence, the Buraku people are primarily urban residents, part of the working class.

Geographically, Buraku people are concentrated in Western Japan, especially in the Osaka-Kyoto metropolitan area. This region was the economic center of Japan prior to and during the feudal period.

Q. When did the modern Buraku movement begin?

A. We can say that the formation of the National Levellers Association in 1922 marked the beginning of the Buraku masses' struggle for their own liberation. The activity of that organization was temporarily disrupted due to the war and repression by imperialist authorities. But in 1945 it was reconstituted as the National Buraku Liberation Committee, and later evolved into the present-day Buraku Liberation League, which is the single mass organization of the Buraku people.

Q. The "Sayama struggle" has become almost synonymous with the Buraku liberation struggle. Why has this particular case taken on such importance?

A. The "Sayama incident" occurred in 1963, and Kazuo Ishikawa was framed for it and went to prison in 1964. But it wasn't until the 1970s that the struggle to free him developed into a struggle of all the Buraku people, as it is today. Of course even prior to 1970 a persistent struggle was waged, mainly by the Buraku Liberation League. But I think the reason why this struggle has grown so rapidly in the 1970s is that it was projected as the central concern of the entire Buraku

movement. It has attracted support from the workers movement and is becoming a factor in the overall relationship of forces in the class struggle.

Q. What attitudes do the traditional leaderships of the working class take toward the Buraku struggle?

A. The Socialist party and the social-democratic trade-union bureaucracy have a generally friendly relationship with the Buraku Liberation League. This isn't really because they have a correct theoretical or programmatic view of the importance of Buraku liberation in the class struggle. Their programmatic orientation is vague, but they feel the pressure of the mass Buraku struggle.

Looking at it in a long-term historical sense we can say that the Buraku movement is acting as a vanguard, drawing the SP and Sohyo into joint struggles. We recently saw the formation of the Buraku Liberation Central Joint Struggle Committee, which is in essence a united front of Sohyo and the Buraku Liberation League.

The relationship between the Buraku Liberation League and the Communist party is one of very sharp hostility. The responsibility for this rift lies with the CP,

which holds the attitude that as the vanguard party, all other social movements should be subordinate to it. This attitude has led the CP in practice to obstruct the spread of the Buraku movement into areas that are traditional CP strongholds. The CP has organized its own "Anti-Discrimination Campaign" counterposed to the Buraku Liberation League.

In the past there was a very close relationship between the CP and the mass Buraku movement. That relationship began in the days of the National Levellers Association and continued until about 1965. But in the past ten years, that close relationship has been replaced by escalating hostility.

It's clear that one important factor in this rift is the fundamental question of whether or not the complete liberation of the Buraku people can be accomplished within the framework of the capitalist system. The CP has gradually shifted over to the position that Buraku liberation will be accomplished under capitalism.

Q. Can you tell us about the participation of the Japanese Trotskyists in the Buraku liberation movement?

A. All of the tendencies of the Japanese "New Left" began to participate in the Buraku struggle around 1971. At that time our intervention was much weaker than that of other tendencies such as the Chukaku or Kaiho Factions,* who had many more forces and were better prepared politically and organizationally. Essentially, we had to start from scratch, and we were late in getting started.

But we can now say that over the past few years of activity in the struggle, we have made up for that late start. We stood out among those proposing the tactic of solidarity strikes, and we continue to be the most serious of all the tendencies in building those strikes. We have carried out a systematic nationwide struggle to expose the real character of the CP's "Anti-Discrimination Campaign." An important example of this was our role in helping to build a large, successful conference in support of a Buraku high school students' group that was being slandered by Stalinist teachers.

Our standing within the movement, and the objective possibilities for our intervention, have been greatly enhanced through this kind of work.

Q. What do you see as the perspectives for the Buraku liberation movement?

A. The most important task of the

*The Chukaku Faction is an ultraleft group that developed out of the Japanese student movement of the 1960s. Since 1971 it has gone on a campaign of physical attacks against rival left groups. The Kaiho Faction is a left-centrist grouping within the SP youth group Shaseido.

Buraku struggle right now is to link up with the working class. If you look at the history of both the prewar and postwar movements, a consistent element is that they have always been cut off from the rest of the working class. The political isolation resulting from this has been the decisive obstacle blocking an advance of the struggle.

But today we're seeing the beginnings of a link-up of the Buraku masses and the

rest of the working class through these struggles. That is the most politically significant thing about the Sayama struggle. The theme of this year's thirty-first national convention of the Buraku Liberation League reflects this orientation of linking up with the workers movement. We think that if this orientation is effectively carried out, it is certainly possible for the Buraku liberation struggle to take a historic leap forward. □

Prominent Doctor Arrested in Belgium

'Women's Day' Protest of Abortion Law

By Joanna Rossi

On November 11 some 2-3,000 women and men gathered in Brussels in a day of protest activities around the theme, "Abortion—Women Decide." November 11 has been celebrated in Belgium as a "Journée des Femmes" (Women's Day) for the past five years. This year, the November 11 Action Committee, composed of about 530 members of numerous women's and contraception organizations decided for the first time to focus on the question of abortion.

The day of protest came two weeks after two hospital centers which offer abortion services were raided, and four doctors, including the prominent Belgian gynecologist Dr. Willy Peers, were charged with performing illegal abortions. In Dr. Peers's case, the new indictment comes on top of several charges he still faces stemming from an arrest in 1973.

Through a series of debates and presentations, participants in the Women's Day discussed and condemned the harshness of the Belgian abortion law. Banners in the meeting rooms and display areas voiced the major demands: all penalties concerning abortion should be abolished; the decision on abortion should be made by the woman concerned; abortions should be covered under medical plans; and there should be broad distribution of contraceptives.

For the first time since the Women's Days were initiated, participants this year included both Flemish and French-speaking Belgians. Colorful and informative booths and displays were set up by a large number of groups. Among them were women's liberation organizations, Planned Parenthood and contraception groups, abortion groups, political parties, and gay liberation groups. Also present was the Belgian section of Women Overseas for Equality (WOE), a women's rights group for English-speaking women who live in Europe. Dr. Peers was present and answered questions about abortion.

The final decision-making session of the

day approved a series of activities. These ranged from petition and letter-writing campaigns, to setting up abortion and contraception counselling and information centers, to calling for a national demonstration to be held in Brussels next March 5.

A large number of articles appeared in the press in the weeks preceding Women's Day condemning the hypocritical and arbitrary nature of the abortion law. For two years the law had lain dormant, still on the books, but not applied. The government had spoken of a period of "truce" while its existing legislation was being reviewed.

Then, suddenly, in the last week of October, three doctors working in hospitals of the Public Assistance Commission of Brussels were charged with performing abortions, and the public prosecutor's office in Namur, a city south-east of Brussels, seized files belonging to Dr. Peers, who is the assistant director of the Gynecology and Obstetrics Center of the province of Namur. The new charge against Dr. Peers quickly followed.

Le Soir, a leading bourgeois newspaper in the capital, had a long article in its November 12 issue reporting on a press conference organized by the Gynecology Service of the Saint-Pierre University Hospital in Brussels. The three Brussels doctors who had just been charged were affiliated to this hospital. Six doctors at the news conference announced that their staff had performed 1,822 abortions since April 1, 1973. In a statement quoted in the paper, they said: "The entire personnel of the Gynecology and Obstetrics Service of the Saint-Pierre University Hospital in Brussels declares its solidarity with the three indicted doctors, requests the cessation of prosecutions and intends to maintain its attitude in the matter of interrupting pregnancies."

The Belgian abortion law is one of the most retrogressive in all Europe. In the Penal Code under a section entitled

"Crimes and Offenses Against Family Order and Public Morality," it prohibits abortions under all conditions.

As the law stands today, both those who perform abortions and women who have them are liable to a fine and to imprisonment from two to five years. Even if someone causes an abortion without intending to do so, he or she can face a prison term of up to three years.

The crowning touch on this reactionary document stipulates heavier penalties if an abortion is performed by someone in the medical or paramedical profession. Jail terms in these cases can range from 10 to 20 years, depending on the type of incarceration, which can consist of "normal" imprisonment, solitary confinement, or hard labor.

The law has been the center of debate for

years. In January 1975 a government-created "Ethics Commission" was set up to study the question. Its views were not made public until last June. Twelve of the members recommended a severely limited abortion law, while a majority of thirteen opted for a broader "liberalization." Neither the minority nor the majority supported the woman's right to make the decision on abortion herself.

More and more people have become deeply dissatisfied with government foot-dragging, and are outraged at the latest attacks. The exasperation many feel was summed up in the title of an editorial in the November 4 issue of *Pourquoi Pas?* ("Why Not?"), a Brussels news magazine.

On the cover of the magazine was a drawing of a massive women's demonstration. In the front row a large banner read "Arise, ye wretched of the earth." The

editorial, entitled "Abortion: Enough Hypocrisy!", said:

Regarding abortion, the time has come when men should stand aside. Except for a minority, they have shown that this is a secondary question as far as they are concerned. Abortion is a fundamental problem of public health that will be solved only if women mobilize themselves, if they take the lead of the movement and make it known in Belgium that they are as numerous as men and drive it home that they are as respectable too!

Of course, this does not mean that the men who have struggled up to now to bring about such elementary justice should give up the fight. But women must understand that men, no matter how generous they may be, will never solve problems that do not really matter to them, caught as they are in hesitations that all too obviously reflect their nostalgia for their thousand-year-long supremacy.

The article concludes: "Women arise!" □

State Department Attempts Whitewash

SAVAK Harasses Iranian Dissidents in U.S.

The State Department announced November 9 that an inquiry it had conducted into the activities of SAVAK, the dreaded Iranian secret political police, in the United States had failed to turn up "any illegal or improper activity."

The inquiry had been ordered by Henry Kissinger after reports of SAVAK harassment of Iranian dissidents in the United States appeared in the press and after the shah of Iran admitted in a televised interview that SAVAK operated in the United States with the approval of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) responded to the State Department's attempt to whitewash SAVAK's activities with a statement released November 17.

CAIFI described the kinds of activities SAVAK carries out in the United States and listed some specific examples of harassment of and threats against Iranian dissidents. They included the following:

- *Plotting assassinations.* Reza Baraheni, a distinguished poet who was imprisoned in Iran for 102 days and tortured by SAVAK, has been warned that he might be on a SAVAK assassination list.

Baraheni, an outspoken opponent of the shah's repressive regime, was told August 5 by Prof. Richard Cottam of the University of Pittsburgh that, according to a trusted State Department source, "SAVAK had made the decision to send assassination squads into Europe and the United States. The guess within the government is that any executions will be disguised as muggings. The obvious targets would be Iranian dissidents."

Baraheni was publicly threatened with death while he was speaking on a CAIFI panel in Austin, Texas, February 5. On March 16, he was told by the police chief at San Jose State University in California that a plot had been discovered to kill him if he addressed a meeting there.

Two suspicious incidents against Iranian dissidents have already occurred. On February 22, Daria Bakhtiaria, an active member of the Northern California chapter of CAIFI and an organizer of the Bay Area chapter, was shot and killed during a mugging in Oakland. His killer has not been apprehended. Babak Zahraie, field secretary for CAIFI and editor of *Payam Daneshjoo*, was threatened by an assailant with a gun in New York City in August.

- *Actions against the families of Iranian dissidents.* CAIFI has received information from very reliable sources in Europe that SAVAK is plotting to kidnap Baraheni's two children if he does not stop his criticisms of the shah.

Baraheni's niece, Narmin Baraheni, was arrested in Iran in January. A medical student at the University of Azarabadegan, she was sentenced to seven years in prison by a secret military tribunal. No charges have been made public.

- *Disruption of public meetings.* CAIFI listed five public meetings held in defense of human rights in Iran that were disrupted by individuals in the audience. Although the disrupters claimed to be against the shah, their chanting, shouting, and whistling was increased whenever speakers attempted to give specific infor-

mation about SAVAK or the conditions in the shah's jails.

- *Spying, wiretapping, illegal break-ins, and forgery.* CAIFI appended three articles by syndicated columnist Jack Anderson, which reported the contents of secret SAVAK documents that were obtained by him. They included instructions on how to conduct burglaries, forge passports, and make copies of keys.

One document, marked "Secret," states that all SAVAK branches should forward "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."

Anderson also identified Mansur Rafizadeh, Iranian cultural attaché at the United Nations, as the head of SAVAK operations in the United States.

CAIFI concluded, "By expanding its terrorist activities to the United States, the SAVAK is drastically infringing on the rights of everyone living in the U.S.—citizens and non-citizens alike. . . . CAIFI calls for the identification of all SAVAK agents in the U.S. and their immediate expulsion." □

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Biermann Condemns Repression East and West

By Ulrich Ahrens

BOCHUM—The East German poet and singer Wolf Biermann was deprived of his citizenship November 16, two hours before he was scheduled to give his second concert. The bureaucracy claimed that in his first appearance, in Cologne three days before, he had "defamed" the state.

The campaign that led to this tour began here in Bochum, an industrial town in the Ruhr area, at the Ruhr University. Early this year, there was a big rally at the local university against the "Berufsverbot," the blacklisting of radicals from state jobs. The featured entertainer was the well-known songwriter Franz-Josef Degenhardt, who performed some of his songs. Although the purpose of the rally was to protest the blacklisting of persons for their political beliefs, Degenhardt refused to oppose the "Berufsverbot" applied against his East German colleague, Wolf Biermann, who has been prevented from performing in public for many years by the bureaucracy.

The student group of the West German Communist party, which sponsored the rally, prevented any discussion of such practices in the German "Democratic Republic."

In response to this hypocrisy, an Initiative Group for "Free Travel and Free Speech for Wolf Biermann, for Wolf Biermann to Perform in Bochum," was formed by students, professors, and trade unionists. The participants knew that he would attack political repression in both parts of Germany.

The demands raised by this group found immediate support within the German workers and trade-union movement. The appeal it issued was signed by many trade unionists and representatives of the SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands—Social Democratic party of Germany], including prominent members of the coalition government and even the mayor of West Berlin, Klaus Schütz.

A number of political groups supported the campaign, among them the GIM [Gruppe Internationale Marxisten—International Marxist Group, German section of the Fourth International], as well as trade-union organizations, factory councils, and student bodies. Prominent artists and writers gave their endorsement. The Initiative Group was able to collect about 7,000 signatures in support of its demands.

It was a big victory for the Initiative Group when the East German bureaucracy granted Biermann a visa in October. His opening performance in Cologne was

sponsored by IG Metall, the metalworkers union. In a four-hour program, he alternated songs and poems with discussion of political repression in the GDR and the Federal Republic.

Biermann made it absolutely clear that he considers himself a communist and is not going to give an inch to the pressure of the reactionary bourgeois forces in West Germany. He stressed: "German unity is too precious to entrust to the Black Rabble." He was referring to the Christian Democrats, the Catholic party that is the main political representative of the bourgeoisie. Clericalist parties are called "black" in Germany from the color of the priests' cassocks.

At the same time, Biermann defended the GDR against the Maoist groups in West Germany. They denounce the East German deformed workers state as "fascist." He said he wanted a workers state with proletarian democracy, such as Rosa Luxemburg called for. What East Germany needs to become a workers state in the full sense, he said, is "Rosa's red democracy."

Of course, since Biermann has developed his political views in isolation and in a society in which information does not circulate freely, it is not surprising that there are many contradictions in his attitudes. He revealed these on his tour. He suggests that the Stalinist bureaucracy can be reformed so that it will take a revolutionary course. He has also expressed great hopes for the so-called antibureaucratic turns of the French, Italian, and Spanish Stalinists.

Biermann made a glaring political error with his defense of the Russian tanks crushing the June 17, 1953, workers' uprising in East Berlin. He described this revolt as "fascist," even though he recognized its antibureaucratic character. Such a position indicates that he does not understand the fundamentally counterrevolutionary nature of Stalinism.

However, the East German bureaucracy was infuriated by Biermann's criticism of their rule over the workers, which he scored again and again in his songs. The bureaucrats took advantage of his trip to the West to deprive him of his citizenship. But this measure could easily backfire. Biermann has said that he does not want to live in the capitalist West, and that he will strive to reenter East Berlin.

The demand to "Let him in again" will be a powerful one in the coming weeks. The slogan of "Free travel and free speech

for Wolf Biermann," which was raised by the Bochum Initiative Group, retains its full force. Thus, the Stalinist bureaucracy in the GDR may again come under heavy pressure.

An indication of the possibilities for such a campaign are the protests against the measure that have come not only from the French and Italian CPs but even from sections of the West German DKP [Deutsche Kommunistische Partei—German Communist party], which up till now has been the most subservient of the West European CPs, endorsing any action by the Kremlin or East Berlin.

In the meantime, Biermann is continuing his tour. He finally appeared in Bochum on November 19 in the Ruhrlandhalle. Before a hall packed with 4,000 people, he presented both old and new songs and engaged in a vivid dialogue with the audience. He reprimanded some stewards for trying to prevent the Maoists from speaking. He wanted a completely free and democratic discussion, and he got it.

As at previous meetings, the discussion focused on the question of political repression in both parts of Germany and how best to fight it. A speech by Rudi Dutschke, formerly the most prominent student leader in the country and still an authoritative figure, was of special interest.

Dutschke called for unity in the struggle against all kinds of political repression and for the defense of the democratic freedoms that have been won by the working class. He scored sectarians who stayed away from the Biermann campaign, or even opposed it, because of the participation of Social Democrats.

At the same time, the former student leader criticized the opportunism of the "left" Social Democrats involved, who were outspoken enough in protesting the violation of democratic rights in Biermann's case, but remained silent about other instances of repression or infringement of these rights in West Germany.

As examples of violations of democratic rights in West Germany, Dutschke cited the cases of Karl-Heinz Roth and Peter Paul Zahl, writers imprisoned for their political beliefs, as well as the banning from the country of Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International and an economist with a worldwide reputation.

Karl-Heinz Roth is still in pretrial detention. He is charged with being a sympathizer of the Baader-Meinhof group. He has been refused proper medical treatment for injuries that he suffered during his arrest. If he is kept in prison under these conditions, his life is in severe danger.

Peter Paul Zahl has been sentenced to fifteen years in prison on the charge of attempted murder. The judge justified this extremely harsh sentence by saying that Zahl was a convinced anarchist and that it was necessary to deter anarchism.

Dutschke argued strongly that freedom and democratic rights are indivisible—that you cannot fight political repression in the GDR and turn a blind eye on the erosion of democratic rights in West Germany, and expect to have any credibility. This maxim, he said, is equally true the other way around. And both Stalinists and Social Democrats, each in their own way, have been guilty of hypocrisy.

The problem that Biermann represents for the West German authorities is shown by the way they handled the television broadcast of his concert in Cologne.

Broadcasting this concert was an excellent opportunity to expose the violation of democratic rights in the GDR. Some 80 percent of the population there could pick up the broadcast and see that Biermann is not an opponent of socialism, as the bureaucracy represents him. What figure could make a more stirring defense of freedom or a more biting denunciation of bureaucratic dictatorship than Biermann?

But the West German authorities shifted the broadcast to the night program between 10:00 p.m. and 2:00 a.m., when many fewer people could watch. The Christian Democrats said this was neces-

sary “in order not to submit our citizens to hours of political indoctrination.”

This move by the Christian Democrats shows how the West German bourgeoisie and the East German Stalinist bureaucracy work together to stifle the democratic rights of the working people in both parts of Germany. The campaign to support Biermann's right to return to the GDR can point out the way to smash this unholy alliance and show that full democratic rights can be won only in the framework of a socialist society run by the workers. □

Bureaucrats Fear Democratic Opposition

East Berlin Cracks Down on Dissent

The East German regime's banishment of the poet Wolf Biermann has created particularly difficult problems for the West European CPs, which are trying to convince voters and potential supporters that the bad old days of Stalinism are over.

The brutality of this deportation was as glaring as its arbitrariness. In its November 18 issue, the liberal West German daily *Frankfurter Rundschau* reported: “[The East German dissident] Havemann says that Biermann's wife is ‘desperate.’ Government agents have already visited her to mark the furniture for removal.” The Biermanns have a six-month-old son.

The East German state had already interfered in Biermann's personal life. The Essen daily, *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, reported:

“They tried by every means to separate Christine, the daughter of a state functionary, from Biermann. She was threatened with the loss of her scholarship. They threatened that her father would lose his job. . . . The official decree depriving Biermann of his citizenship also took away his personal property. It did not mention his wife and son.”

Biermann came into open disfavor with the bureaucracy in 1962, when his play *Berliner Brautgang* (“Berlin Wedding”) was banned. It was about the impact of the division of the city on the lives of individuals. He was allowed to perform four years more, although tensions kept increasing. In 1966, Horst Sindermann, a member of the Central Committee of the East German CP, publicly threatened him:

“Mr. Biermann should not be surprised if one day he finds other people outside his door besides the milkman.” After this his home was continually watched by secret police who did not bother to hide their presence.

Biermann's banishment was followed by a wave of police terror and intimidation. At 3:00 p.m. on November 20, Christine Biermann's phone was cut off, the West

German weekly *Der Spiegel* reported in its November 22 issue. An hour and a half later Robert Havemann's phone went dead. The physicist Havemann is a friend of the Biermann family. The day before, Jürgen Fuchs, a dissident writer living in the Havemann home, was arrested. On November 26, the physicist himself was jailed.

The art restorer Peter Schwarzbach hung a sign in East Berlin's Märkische Museum immediately after the banishment was announced, protesting the measure. He disappeared the next morning on his way to work. His arrest was announced only days later, on November 21.

The fact that Biermann's Cologne concert, allegedly so “defamatory” to the East German state as to justify his immediate banishment from home and family, was broadcast by West German TV, caused the bureaucracy problems. A large percentage of the East German population could pick up the broadcast and see that there was nothing antisocialist or defamatory to the workers state as such in Biermann's performance. The bureaucracy's response to this embarrassment was to threaten to close the offices of the West German TV network in East Berlin.

The bureaucrats' attempt to limit communication between East and West was ironic in view of their charge that Biermann's greatest crime was undermining the détente between the two German states. The East German media have stressed the argument used by the West German DKP [Deutsche Kommunistische Partei—German Communist party] in its daily, *UZ*. The Stalinist paper said that by his criticisms of the regime, Biermann brought “grist to the mill of those who are attacking peaceful coexistence and the policy of détente. In doing this, he is not only attacking the policy of the German Democratic Republic, but stabbing in the back those in the Federal Republic who are

working for further normalization of relations with the GDR.”

Apparently, even many members and leaders of the servile West German CP found it impossible to defend such an argument. Biermann has announced that members of the Marburg section of the DKP, as well as some figures in the national leadership, have expressed support for him.

The poet himself interpreted his deportation as a desperate move. In an interview in *Der Spiegel*, he said: “I always knew that one day they would either lock me up or lock me out. I knew they would do that when the political forces working for socialist democracy in the GDR attained a certain strength, when the ideas I have expressed in my songs became a material power.” □

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80,000 March Against Cutbacks in Britain

By John Blackburn

LONDON—On November 17, approximately 80,000 trade unionists, students, and socialists marched through London to demand an end to the Labour government's cuts in social service spending and to protest the massive unemployment (now about 1.5 million). It was the largest demonstration held since the Trades Union Congress (TUC) organised a mass campaign against the Tory government's antiunion Industrial Relations Bill in 1971.

Earlier this year, Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey announced a series of cuts in social service spending totalling £3000 million. The public-sector union, the National Union of Public Employees (NUPE), responded in May by initiating plans for the demonstration.

Behind a banner proclaiming, "Stop the Cuts—Save Jobs," the NUPE massed large contingents from thirteen national unions. The National Executive Committee of the Labour party and 113 Labour members of Parliament supported the demonstration, against the wishes of the Labour government. Numerous Constituency Labour parties joined the action.

The growing opposition in the labour movement to the Callaghan-Healey leadership's policies is adding to the government's problems at a time when its economic strategy is heading for disaster and the pound is sliding on the international money markets. The November 17 demonstration was an implicit challenge to the social contract, a deal between the government and the trade union bureaucracy designed to reduce workers' living standards in order to boost the fortunes of British capitalism.

An opinion poll, published in the November 18 *Daily Telegraph*, claimed that Labour had only 30 percent of the electorate's support, while the Tories had 55 percent, indicating a crushing defeat for Labour if a general election were to be held in the near future. This confirms the trend seen in three recent by-elections in former Labour strongholds, two of which were lost to the Tories. These results reflect a growing disillusionment with the present Labour party leadership and even a drift by sections of the working class into the ranks of Tory voters.

In addition, the Tories, who advocate even more savage cuts than Labour has yet proposed, have sought to take advantage of divisions in the Labour party by whipping up a witch-hunt. On November 15, Tory MP Ian Sproat attacked the Labour party for being infiltrated by a "fifth column of Communists."



HEALEY

A right-wing grouping within the Labour party, the Social Democratic Alliance, which has no MPs, joined the Tory witch-hunt by publishing November 16 a list of thirty-five "left-wing" Labour MPs, whom they claimed had "communist allegiances" and were dedicated to "Marxist totalitarianism." These attacks are part of a carefully calculated campaign designed to confuse and demoralise those Labour supporters who are moving to seek a left-wing alternative to the present leadership's policies.

The grim consequences of increasing unemployment, spiralling prices, and the rapid deterioration of health and social services, has prompted the growth within the labour movement, as the November 17 demonstration indicated, of a large current that is now challenging the right-wing policies of the Labour leadership.

Women accounted for more than 50 percent of those taking part in the action, while significant numbers of Black and immigrant workers were also present. These groups have traditionally suffered the poorest working conditions and lowest pay in the health and public services, but to some extent had secure employment. The loss of that security has created a new wave of militancy among these workers.

The NUPE, whose membership is drawn mostly from such workers, had by far the largest contingent on the march. Thousands in the NUPE contingent carried

placards demanding, "Cut Arms, Not Hospitals." The effect of the cuts on the National Health Service (NHS) was reflected in the sizable contingents from other unions with large memberships in the NHS. London will be particularly affected by the NHS cuts, with 130 of the present 150 hospitals set to close.

In addition to the NHS workers, there were big contingents of teachers. It is estimated that there are around 20,000 teachers unemployed at present. Many new school building projects have been scrapped and recently the government announced plans to close thirty teacher training colleges next year.

Another new feature of this demonstration was a good-sized contingent of several thousand civil servants—workers who traditionally have had a conservative outlook, but who over recent months have shown a growing militancy and willingness to struggle.

Thousands of students from all over Britain came to the demonstration in response to the call from the leadership of the National Union of Students. On the morning of the march, *Sennet*, London's student newspaper, carried a headline appealing: "Demonstrate. Join the long march against the cuts."

The march finished at the houses of Parliament, where many demonstrators went to lobby MPs, while thousands of others went to a meeting nearby, at which dozens of Labour MPs and representatives of unions supporting the demonstration gave speeches.

A great polarisation is taking place in British society. Despite the abject procapitalist course of the trade union and Labour party bureaucracies, the ruling class has embarked on a campaign aimed at further dividing the labour movement through its attacks on the unemployed and the witch-hunt aimed at the "left" of the Labour party. This is designed to ensure a Tory victory in a general election and to cripple the workers movement, thus preventing an adequate defence against their planned attacks.

The November 17 demonstration, on the other hand, shows the resilience of the working class, sections of which are beginning to move into action after months of quiescence, having been duped by the social contract. They acted despite the refusal of the TUC and Britain's largest industrial unions to end their slavish support for the government and endorse the demonstration.

Within this growing militant movement, there is developing a new generation of leaders, which is willing to organise the struggle of the masses of working people around a programme for their own interests. This can challenge the decay and confusion bred by the social contract and prepare the workers to put up an effective fight against the ruling class's offensive. □

The November 12 General Strike in Spain

By Marcos Urrutia

Recently the government of the Spanish monarchy decided to meet the deep economic crisis in Spain with a series of measures that go directly against the workers' interests:

1. Wages below 25,000 pesetas [US\$367.50] will not be allowed to rise more than two "points" (2,000 pesetas) above the rise of the cost of living as reported in the official index. Wages above 25,000 pesetas will only be allowed to increase the equivalent of this official inflation index.

The official index is established by the National Institute of Statistics. One year ago, the very technicians of this state body publicly admitted that their indices were far below the real increases in prices.

2. Article 35 of the Labor Relations Law has been quashed. This means that if a worker is illegally laid off, the courts can force the company to reimburse him for the equivalent of two months' wages, but they cannot force the bosses to reinstate the illegally-laid-off worker. This measure will facilitate the laying off of leaders whom the bourgeoisie feels uncomfortable with.

According to the magazine *Cambio 16*, the measure will mean an increase in the number of unemployed—which is close to one million at present—by not less than 100,000.

Of course, strikes continue to be illegal under the dictatorship. Participation in them is cause for immediate layoff at the work place, with no possibility of any protest.

3. The law now being decreed establishes that if within ten days of negotiations to renew contracts there is no agreement reached between the workers and the bosses, the labor ministry will set the new wages, which in no case can exceed the ceilings derived from the official index for the cost of living. The companies—especially the big ones that can easily plan to have a sufficient level of stock on hand—will only have to block the negotiations with any excuse for the decision on the contract to pass immediately into the hands of the authorities.

All the political and trade-union organizations of the workers movement are still illegal. There are still laws against holding meetings, "illegal" propaganda, "illicit" association, and so forth. It has only been the important advances of the mass movement throughout Spain, especially following the death of the dictator Franco, that have made it increasingly possible for leaders to appear publicly as members of

one or another current in the workers movement.

In face of this state of affairs, the Coordinadora de Organizaciones Sindicales [COS—Coordinating Committee of Trade-Union Organizations]—whose members are the Workers Commissions, Unión General de Trabajadores [UGT—General Workers Union], and Unión Sindical Obrera [USO—Workers Trade Union]—called a national twenty-four-hour work stoppage for all sectors of production on November 12. The call was based on the following demands:

- Against the wage freeze. For a 6,000 peseta a month raise for all.
- Against unemployment. For the creation of jobs and adequate unemployment compensation.
- Against unrestricted layoffs. For guaranteed jobs and a labor amnesty.
- Against the trade-union "reform." For an end to the fascist trade unions. For trade-union democracy.

Two million workers responded to the call, according to reports from COS published in the Madrid daily *El País*. The highest percentage of strikers was in the Basque country (Euzkadi), followed by Catalonia and Madrid.

The police reported having detained 247 workers who were picketing during the strike and announced harsh fines for all of them.

The leadership placed a series of limitations on the strike. In the first place, the COS did not include any directly political demands in its platform, nothing expressing the desire of the masses to get rid of the dictatorship and to win freedom. The political aims that broad sectors of the population have been fighting for in recent months should have been included in the mobilization:

- For a total amnesty.
- For the legalization of all parties and organizations of the workers and people's movement.
- For unrestricted democratic rights.
- For immediate elections to a constituent assembly.
- Dissolve the repressive bodies. Place the blame for the dictatorship's crimes where it belongs. Punish the perpetrators of fascist crimes.
- Self-determination for the oppressed nations (Euzkadi, Catalonia, Valencia, the Balears and Canaries).

In the second place, the COS clearly showed its intention to strictly control the mobilization. For example, the Vizcaya

committee of the Communist party of Euzkadi, which fully supported the COS call, said in a leaflet: "We Communists . . . urge that the mass mobilization of November 12 be carried out in the framework of the greatest self-control and responsibility. It should be a twenty-four-hour protest—not more or less—and it should not fall for irresponsible provocations or any sort of adventurism."

In Euzkadi, as among the other oppressed nations of Spain, this was not the first time a day of struggle occurred. On September 13, for example, half a million workers went on strike to protest the murder of Josu Zabala, a member of the Workers Commissions. But on that occasion the action did not involve only carrying out symbolic work stoppages. Production was stopped. Mass meetings were held factory by factory. And workers elected delegates who could unify and coordinate the response they were going to make. The workers went out *en masse* and met in the center of the communities (Sestao, Erandio, Basuri, and so forth).

But for the day of struggle November 12, things were not posed in this way. The COS leadership wanted to support a day of work stoppages, but without mass meetings, without demonstrations and protest rallies against the government, without political aims of any sort.

Why did the COS place these limitations on the November 12 action?

The only explanation is that now the leaders of the Workers Commissions, the UGT, and the USO have made heavy commitments to some sectors of the capitalists, like the Christian Democracy and the Independent Group. These commitments force them to limit their goals. They also force them to be "responsible" and "not adventurers"; that is, to "postpone the mobilizations" as former Francoist Minister Ruiz Giménez demands. Ruiz Giménez belongs to the Democratic Coalition* and imposes its conditions on the main workers parties, which accept them.

Under such conditions, with such an obstacle to an independent mobilization, it is very difficult to gather sufficient forces for a defense against the bourgeoisie and its government. The alliance with the "democratic" capitalists not only does not offer us effective solutions for the future, it also harms our struggle right now. They say that we workers should reach a truce with the government, at least "until the elections." We know that those "elections" are going to be a sham since the workers and people's parties and organizations have not been granted legal status. Furthermore, there can be no truce as long as the government freezes wages, prevents negotiations, recognizes unrestricted layoffs, and punishes strikers. □

* The popular-frontist coalition made up of the Communist and Socialist parties along with the major bourgeois opposition parties.—IP.

Mexican Trotskyist Forces Hold Fusion Congress

By Alejandro Martínez

[The following article appeared in the October 7 issue of *Bandera Socialista*, the newspaper of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers party).

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The Liga Comunista Internacionalista [LCI—Internationalist Communist League] and the Liga Socialista [LS—Socialist League], the sympathizing organizations explicitly recognized by the Fourth International at its Tenth World Congress, joined forces September 17, 18, and 19, to form the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT).

Two hundred six delegates attended this unification congress, which accordingly is the founding congress of the section of the Fourth International. There were delegates from twenty states and the Federal District, along with several fraternal delegates from other sections of the International in Europe, the United States, and a large number of representatives from the Latin American sections.

A nearby auditorium was made available during the three days for the 700 persons who followed the discussion of the central questions of the debate with unflagging interest.

The resolutions adopted by this congress were those recommended by the last meeting of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, and all except one of them, which received a majority vote, were approved unanimously. Two other points—one on the international discussion and one on the workers movement—were touched on only as matters of discussion. They remain open until a future congress, which will make a final decision on them.

There is an obvious lesson here not only for the revolutionary left in this country, but also for revolutionary Marxists who until recently doubted the viability of the plan to unify *all* the Trotskyist forces.

Today we can announce with great pride the formation of an alternative for many activists and sections of the masses who have empirically broken with petty-bourgeois nationalism and the diverse reformist schemes its followers are now trying to revive after a long period of dormancy. We refer especially to the PCM [Partido Comunista Mexicano—Mexican

Communist party], which was strengthened during the election period.

The formation of the PRT takes place at a key moment, not only because of the change of government and the acute economic crisis our country is undergoing, but also because of the shaking-out process going on throughout the left on a national scale.

The extreme bankruptcy of Maoism, the debacle of militarism, and the sterility of the centrist tendencies that round out the political scene, make us confident that there is room for new political forces to emerge. Thus the future for revolutionary Marxism in this country is filled with tremendous, previously unsuspected possibilities.

Without being sectarian, we can say that with the creation of the PRT, the banners of Trotskyism and the Fourth International—of internationalism and proletarian democracy—have been planted very deeply. They are deeply and firmly imbedded in the land where the founder of our movement, the great Bolshevik and leader alongside Lenin of the October revolution, Leon Trotsky, spent his last exile.

To pay homage to his memory, therefore, the congress decided to place a red flag on his grave in Coyoacán, as a symbol that the PRT is committed to carry forward the banners that were first raised to the wind in 1917 with the victory of the Russian proletariat. Of this banner, we are legitimate heirs and for it we will fight steadfastly until socialism triumphs throughout the world.

Background to the Unification

The first split in the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista [GCI—Internationalist Communist Group], the parent organization of all the Fourth Internationalist groups in Mexico today, took place in 1972. This split gave rise to the Liga Socialista, a group that suffered a *de facto* split at the beginning of this year of the Fracción Bolchevique Leninista [FBL—Bolshevik-Leninist Faction]. In addition, the former GCI suffered a split in April of last year of the Tendencia Combate [Combat Tendency], which formed the group ROJO [Red].

So, at the beginning of this year there were four Fourth Internationalist groups. Two of them, the GCI and the LS, were considered sympathizing sections of the Fourth International. But the existence of

the other two left an important rift that had to be healed. In view of this, at its meeting in February 1976 the executive committee of the Fourth International proposed a *Resolution on Mexico*. This motion stated that the “earliest possible unification of adherents of the Fourth International in Mexico on a principled basis” was necessary and desirable. It stated that the existing political differences among members of the Fourth International could not be considered an insuperable obstacle “making it impossible to work in a single organization functioning on the basis of democratic centralism.”

The same resolution explained that it was impossible to recognize “a third sympathizing organization of the FI in Mexico.” Nor could the Fourth International legitimize splits by minorities who refused to recognize the majority decisions of congresses. And, as an exceptional measure, it agreed to recognize as members of the Fourth International all those who were members of the LS at the time of its national congress (1975). This measure was designed to facilitate the unification.

Meanwhile, the GCI and ROJO held a unification congress April 17 and 18, exactly a year and a few days after their split. The LCI was formed, an organization that from the start had a transitional character, being open to unification of the Fourth Internationalist forces.

The FBL did not join in the unification congress of the two Leagues, citing a series of formalities that cover up an old illness that has wreaked havoc in our ranks since 1972—sectarianism. However, if the FBL reconsiders its refusal, it can join the new party under the same conditions on which the other organizations were incorporated. That is the healthiest and most advisable course at present, and what most befits those who claim to be members of the Fourth International in Mexico.

The importance of these facts does not lie in their historic or informational content. Nor is it related to the fact that, through the unification, we have assembled a force of more than 1,000 members and organized sympathizers, which represents an impressive growth rate of more than 500 percent a year. It is not simply a matter of numbers and quantities.

In short, what is involved is that the new organization already has substantial

political and ideological capital that can be put to use in the class struggle. From this standpoint, any assertion that we carried out a precipitous or unprincipled unification is no more than wild talk.

Nor was the founding of the party a mere proclamation. It was the simple recognition of the national structure of the organization, of its political importance in the life of the country, and of the fact that soon it will win over whole sectors of the masses, who will look on the PRT as their party.

Lessons of the Unification Congress

Perhaps it appears to our critics and detractors that, after all, this congress was not so important. But if we look deeper than the passing events and anecdotes to analyze the politics that underlay this unification, politics that go beyond the boundaries of the Mexican section, we find these facts:

1. The unification was possible because of the existence of an adequate organizational framework provided by the Fourth International itself. This organizational framework is based on building a world party of workers on the basis of democratic centralism.

2. The congress was a fraternal meeting. There was argument but also profound democracy, which gives life to centralism. The tendencies involved were the two formed in the discussion preceding the third congress of the LS, and the LCI, whose orientation follows the political line of the international majority.

3. In the context of the old groups, as they were, say, two years ago, the existing differences—theoretical ones in some cases, political ones in others—certainly would have made a unification impossible. Nonetheless, today, rather than an obstacle, they seem to help stimulate and orient internal discussion, thereby helping the revolutionary Marxists develop their political line on firm foundations in the new period of the class struggle.

4. The debate on the central axis of building the party—previously extremely polarized with the opposing sides referring to each other as “vanguardists” and “tailendists”—will have to be viewed in a more balanced way. This will provide a more realistic perspective for the actions of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, independent of and despite what each tendency thinks of itself.

5. The greatest advance of these years has been an apprenticeship in Leninism—the conception of party building, accepting the inevitable differences, forming tendencies, while at the same time observing strict discipline and firm loyalty. By meeting such requirements the newly formed PRT in its future history will reap innumerable victories.

The Fourth International is in the period of preparation for its Eleventh World

Congress. What most marks the life of the International is the strengthening of its sections, the revolutionary upsurge in the Old World, and the discussion among tendencies within the world organization.

In this spirit, the PRT will approach the international debate responsibly, go more deeply into the questions that have come up in the discussion, and consolidate its forces. In line with this, in the closing session of the unification congress the two LS tendencies were dissolved as regards national politics but maintained on international questions. At the same time, the members of the leadership of the former LCI declared themselves a tendency within the Central Committee, supporting the positions of the International Majority Tendency (IMT).

Irish Embassy Picketed in Madrid

Protest Mounts Against Death Sentence for Murrays

Since the appeal against the death sentence of Marie and Noel Murray went before the Irish Supreme Court November 1, protests against the reintroduction of hanging in Ireland have continued to grow.

In a public meeting organized by the Irish Council for Civil Liberties (ICCL) in Dublin on November 3, Senator Mary Robinson said that the mandatory death penalty could be challenged under the European Convention on Human Rights forbidding inhuman or degrading punishment.

According to the Irish Criminal Justice Act of 1964, capital punishment is retained for treason and certain offenses by persons subject to military law; murder of the head of a foreign state, or a foreign governmental or diplomatic official; and for the murder of a policeman or prison guard acting in the course of duty.

The Murrays were sentenced to be hanged for allegedly killing an off-duty policeman who tried to stop them while they were escaping from a bank robbery. They are former supporters of the Official republican movement, described by the Irish press as “anarchists.” The last hanging in the Dublin-ruled part of Ireland was in 1954. The death sentence against the Murrays comes in the midst of an escalation of penalties for political crimes.

According to a 1962 Council of Europe survey, no other European country requires the death penalty for the categories of political offenses for which the 1964 Irish statute establishes mandatory hanging.

At the November 3 meeting, ICCL chairman Kadar Asmal pointed out the immediate threat represented by the capital punishment statute. In addition to the

So, the future will be one of intense and heated discussion. But there are extremely solid programmatic and principled bases on which the PRT—the Mexican section of the Fourth International since September 19—functioning on the basis of the Leninist concept of the party, can reach a new phase in its construction. It will be a phase in which the PRT will have a broad mass audience among the workers, students, and peasants.

This new phase will be one in which the revolutionary Marxists will break out of the confines of propaganda circles to throw themselves vigorously into the class struggle, into daily, patient intervention at the side of the working people in the upsurge of the workers, peasants, and poor people's movement. □

Murrays, he said, a third person is now threatened with being sentenced to death. Moreover, the prime minister has said that when the persons responsible for the assassination of the British ambassador last summer are caught, the full punishment of the law will be meted out against them. That means hanging.

Another speaker, Enda McDonagh, a professor at the main Irish Catholic seminary, Maynooth, stressed that it was an outrage that a state that claims to be “Christian” was trying to send people to the gallows. He was quoted in the November 4 *Irish Times* as saying: “To pose for ourselves the obscenity of capital punishment for Christians, we look at the most famous victim of capital punishment, Jesus Christ, as He hung on the Cross.”

In Belfast, on November 4, the Irish Council of Churches (Protestant) adopted a resolution condemning capital punishment. T.W. Moody, a professor at Trinity College, Dublin, called on the council to actively support the movement against the death penalty.

In the ICCL meeting, Member of Parliament Michael O’Kennedy said, according to the *Irish Times* summary, that “he was gratified that the Irish Congress of Trade Unions had passed a resolution condemning capital punishment. Farming and community organisations and chambers of commerce should be asked to help inform the public.”

In Madrid, Spain, on the night of November 2-3, some 200 persons defied police to protest outside the Irish embassy against the threatened hanging of the Murrays. The demonstration was called by the outlawed anarchist trade-union movement, the Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT—National Confederation of Workers). □

Selections From the Left



"Workers Struggle," Paris weekly supported by a grouping of militants who view themselves as Trotskyist in orientation.

Lutte Ouvrière regularly runs a page of selections entitled "In the Far Left and in Its Press." In its November 20 issue, it published excerpts of an interview with René Yvetot, a leader of the Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International.

"The Communist League, a Moment of Self-Criticism;" under this headline the November 15 issue of *Politique Hebdo* published an interview with René Yvetot. . . . The interviewer said that the next congress of the League would bring 'a great theoretical and practical sorting out' . . .

"And so, the interviewer asked: 'Despite this, the far left organizations and the League in particular are going through an intense crisis. Activism, the leaders, the language used, and even the organizational model are being challenged.'

"Yvetot replied: 'It is true that this is at the center of our discussion for the congress. These themes arose from a severe judgment about a so-called failure by the League to make working-class and women comrades feel at home. First of all, there are causes that go beyond the organization itself—the impact of the first defeats of the vanguard in Latin America and—partially—in Portugal, the lull in the present upsurge, the relative lack of a working-class base, which enables the reformists to maintain their exclusionism, activist deviations, and the divorce between social practice and political activity.

"Moreover, there is the impact of the general crisis of values, which affects not only the bourgeoisie but also the workers movement, which is incapable today of offering any so-called counterculture. The remedy for these general causes lies in a development of workers self-management, which, as we saw at Lip—redefines social relations, including women's oppression. From this standpoint, we have a threefold task. We must make a theoretical analysis, modify our internal relations, and get the union movement to take up these new questions.

"We have, then, to solve our specific problems: 1) to draw up a balance sheet of the errors committed after May 1968—underestimation of the bourgeoisie's economic margins for maneuver and the reformists' capacities for growth; failure to understand the need for a united-front line directed toward the reformists in connec-

tion with the real mass movement; and delaying for far too long moves to unite the far left. In a nutshell, we have to reverse a policy that has, in general terms, been sectarian.

"We have to revise our whole system of organization, the language we use both publicly and internally—including our theoretical elaboration—in line with what we call in our jargon, mass intervention."

ННН

"Nedeljne Informativne Novine" (*The Week's News*), published in Belgrade by "Politika" enterprise.

The October 31 issue has an article on the role of the Italian Communist party in supporting the Andreotti government in Italy. It is entitled "Raising the Left Hand." The conclusion is given under the subheading "Italian Lesson," and is as follows:

"The Italian example is instructive for both the European right and left. The government has shown that it does not have enough steam to navigate the country into calm waters of economic and social development. Without the support of the Communists, it could not hold up. Thus, the Communists have in fact been called on to assume governmental responsibility. This gives them an opportunity to exert an influence for change in the political system and to demonstrate their capacities through the parliamentary road. Such a relationship between the government and the opposition, between the left and right, has never existed before."



Weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the Workers World party. Published in New York.

Under the headline, "Socialists' slander Vietnamese revolution—say it wasn't militant enough," the November 19 issue comments on "New Advances in Vietnam's Course Against Capitalism," by Fred Feldman, published in the October 18, 1976, issue of *Intercontinental Press* and reprinted in the November 12, 1976, issue of the New York weekly *Militant*.

"Surely no organization that calls itself socialist and claims to adhere to the

principles of Marx and Lenin would think it proper to initiate harsh criticisms of the Vietnamese vanguard, the Lao Dong (Workers) Party," complains correspondent Andy Stapp.

Stapp denounces Feldman's view that a privileged bureaucratic layer rules Vietnam: "Actually, there has not been a major attempt to portray the Vietnamese leaders living the life of privileged bureaucrats since John Wayne's movie, *The Green Berets*. . . ."

Rejecting the concern expressed in the *Intercontinental Press* article about the absence of workers democracy in Vietnam, Stapp writes that such views are "a half-open appeal to anti-communism and the worship of abstract democracy, while vilifying the efforts of the oppressed to secure genuine democratic rights for themselves. . . ."



"*Sosialistike Ekphrase*" (*Socialist Expression*), central organ of the youth affiliate of the Cypriot Social Democratic party. Published fortnightly in Nicosia, Cyprus.

An article on Mao's death in the September 23 issue prompted a discussion in the columns of the paper. Commenting on the Great Helmsman's place in history, the article said:

"In 1949, Mao achieved the dream of his generation, the national liberation of China.

"Today the Chinese workers and peasants live in a society that has achieved national unity and independence, a step forward from the situation that existed before the revolution.

"However, despite all its successes, the Chinese revolution has not averted the development of a bureaucratic caste that rules over the working class in the name of the party and the revolution. The means of production have been nationalized but have not passed under the control of the working class. Instead, they are controlled by the ruling bureaucratic clique.

"Today the bureaucracy is carrying on the bourgeois tradition of building a personality cult around a mythologized leader.

"The result of the development of the bureaucracy in China and the distortions in the social and economic structure is reflected in the foreign policy followed under the Mao leadership. . . ."

"Many examples can be given of the reactionary role China has played in the world revolutionary movement."

The article concluded: "Mao called himself a Communist, and his followers called him the greatest Marxist-Leninist. But Mao was not this. He stood at the head of the men who rule China today, and they can hardly be said to represent the interests of the world working class."

In the October 7 issue, a letter from "K.A." in Nicosia attacked the article. He wrote: "As the organ of the vanguard Socialist Youth EDEN, *Ekphrase* should tie up all questions with the national liberation struggle of the Cypriot people. It should draw conclusions that strengthen, inform, and give impetus to this struggle. The article in question did not do so, although it would have been easy to give such a treatment. . . ."

"The article took a dangerous black-and-white view. For example, according to this article, Mao helped achieve the liberation of China and then built a 'bureaucracy,' so it was all in vain. China is a powerful ally of the Cypriot people, and the black-and-white view in this article is especially dangerous because it confuses the question of who is our friend and who is our enemy."

"This article is marked by a lack of responsibility and genuine analysis. . . . On what research does the author base his statements about 'bureaucracy'?"

The October 21 issue published a letter signed P.K., which praised the article on Mao: "I confess that the article delighted me, not because I agree entirely with its content but because *Ekphrase* expressed itself freely and courageously on a current event—Mao's death—even though it had to go against the general current mythologizing the Chinese leader. I think that any revolutionary movement should call things as it sees them. . . ."

"And so I disagree with the letter in the last issue, which if I understand it correctly, criticized the article on the grounds that we are engaged in a national liberation struggle today and so we must not anger our 'powerful allies.'"

SOSIALISTINEN POLITIikka

"*Socialist Politics*," theoretical magazine of the Social Democratic Youth League and the Social Democratic Student League. Published five times a year in Helsinki, Finland.

Issue No. 5 for 1976 has a three-page book review of August Bebel's famous book *Women and Socialism*, which has just been republished in Finnish by the Social Democratic Women's League. The review begins with the following quote from a letter by Engels to Bebel commenting on the book: "I read it with great

interest. There are many good things in it."

The reviewer, Marja Lehto, writes: "With this book Bebel established his place as a classical Marxist writer. In it, he put forward the essence of the Marxist view of the world in a way that won Engels's praise for his theoretical clarity. The thread that runs through the book is the revolutionary idea that 'this is the way it has been; but it will not always be this way'—history is an evolutionary process that moves from lower to higher levels, social institutions are not eternal, they can change with changes in the mode of production. In particular through his book on women, Bebel played an important role in the assimilation of Marxism by the German workers movement. This work was read more than the Communist Manifesto itself."

The review takes up questions such as "Sexual Roles and Capitalism," "The Family and the Crisis of Capitalism," and "The Advance Toward Women's Liberation."

SOCIALIST NATION

Published weekly in Colombo, Sri Lanka.

The front page of the September 10 issue features a statement by the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party on the death of Mao Tsetung. Signed by LSSP Secretary Leslie Goonewardene, it says in part:

"The Lanka Sama Samaja Party learns with profound regret of the death of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. It was Mao Tse-tung who first sought to give a Marxist leadership to the struggles of the masses of China. . . ."

"The Lanka Sama Samaja Party grieves with the masses of the Peoples' Republic of China and the Communist Party of China over the passing away of this great revolutionary leader of the twentieth century."

A second item, weighing Mao's political achievements, offers the following assessment:

"The personality and stature of Mao Tse Tung, by any standards, are monumental. The leadership and unity he brought to the hundreds of millions of Chinese, so long torn apart and ground under by Imperialism, Warlordism, Foreign Conquest and Misgovernment, is a service to China that only history can attempt to estimate. At his death, if we do not say, as Trotsky said when Lenin died, 'A great rock has fallen into the sea,' we shall have to use equivalent heroic imagery."

The September 17 issue features a poem dedicated "To the Red Star over China." The first stanza reads as follows:

You inspired us to look on your little Red Book

As a treasured companion and guide.

Tho' all others fail, your thoughts will prevail

With the little Red Book at our side.

Socialist Action

Published twice monthly in Wellington, New Zealand.

Much of the November 5 issue is devoted to the racist crackdown by police and immigration authorities against Pacific Islanders in New Zealand. A front-page editorial under the headline "Total Amnesty! Stop the Raids!" reports that "police harassment has included random checks in the street and in hotels, night raids on Islanders' homes, and the illegal jailing of Island people. . . ."

"These latest attacks on Pacific Islanders are part of the government's efforts to turn the Island community into New Zealand's untouchables, so as to better heap the burdens of the economic crisis upon them and scapegoat them for the shortcomings of the system."

The raids were supposedly directed against "overstayers"—those without legal documents. The head of the Auckland police force said "half the population of Auckland should not be in the country." But the dragnet raids were directed only against non-Europeans, although there are also thousands of Europeans in New Zealand illegally.

"Hundreds of Pacific Islanders and many Maoris, as well as people of other races and nationalities, were stopped in the streets," Mike Tucker and Christine Beresford report. "Many of these people were stopped several times in a row. Several hundred Pacific Island families had their homes raided by police, at least one family being raided three times within an hour. Dozens of Islanders were arrested and kept overnight in police cells, only later to be released without any explanation. Many of those arrested were denied the right to contact their lawyers or relatives, and one woman was denied any food or water."

Protest meetings were organized by Islanders and their supporters throughout the country. "Among those supporting a general amnesty are the Federation of Labour, the Auckland and Wellington Trades Councils, regional organisations of the Labour Party, major Maori organisations, the Chief Ombudsman, Sir Guy Powles, and representatives of many churches."

". . . In addition, the Seamen's Union and the Wellington Trades Council have promised direct action on the issue if necessary."

The editorial points out that "with the government clearly on the defensive, the

time is ripe for a mass protest campaign to force home the demand for a total amnesty. . . .

"A national day of protest would be the most effective way to direct the anger of New Zealanders against those responsible for this serious infringement of human rights, and to bring about a total amnesty for all overstayers."

An Phoblacht

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

The October 19 issue features a statement by Ruairi O Brádaigh, the president of Provisional Sinn Féin, condemning the killing of a group of Irish policemen in a booby-trap bombing in Mountmellick on October 15. This incident was widely blamed on the Provisionals in the Irish and international press, which played it up as the "Provo's revenge" for the passage of the Dublin government's new special powers bill a few days before.

An *Phoblacht* comments: "Since the 'twenties, the obsessive major fear in the 26 Counties has been civil war. The fear is well known and has been exploited unscrupulously by successive Dublin Governments since the 'twenties. Since the beginning of the 'seventies, at least, it has been exploited even more unscrupulously, if that were possible, by the Imperial overlord."

The implication was that the British secret services may have carried out the bombing as a provocation. Just before the passage of the last major special powers legislation in the formally independent part of Ireland, a killer bombing was carried out on a crowded Dublin street, apparently either by Loyalist commandos from Northern Ireland or British provocateurs.

PERUBULLETINEN

An information bulletin on the political situation in Peru. Published in Uppsala, Sweden.

The case of Cipriano Córdova Quispe, an imprisoned peasant leader of a cooperative in the Cordillera Central of Peru, is featured in issue No. 4.

Córdova is being held in Lurigancho prison outside of Lima because of his criticisms of the military junta's agrarian policy.

"There is no charge against Cipriano

Córdova that justifies his detention," the bulletin reports. "Nonetheless, he has been in jail almost eleven months."

In a letter accompanying the item on his case, Córdova describes how he has been mistreated since his arrest October 11, 1975. At one point the authorities tried to induce him to "escape" as a pretext to shoot him down.

Other articles in the current issue analyze aspects of the situation in Peru immediately before and following the government crackdown on the mass movement in June.

Editors of the bulletin are Gunilla Berglund, Hugo Blanco, Nils-Olov Hedenskog, Britt-Marie Johansson, Kikki Kuylentierna, and Mats Åstrand.

H AYTH

"Avghe" (Dawn), the morning paper of the left. Published daily in Athens. Reflects the views of the Greek Communist party ("interior").

The November 18 issue reports that Stathis Panagoulis, whose brother Alekos attempted to assassinate the former Greek dictator George Papadopoulos during the reign of the junta, has been badly beaten by police. Doctors fear he has suffered internal injuries. He was arrested November 17 near his home. The charges are not known. Alekos Panagoulis died in a mysterious car accident May 1.

mondoperaio

"Workers World," monthly magazine of the Italian Socialist party.

After expressing his dislike for both Leninism and Stalinism, both of which Mao claimed to represent, Luciano Vasconi gives a favorable appreciation of the Chinese leader's philosophy in the September *Mondoperaio*.

"It is not indulging in cultism to recognize that in Mao's method there was a combination of moral exertion and intellectual skepticism (of the Cartesian type . . . or, in a way, Kantian, but which, as we will see, was the product of ancient Chinese wisdom), which stimulated its followers to continually measure practical experience against the theory previously adopted, in a constant search for an undogmatic way of thinking as a guide to behavior."

Vasconi also indicated interest in the possibility of new alliances between Peking and left forces in Europe.

LOKAKUU

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

The October 28 issue attempts to explain the fall of the "four dogs" in China:

"The phrases of the radicals made it impossible to accomplish these resolutions [a series of promises made at the 1975 Chinese People's Congress]. Their shameless and divisive drivel isolated the leadership from the people, and they were able to remain in power only as a privileged bureaucracy set apart from the people. This would have led finally to China backsliding into being an exploitative society like the Soviet Union."

Lokakuu did not answer the question of how Mao's closest associates could have become a bureaucracy, or still less why all the Maoist organizations hailed them as "red revolutionary" leaders of the people until they were toppled in the power struggle following Mao's death.

"It is quite wrong to use the words 'radicals' and 'left.' Deeds and actual policies determine who is left and who is not. The real left in China is represented by the majority in the party and in the people's government led by Hua Kuo-feng."

The Maoist paper did not explain what deeds and actual policies defined the "left" character of the victorious faction.

It did attempt to answer some questions that might arise in the minds of radicalized youth influenced by Maoism.

"How did it happen that four well-known and respected leaders participated in a criminal conspiracy?"

The explanation, *Lokakuu* said, was to be found in Mao's teaching that class struggle continues after socialism. However, it did not take up the relationship of the various factions to any concrete bourgeoisie, but rather to the danger of bureaucratization in general:

"It is natural that this struggle takes an acute form within the party and state leadership. Ever greater demands are made on the leaders, and even small mistakes are felt throughout the society. On the other hand, the danger of the leaders becoming bureaucratic steadily grows.

"Obviously, very small mistakes in positions can result in leaders becoming separated from the life and hopes of the people, losing their self-critical faculty and selflessness, and finally putting their own ambitions and vanity ahead of the interests of the people. If such personalities get a grip on the top leadership of the party and the state, then there is grave danger of a return to an exploitative society such as the Soviet Union."

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

West German Cops Attack Protest Against Atom Plant



On November 13, more than 30,000 persons converged on the site where an atomic energy plant is being built near the village of Brokdorf in the West German state of Schleswig-Holstein. The local Citizens Initiative Group had called the demonstration, demanding a halt to the project. It became the country's largest action so far against the destruction of the environment.

The authorities, apparently, were determined to halt the growth of protests against the threat of radioactive pollution as quickly as possible. They mobilized 3,000 police from six states. Cars and buses approaching the building site were stopped a considerable distance away. It took the demonstrators two hours to walk to the plant. The loudspeakers of the organizers were confiscated by the police, so that they had no means of directing the crowd.

A few thousand demonstrators defied a massive array of repressive forces in an attempt to occupy the grounds.

The German Trotskyist weekly *Was Tun* reported in its November 18 issue that as demonstrators were leaving the area after the rally, the police launched a vicious attack on stragglers and harried the departing crowd. Police helicopters fired tear gas and trained their searchlights on groups of people in an attempt to create a panic. One hundred demonstrators were hurt, twenty-one of them seriously enough to require hospital care.

The authorities tried to red-bait the demonstrators. The state premier, Gerhard Stoltenberg, said, for example, in an interview in the November 22 issue of *Der Spiegel*: "It has been clear for a long time that the concern about the problems of atomic energy has been rising again. But it was also evident from early on that more and more forces directed from the outside, radicals and to some extent Communists, were winning an influence over the thinking of many citizens and some Citizens Initiative Groups."

However, the interviewer pressed Stoltenberg hard: "For the violence in Brokdorf—a fortress on the lower Elbe, barbed wire, ditches filled with water, iron bars, an actual wall, many hundreds of police . . . you have only one explanation—those

responsible are the radicals who came from all over the republic to storm the site."

At another point, the interviewer said: "The unbridled police attacks were also directed against demonstrators that had gathered on a meadow a few hundred yards from the site. There were no hemmed in police cars, no threatened policemen, and also no radicals."

The question was raised whether the authorities had not already violated the democratic rights of the people in the area when they approved building the reactor there. "Brokdorf has been considered as a site in discussions between the state government and the builders since 1971. The citizens learned about this only in 1973 and quite by chance. In the referendum held in Brokdorf and the neighboring Wewelsfleth, 75% voted against building the reactor."

The interviewer also pointed out that hearings on the safety of the project had been broken off in November 1974 without the objections having been answered. The people of the area were especially resentful that building was begun before the final decision of the courts and that a heavy police guard was immediately mounted around the site. Stoltenberg replied: "The idea that a lot of people have, that building can be stopped until all the appeals are exhausted, would lead to the destruction of the Federal Government's energy program."

The leader of the Brokdorf Citizens Initiative Group, Hellerich, is a local farmer, a supporter of the Christian Democrats. *Der Spiegel* asked him to comment on the charge that violent leftists were responsible for the clashes. He said:

"The most distressing thing about the police attack was that it was directed against peaceful demonstrators. On my farm, which is almost two kilometers from the construction site, a young girl was beaten to the ground by a policeman. I am a thoroughly conservative person, and certainly no great fighter. But the fact that we few here are not standing alone, but 30,000 people came to our support, must surely make the state premier think."

Was Tun described the Brokdorf demonstration and the outcry against the police

attacks as a victory for the antipollution movement: "The events last Saturday and the reaction of public opinion have shown where the real strength of the resistance movement lies—in a well-planned mobilization of support and solidarity. That is what we must concentrate on in the coming months. We must build and develop committees and coordinate them in a democratic way. . . . In the plants, we have to answer the false arguments of the atomic industry, arguments that despite everything are accepted by the union leaders.

"It is important to counter those who, by whipping up a big witch-hunt, are trying to split the movement against the destruction of the environment." □

Missing: One of Our Nerve Gas Bombs

One giant nerve gas bomb is unaccounted for at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal in Colorado.

The *Rocky Mountain News* reported November 23: "Both arsenal and Army Department officials said records show 21,115 M-34 cluster bombs had been slated for draining, but production records reveal only 21,114 bombs were dismantled."

Officials hastened to assure the public that it was unlikely anyone had made off with the mass-killer bomb, since the M-34 clusters weigh more than half a ton.

Art Whitney, public information officer for the arsenal, said that the discrepancy was probably the result of an inventory error, since the original count was made in 1972 "in the dark by men wearing gas masks."

The discrepancy was discovered in September, when disposal of the deadly nerve gas was supposed to be completed. But it was announced only November 22. The disclosure may have had something to do with a congressional investigation of the arsenal. Representative Pat Schroeder, one of a visiting legislative team, said that the incident showed a need for a study of the "environmental impact" of the arsenal.

Military officials did not explain what a nerve gas cluster bomb of this type would do if it exploded in a densely populated area.

AROUND THE WORLD



Broad Movement Develops in Ireland for Right to Contraception

The Women's Advisory Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions has joined the Irish Contraception Action Programme (ICAP), a coalition demanding the right to contraceptives and contraceptive services. In the Irish Free State, where the Catholic church's concept of morality is incorporated into the law, contraception is formally banned.

In its October issue, *Banshee*, the magazine of Irishwomen United, commented:

"The Women's Ctte involvement is a signal to the Trade Union movement in general of their responsibility in this area.

"The structure of the campaign continues to be open; to all people's organisations (community and tenants associations), trade unions, students unions and women's groups."

The ICAP is launching a petition cam-

paign in support of its demands for the right of contraception, *Banshee* reported.

"There are many voices in favour of contraception but our perspective is distinct from others in that our demands are based on the belief in the fundamental right of all women to control their own fertility. Legislation in this area has denied this right and discussion excludes the voices, rights and needs of women.

"This is why Irishwomen United has raised the issue of contraception as being central to the struggle for women's liberation. Rights to Equal Pay and Equal Opportunities can only be fully realised by the mass of Irish Women when they can, at the very least, decide how and when they will have children."

Repression in Iran Detailed by Amnesty International

Amnesty International released an eleven-page briefing paper on repression in Iran November 28. The paper describes the activities of SAVAK, the Iranian secret police, and says that prisoners detained by SAVAK are denied their constitutional rights.

Among the repressive practices cited by Amnesty International are the arbitrary arrest of suspected political opponents and their long imprisonment before being charged or tried; the invariable use of torture, sometimes resulting in death; the lack of legal safeguards; and executions and unofficial killings.

Amnesty International notes that according to the official figures there are about 3,000 political prisoners in Iran, while Iranian exile groups estimate the total at between 25,000 and 100,000.

115 Argentine 'Extremists' Killed in First Three Weeks of November

The campaign of Argentina's brutal dictatorship to "wipe out extremism" reported big "successes" in the first three weeks of November. A total of 115 "subversives" were killed, along with several admittedly innocent victims—including one four-year-old child.

In almost all cases, official accounts of the deaths said they occurred during shoot-outs between the "extremists" and police or army personnel. "Heavy arms" and "abundant" supplies of "subversive" literature were reported found following the shoot-outs. However, almost no casualties, even of a minor nature, were reported for police and army personnel.

Economists Expect Further Decline in Rate of Economic Recovery

Economists for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Paris-based group that monitors the economies of twenty-four countries, including all of the world's imperialist powers, have reduced their forecasts of how rapidly the economies of the industrialized countries will grow in the coming year.

Overall, the OECD forecasts that the gross national products of its member-states will decline from a 5% rate of growth in 1976 to a 4% rate in 1977. Growth in the United States is expected to decline from 6.25% to 4.75%.

Arthur M. Okun, who was chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under Lyndon B. Johnson, said that the OECD's projections for the first half of 1977 might even turn out "a bit optimistic, the way things seem to be going now." The projections, both for the United States and for the imperialist countries as a whole, include a downward trend throughout 1977, with the rate of growth decreasing in the second half of the year.

Pretoria Claims Massacres by MPLA

Since late September, South African officials have claimed that large-scale fighting was underway in southern Angola. According to Pretoria's account, which was allegedly based on the reports of refugees from Angola streaming across the border into Namibia, entire villages were wiped out and men, women, and children were massacred by Cuban forces and troops of the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

One South African account claimed that 47,000 refugees had fled into Namibia, but others put the figure at around 8,000 to 9,000. The South Africans also charged the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for the independence of Namibia, with executing 121 persons in a small village inside Angola.

The MPLA regime in Luanda admitted that it was continuing its war against guerrillas of the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). But it denied that it had carried out massacres of civilians. When western reporters talked to some of the refugees in Namibia, they reported that

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the refugees had no apparent injuries and that they appeared to be in good health.

In a dispatch to the *New York Times* dated November 12, John F. Burns said:

"Reports filtering through from South African military sources in recent days have spoken of widespread attacks on women and children. Today, most accounts dealt only with attacks on men of fighting age."

According to a report in the November 15 issue of the *London West Africa*, "There is no reliable evidence to indicate that large-scale actions have been fought, though it is certainly true that MPLA forces are now arriving at the southern-most borders of Angola." The report then noted that "the latest massacre and refugee stories . . . bear all the classic hallmarks of propaganda. . . ."

The MPLA, however, has leveled similar charges against the UNITA. The government-controlled press agency claimed October 17 that UNITA guerrillas had massacred 287 persons in a village in central Angola.

Ethiopian Junta Executes 50 Dissidents

The Ethiopian military junta announced November 18 that it had executed twenty-seven dissidents. The junta charged the dissidents with having killed "genuine revolutionaries," planting explosives at public meetings, and burning property in Addis Ababa and other cities. The sentences were imposed by a special military tribunal.

The executions brought to fifty the number of dissidents the regime has admitted killing in November alone. On November 2, it announced that twenty-three "anarchists and reactionaries" had been executed, acknowledging that twenty-one of them were members of the underground Ethiopian People's Revolutionary party (EPRP). The junta has charged the EPRP with being involved in a September 23 assassination attempt against Maj. Mengistu Haile Mariam, one of the central figures in the junta. It has also contended that the EPRP is allied with the Eritrean Liberation Front, a group fighting for the independence of the northern territory of Eritrea.

Rumors of Possible Coup Increase in Colombia

Rumors of a possible military coup in Colombia increased in November following the victory of public health workers in a two-month strike against the government. The strikers' main demand was that they not be reclassified as civil servants, which would deprive them of the right to strike.

On October 7 the López Michelsen regime had declared martial law and a curfew in an attempt to break the strike, but with no success. This step was followed by the resignation of at least four cabinet ministers.

The medical workers' victory was the

first successful struggle waged against the regime's austerity plan. In face of this struggle and protests by other sectors of the population, the Colombian army may overthrow the constitutional government to launch an attack on the workers.

Slight Drawback

"SEATTLE, Nov. 16 (AP)—The Boeing Co. says it has come up with a way to protect its industrial machinery so that airplane building could begin within 12 weeks after a thermonuclear bomb strike.

"However, the company said it has not yet found a way to protect the workers who would have to implement the protective measures."

Brazilian Bishops Document Repression

The National Conference of Brazilian Bishops met in special session November 19 to discuss what to do about a priest, Father Florentino Maboni, arrested at the beginning of November on charges of inciting subversive acts, and the cases of three seminarians studying in the state of Maranhão who have been threatened by the police.

This latest repression against the church came only days after the bishops approved a lengthy document which contained the strongest condemnation the church has made of the dictatorship of Ernesto Geisel since he came to power in 1974.

The document accused the regime of allowing police to go unpunished for torture and killing, of presiding over an unjust distribution of rural land, and of failing to protect the Indian population against the encroachment of white settlers.

It reported the murders of Father Rodolfo Lunkenbein and Simón, a Bororo Indian, in Mato Grosso last July by white settlers. Lunkenbein and Simón were trying to prevent the take-over of Indian lands.

Father João Penido Burnier was killed by the police October 12 in Mato Grosso, when he protested the arbitrary imprisonment and torture of two women.

The incidents discussed at the November 19 meeting followed the same pattern. Maboni is accused of inciting peasants to occupy land illegally. Authorities tried to bribe the three seminarians to act as police informers. When they refused, the family of one was threatened and the home of another was destroyed.

Chile Junta Frees 304 Prisoners

Under pressure of the sustained international exposure of the atrocities of the Chilean military junta, Gen. Augusto Pinochet released 304 political prisoners on November 17 and 18.

However, the general continued to try to shift attention away from the massive violations of human rights in Chile by stating he would release an additional

twenty "dangerous" prisoners only if certain conditions were met.

For eighteen of the twenty, the condition is that some foreign government agree to grant them asylum.

For Luis Corvalán and Jorge Montes, leaders of the Chilean Communist party, Pinochet is demanding the release of Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky and Cuban counterrevolutionary Hubert Matos.

FBI Removes Display on 'Crime of the Century'

One of the prize exhibits of the Federal Bureau of Investigation—its story of the conviction and execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg as atomic spies—is no longer on display. The exhibit, called "The Crime of the Century," was not set up in the FBI's new offices when they opened October 1, 1975, because it was "not rebuilt," officials said.

A campaign to reopen the case and expose the cold-war frame-up of the Rosenbergs has produced considerable unfavorable publicity for the American political police.

Tito Keeps Death Penalty

The November 7 issue of the Belgrade weekly magazine *Nin* reports that a twenty-one-year-old youth, Dushan Kovacevic, is threatened with the death penalty. He killed a policeman who was chasing him, trying to arrest him on a charge of auto theft. In Yugoslavia, the penalty for such an act is death.

Carter Explains Employment Goal

Jimmy Carter, who campaigned on the slogan of "Let's put America back to work," said November 15 that the American people should be prepared to suffer an unemployment rate of 5 to 7 percent until 1980.



Socialdemócratas Portugueses Adoptan Curso Derechista

Por Gerry Foley

[A continuación traducimos extractos del artículo "Portuguese Social Democrats Chart Rightward Course," que apareció en el número del 29 de noviembre de nuestra revista. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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En las primeras dos semanas de noviembre, se realizaron los congresos del Partido Socialista Portugués, de la juventud de ese partido y del Partido Comunista. En cada uno de éstos, las direcciones reformistas confirmaron su voluntad de ayudar a administrar el gobierno de los capitalistas.

Ninguna de estas tres organizaciones de masas ofrece una dirección a los obreros y campesinos que se enfrentan a una ofensiva de los patronos y terratenientes.

La ofensiva contra los trabajadores portugueses se reflejó claramente en el congreso del PS.

La dirección de Soares se planteó aplastar a las diferentes secciones del partido que jugaron un papel esencial en la construcción del PS durante el ascenso revolucionario.

Ahora, la dirección del PS tiene que tiranizar al partido para defender la política de austeridad y "restauración del orden" en las fábricas y en el campo que ha seguido el gobierno de Soares. Esa línea choca con los intereses inmediatos de los activistas del PS que participan en el trabajo de masas.

Todo esto preparó el terreno para el enfrentamiento en el congreso del PS durante el fin de semana del 30 de octubre al 1 de noviembre.

Ante un ataque sin cuartel por parte de la dirección, el ala izquierda se vio forzada a presentar su propia planilla (la Lista B) en la elección del Comité Nacional. Obtuvo 210 votos, contra 610 que obtuvo la planilla de la dirección (la Lista A).

Según el sistema de representación proporcional que se utilizó, la Lista B obtuvo treinta y nueve representantes en el Comité Nacional, contra 112 de la planilla de Soares. Sin embargo, no se incluyó ningún representante de la planilla minoritaria en el Secretariado Nacional o el Comité Ejecutivo, de tal manera que la izquierda quedó, de hecho, excluida de la dirección del PS.

Dos semanas después del congreso del PS, la dirección de Soares demostró que no tenía ninguna intención de tolerar una minoría que no apoyara los ataques del gobierno contra los trabajadores de la ciudad y del campo. Inició una campaña

para purgar las comisiones sindicales del PS, donde se habían concentrado quienes apoyaban a la Lista B.



SOARES

En su número del 6 de noviembre, *Jornal Novo* informó que la dirección nacional de las comisiones sindicales del PS había sido suspendida por órdenes de Soares.

Soares designó al ministro de trabajo, Marcelo Curto, para dirigir las comisiones sindicales. Al parecer, fue muy dura la discusión en estos grupos obreros del PS. En una reunión de todos los miembros de Lisboa realizada el 10 de noviembre, los seguidores de la Lista B presentaron la siguiente resolución:

Los miembros de los núcleos y comités coordinadores se sorprendieron al ver que el Camarada Marcelo Curto impedía la realización de las reuniones del jueves (4 de noviembre) y del martes (9 de noviembre), que habían sido convocadas de acuerdo a los procedimientos normales. En un acto vergonzoso, el Camarada Marcelo Curto movilizó a las fuerzas de seguridad, que utilizaron gases tóxicos. [*Jornal Novo*, 11 de noviembre].

La resolución señalaba que el congreso del PS había decidido que no habría cambios en las estructuras del partido antes de que una conferencia especial, que

está convocada para enero, revisara los estatutos. Según *Jornal Novo*, la mayoría de los presentes abuchearon esa resolución.

La prensa capitalista y socialdemócrata de derecha ha hecho todo lo posible para crear una atmósfera en la que puedan apabullar al ala izquierda del PS. El tono de las informaciones de *Jornal Novo* sobre el congreso del PS es particularmente descarado.

Se dice que los oradores del ala izquierda hicieron "ataques furiosos contra la política y la línea económica del gobierno, hicieron una perorata contra 'los grandes capitalistas y terratenientes, todos los cuales están vinculados a Salazar y Caetano.'" Se dice que en su frenesí llegaron "incluso a atacar a Mario Soares."

Escondidos en medio de toda esta complicada escenografía, lograron emerger algunos de los puntos que enfatizaban los oradores de la oposición. Se dice que José Luís Mendes llamó al partido a no ceder ante las presiones de la Confederación de la Industria Portuguesa o de la Confederación de Granjeros Portugueses, un grupo derechista manipulado por los grandes terratenientes. Esta última organización ha hecho del ministro socialista de agricultura, Lopes Cardoso, el blanco especial de una furiosa campaña de calumnias. Un dirigente de la juventud del PS en la ciudad universitaria de Coimbra denunció los despidos masivos de profesores que ha realizado el ministro de educación, Sottomayor Cardia, que es un socialista de derecha.

El hecho de que los dirigentes de la derecha del PS no hayan defendido al ala izquierda contra la cacería de brujas incitada por la prensa burguesa y de que se hayan confabulado con ella, muestra lo desleales que son para con la base del partido. De esta manera, han demostrado que están dispuestos en cualquier momento a entregar a los lobos derechistas a esos mismos activistas en los que se montaron para llegar a las sillas ministeriales.

El mismo *Jornal Novo* dice que la oposición dentro del PS trató hasta el último minuto de llegar a un arreglo con Soares. La ley que permite que los capitalistas despidan a los trabajadores fue uno de los obstáculos mayores para el ala izquierda en las negociaciones.

Incluso antes del congreso, los principales sindicatos dirigidos por el PS hicieron declaraciones públicas en donde se denunciaba la ley sobre despidos. El 22 de

octubre, el Sindicato de Trabajadores Bancarios de Portugal del Sur y las Islas hizo una declaración pública en la que decía:

En nombre de la "preocupación por preservar la seguridad en el trabajo que está garantizada expresamente en la Constitución de la República Portuguesa," están introduciendo en la legislación laboral el principio de que se puede despedir a un trabajador después de hacerle un examen oral y un sumario sin darle oportunidad de defenderse. El derecho a no ser condenado sin poder defenderse es algo por lo que siempre han luchado los demócratas antifascistas. Nosotros preguntamos: ¿qué puede ser más grave que despojar arbitrariamente a un trabajador de su inalienable derecho al trabajo?

El sindicato de los empleados de tiendas de Lisboa hizo una declaración que llegaba a la siguiente conclusión: "Abajo la ley sobre despidos. Adelante con la defensa de los triunfos de los trabajadores."

Al parecer, la oposición que había entre los trabajadores socialistas a la ley sobre despidos era tan fuerte, que la dirección de Soares prefirió evitar la discusión de este punto en el congreso.

Lo que obligó a la izquierda a lanzarse abiertamente contra Soares es la intención de éste de seguir con su ofensiva contra los trabajadores y los pobres del campo. No le queda otra alternativa, si quiere administrar el gobierno de la burguesía portuguesa en esta época. Se han agotado las reservas del país. La crisis económica mundial y el sabotaje de los capitalistas portugueses, junto con las presiones que ejercen los capitalistas extranjeros, han llevado al caos a la economía portuguesa.

Pero la reconsolidación capitalista significará inevitablemente golpes brutales contra los trabajadores. Las secciones del partido que están más cerca de las masas no pueden defender esa política.

El PS está tan firmemente decidido a seguir un curso derechista que incluso Lopes Cardoso, máscara de izquierda de la dirección de Soares, se vio obligado a renunciar.

El diario lisboeta *Página Um* informaba que antes de renunciar, Lopes Cardoso dijo a los periodistas con los que tenía contacto que había solamente dos políticas posibles para derrotar al PC en la radical zona agrícola de Alentejo: la política que él planteaba o la represión. Supuestamente dijo que Soares se vería obligado a seguir la política que él planteaba porque el primer ministro no podía optar por la represión.

Es cierto que le resultaría difícil a Soares optar por la represión como la principal manera de tratar con el movimiento campesino de Alentejo. Pero ha optado claramente por hacer concesiones a los terratenientes a expensas de los trabajadores rurales. Esto quiere decir que el estado dará menos apoyo a los campesinos y peones que ocupen tierras e inicien cooperativas. Inevitablemente, también significará una mayor represión. Es imposible revertir los triunfos de los trabajadores

rurales y de los obreros sin usar un cierto grado de fuerza.

Los partidos socialdemócratas de Europa Occidental enviaron delegaciones de alto nivel al congreso del PS portugués. Entre las personalidades que asistieron estaban Willy Brandt; François Mitterrand; Olof Palme; Felipe González, jefe de los socialdemócratas españoles; y el Primer Ministro de Austria Bruno Kreisky. La mayoría de estos personajes apoyó a Soares.

Otro apoyo para el curso derechista de Soares salió a la luz después de la conclusión de los congresos del PS y de su juventud. El 16 de noviembre, Washington anunció que había concedido a Portugal un préstamo de emergencia por 300 millones de dólares. Ese mismo día, Kissinger dijo que Washington contribuirá con un 30% para el paquete de ayuda de mil quinientos millones de dólares que un consorcio de los principales países capitalistas de occidente dará a Portugal.

Es obvio que las ofertas de ayuda de Washington conllevan condiciones políticas. Por ejemplo, Paul Ellman, corresponsal del *Washington Post*, escribió el 18 de noviembre:

Se sabe que el gobierno de Soares había estado buscando ayuda económica en el extranjero desde hace dos meses, pero se entiende que el acuerdo con Estados Unidos se mantuvo oculto hasta después del congreso del Partido Socialista. . . .

En el congreso, Soares derrotó una importante revuelta del ala izquierda y se aseguró así la ayuda para la política económica de su gabinete. . . .

Los funcionarios norteamericanos en Lisboa, aunque se mostraron reticentes a discutir el mecanismo por medio del cual se dará el préstamo de 300 millones de dólares, estuvieron de acuerdo en que se podía decir que era una recompensa para el gabinete de Soares por apearse a su política.

En realidad, el PS tendrá que pagar por seguir la política que le exige Washington. Ellman dejaba claro que a consecuencia de las impopulares medidas de Soares, el PS sufrirá grandes pérdidas en las próximas elecciones. También asumía que una de las consecuencias de esas pérdidas sería que Soares se vería obligado a abandonar su gobierno integrado solamente por el PS y tendría que formar una nueva coalición con uno de los principales partidos burgueses, o con los dos. Los representantes del imperialismo norteamericano, como los editores del *New York Times*, han venido instando a Soares a tomar esa medida.

Es posible que el PC, que no es directamente responsable por las medidas del gobierno y que ha sido blanco de una campaña anticomunista organizada por los capitalistas y los terratenientes, gane más votos en las elecciones a expensas del PS. Pero por el momento, Washington tiene poco que temer de una votación mayor a favor del PC. Se acabó el impulso que tenía ese partido después de la caída de Caetano. Los estalinistas han sido

efectivamente aislados.

Lo que es más, los estalinistas han hecho claro que lo que más les interesa es tener puestos en el gobierno que el PS está administrando en interés de los capitalistas. Las críticas que hace el PC al gobierno de Soares son solamente una cobertura para ese objetivo. Esto se mostró claramente en un comunicado del 14 de noviembre enviado por Marvine Howe al *New York Times*:

El congreso [del PC] condenó al gobierno por su política "antiobrera" y advirtió que la combatiría. Insistió en que los problemas económicos y sociales del gobierno se resolverían solamente con la participación de los comunistas en el gobierno y con la cooperación de los obreros que dirige el PC.

Los dirigentes del PC hicieron claro en el congreso del partido, realizado del 10 al 14 de noviembre, que no tienen ninguna intención de cambiar la política que los llevó a la derrota. La dirección estalinista criticó la política derechista del PS lo suficiente como para adoptar una posición a la izquierda de Soares para las elecciones. Pero no ofreció ninguna alternativa efectiva para los obreros y campesinos que buscan una manera de responder a la ofensiva capitalista.

Sobre las ocupaciones de tierras en Alentejo, la política declarada de Cunhal no es muy diferente de la del ala derecha del PS. Es decir, llamó a que se hicieran cumplir las limitaciones que se especifican en la ley de reforma agraria. *Le Monde* lo citaba el 16 de noviembre diciendo: "No somos impacientes. Aunque falta expropiar 500,000 hectáreas, no habrá ocupaciones como las del año pasado. Todo se hará estrictamente de acuerdo con la ley."

En una conferencia de prensa que dio antes de que se iniciara el congreso, Cunhal dijo que éste sería un congreso "de confirmación de lo acertado de la línea política del PC portugués." Señaló claramente que el PCP continuaría siendo un fiel seguidor del Kremlin: "El partido no va a revisar sus relaciones internacionales para dar gusto a ciertas fuerzas políticas portuguesas." El representante del Kremlin, Boris Ponomarev, alabó el "profundo internacionalismo" de la conferencia del PCP. Para la burocracia estalinista eso significa seguir a pie juntillas la línea del Kremlin.

Lo que es más, el PC no ha abandonado su política de ofrecerse a utilizar su organización en las fábricas para aumentar la productividad en bien de los capitalistas.

Es difícil predecir hasta qué grado resistirán las fuerzas del ala izquierda del PS el continuado curso derechista del gobierno. Pero está claro que Soares está decidido a aplastarlas.

Númericamente, la izquierda del PS es fuerte. En el congreso de la juventud que siguió al del partido, el ala asociada con la Lista B obtuvo 147 votos contra 152 que obtuvieron los seguidores de Soares. Sin

embargo, a menos que ofrezcan una alternativa política revolucionaria a la perspectiva reformista del gobierno, las fuerzas que se aglutinaron en torno a la

Lista B no podrán resistir por mucho tiempo la ofensiva total de la dirección partidaria, apoyada por la burguesía portuguesa y las grandes potencias impe-

rialistas. Y para ofrecer esa alternativa, tendrían que romper completamente con el programa y las prácticas organizativas de la socialdemocracia. □

El Voto Reflejó el Creciente Sentimiento Nacionalista

El PQ Desplaza al Partido Liberal en Quebec

Por Art Young

[El 15 de noviembre se realizaron elecciones en la provincia canadiense de Quebec. El Partido Liberal, que anteriormente controlaba la Asamblea Nacional con una gran mayoría, fue rotundamente derrotado por el Parti Québécois (Partido Quebequense).

[Quebec, al igual que las demás provincias canadienses, tiene una forma parlamentaria de gobierno basada en el modelo británico. Además del primer ministro pancanadiense, cada provincia elige un primer ministro local que se determina según el partido que obtenga la mayoría de los votos en la elección provincial.

[En las recientes elecciones, René Lévesque desplazó al Premier Robert Bourassa del Partido Liberal, el ala quebequense del partido del Primer Ministro Pierre Trudeau, el cual controla el gobierno pancanadiense.

[El siguiente artículo apareció en el número del 22 de noviembre de *Labor Challenge*, un periódico socialista revolucionario quincenal que se publica en Toronto. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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En la noche del 15 de noviembre, cuando se dio a conocer el resultado de las elecciones en Quebec, la gente bailó en las calles de la parte este de Montreal.

A medida que se anunciaba la derrota de un ministro del gabinete tras otro, quienes miraban por televisión los programas en francés podían oír al fondo los gritos de regocijo de los técnicos.

Cuando se anunció el triunfo del Parti Québécois los habitantes de Montreal de habla francesa salieron de sus casas y se lanzaron a desfilar por las calles, enarbolando la bandera de Quebec y carteles del Parti Québécois, e intercambiando saludos con la "V de la victoria" y los puños en alto.

Diez mil partidarios del PQ llenaron la Arena Paul Sauvé para celebrar la victoria. El local resonaba con canciones nacionalistas y gritos de "Le Québec aux Québécois" (Quebec para los quebequenses).

¿Qué significaba para ellos la derrota del odiado gobierno liberal de Robert Bourassa? El mensaje era claro. Es hora de tener

derechos nacionales, de que se haga justicia social, de hacer cambios profundos y de que se actúe con rapidez.

Pero las masas de trabajadores que eligieron al PQ están lejos de la victoria.

El Parti Québécois está comprometido a defender el dominio del gran capital, a oponerse a los derechos del movimiento obrero y a oponerse a las principales exigencias de los quebequenses para obtener derechos nacionales. A pesar de las concesiones que el gobierno del PQ se vea forzado a otorgar, las masas de quebequenses ahora tendrán que enfrentarse a la realidad del Parti Québécois: un partido firmemente opuesto a sus derechos y a sus demandas.

Aplastante Derrota de los Liberales

Los liberales, que ganaron veintiocho asientos contra sesenta y nueve que ganó el PQ, sufrieron una derrota aplastante. (En 1973 los liberales ganaron 102 de los 110 asientos.) El PQ ganó incluso en el propio distrito electoral de Bourassa.

Fue una píldora amarga para [el Primer Ministro Pierre Elliot] Trudeau quien, hace seis años, instauró el Acta de Medidas de Guerra y encarceló a cientos de quebequenses sin presentar cargos, en un intento por amedrentar y enterrar al creciente movimiento nacionalista. No hace mucho tiempo Trudeau declaró: "El separatismo ha muerto." Ahora, gobierna en la Ciudad de Quebec un partido que promete sacar a Quebec de la Confederación.

El sentimiento en contra del régimen de Bourassa era tan grande, que uno de los propios candidatos de los liberales dijo que Bourassa era el hombre más aborrecido de Quebec.

Los problemas económicos tuvieron gran importancia para la mayoría de los votantes: un desempleo más alto que nunca y que se espera empeore; una inflación permanente combinada con control salarial; un déficit en el presupuesto que se anticipa será de más de mil millones de dólares; impuestos que están entre los más altos en todo el país; una serie de escándalos relacionados con el derroche inepto y corrupto de fondos públicos.

Bourassa perdió el apoyo de los sindicatos a causa de su legislación antiobrera, la destrucción de sindicatos y las malas

ofertas de contratos. Las tres principales federaciones sindicales se opusieron a los liberales y de una forma u otra apoyaron al PQ.

Frente al creciente conflicto sobre la posición privilegiada del idioma inglés en Quebec, el régimen de Bourassa intentó poner al inglés contra el francés. Su Ley 22 proponía hacer del francés el idioma oficial de Quebec; sin embargo, no cambió nada esencial y marginó a la numerosa comunidad de inmigrantes, convirtiéndolos en chivos expiatorios de la anglización de Quebec.

Bourassa perdió el apoyo, no sólo de quienes defienden el derecho de los quebequenses a hablar y trabajar en francés, sino también de una parte importante de los chovinistas del idioma inglés. Los votantes de habla inglesa y los inmigrantes le dieron apoyo substancial a la Union Nationale [Unión Nacional—partido burgués conservador] la cual prometió abolir la ley sobre los idiomas para remover cualquier limitación a la expansión del sistema privilegiado de educación en inglés.

Problemas de la Independencia

Pero a falta de una alternativa obrera viable, la elección fue en gran parte una carrera entre los liberales y la oposición del Parti Québécois. El PQ le quitó énfasis a su postura a favor de la independencia durante la campaña, substituyéndola por una promesa de hacer un referéndum para convencer a los votantes de que podían elegir al PQ sin votar a favor de la independencia inmediata.

Trudeau, entre otros, se aprovechó de esto para declarar que la nueva administración del PQ sólo tiene un mandato para gobernar a Quebec como provincia dentro de Canadá, pero no para sacarla de la Confederación.

Pero aunque es cierto que la elección no fue un plebiscito sobre la independencia, Trudeau y los demás políticos federalistas no se deben sentir muy aliviados por el resultado de la votación.

En las últimas semanas de la campaña electoral, Bourassa se lanzó con todo a hacer una campaña masiva de temor contra el "separatismo." En las dos elecciones anteriores había dado resultado. Esta vez, la campaña de temor se hizo aún a

mayor escala y más estridente. Pero no hubo ninguna señal de que el apoyo al PQ disminuyera al surgir en primera línea el problema de la independencia.

Un reportero del *Toronto Star* que presencié la jubilosa celebración del triunfo del PQ escribió: "Si bien aún se requiere un referéndum para que el Parti Québécois proceda hacia la independencia, cualquiera que haya presenciado el acto de anoche en la Arena no puede menos que preguntarse qué tan precisas son las encuestas que muestran que sólo un 18 por ciento está a favor de la separación de Quebec."

"Cualquier referencia a la independencia provocaba un estruendo. Un informe que decía que el Primer Ministro de Ontario William Davis afirmaba que el inmenso triunfo del PQ no era una derrota para Canadá provocó silbidos de burla y renovados gritos de 'Este es sólo el principio.'"

Inestabilidad, Crecientes Tensiones

¿Qué ocurrirá ahora?

Las masas que eligieron al PQ—los obreros, los estudiantes y otros estratos nacionalistas de la población disgustados—esperan que el nuevo gobierno tome medidas que realmente mejoren sus vidas. Esperan igualdad nacional y mejores condiciones de vida. Pero los dirigentes del PQ han dejado claro que sólo tienen la intención de gobernar más honesta y eficientemente que los liberales, y que introducirán un número muy limitado de reformas.

Sin desafiar el dominio de Quebec por parte del imperialismo extranjero de habla inglesa, el PQ no podrá satisfacer las esperanzas de quienes lo apoyan. El PQ asume el poder en el contexto de una situación económica estancada, que deja poco margen para proyectos de reforma costosos dentro de la estructura capitalista.

Los quebequenses están haciendo una experiencia política nueva, más rica y más intensa a causa del triunfo del PQ. Tienen grandes esperanzas en [el nuevo Primer Ministro de Quebec René] Lévesque y su gabinete. Pero a medida que el PQ revele su verdadero carácter, se disiparán las ilusiones que se tengan en él, y esto hará que aumenten las tensiones dentro del partido y que se produzcan choques entre el PQ y los movimientos obrero y nacionalista.

Un número creciente de quebequenses comprenderá que el gobierno del PQ no puede avanzar sus intereses y que necesitan un gobierno obrero para dirigir la lucha por un Quebec independiente y socialista. Aumentarán las presiones sobre los sindicatos para que rompan con el PQ en ese sentido y formen su propio partido obrero de masas.

La perspectiva de un referéndum sobre la independencia enfocará nitidamente cada aspecto de la opresión nacional de Quebec, a medida que aumente el debate sobre cómo combatirla.

No hay duda de que el abrumador triunfo del PQ representa un severo retroceso para los planes de los gobernantes de Canadá. Tendrán que tomar nuevas medidas para tratar de reafirmar su control sobre Quebec. Sus declaraciones alarmadas reflejan su miedo, no del Parti Québécois, sino del sentimiento nacionalista y obrero que lo puso en el poder.

Trudeau dijo a la Cámara de los Comunes el 16 de noviembre que él sigue dedicado a la causa de un "Canadá inseparable, un Canadá que es indivisible," y que no tiene intención de negociar

"ninguna forma de separatismo" con Quebec.

Estas palabras son siniestras, pues vienen del hombre que mandó tropas a Quebec durante la crisis de las Medidas de Guerra.

Los anglo-canadienses deben rechazar la posición de Trudeau. Deben reiterar su convicción en el derecho de los quebequenses a decidir su propio destino, sin presiones y amenazas externas. Como nacionalidad oprimida, los quebequenses deben poder tomar las medidas que sean necesarias para liberarse. □

¡Salven la Vida de los Trotskyistas Argentinos!

Campaña por Páez y Apaza



JOSE PAEZ

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "International Campaign for Páez and Apaza," que apareció en el número del 22 de noviembre de nuestra revista. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

A fines de octubre, la campaña internacional para salvar a los trotskistas argentinos José Francisco Páez y Arturo Apaza cobró nuevo ímpetu cuando dos destacados sindicalistas australianos y un miembro del Parlamento exigieron que la dictadura militar argentina libere a Páez.

Páez es una figura muy conocida del sindicato de trabajadores automotrices en la ciudad industrial de Córdoba. En 1973 fue candidato presidencial por el Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST). Ha estado detenido desde enero, acusado de "asociación ilegal" y posesión de literatura "subversiva."

Apaza es un dirigente del sindicato de trabajadores metalúrgicos y es miembro del PST. Fue raptado pocos días después del golpe militar del 24 de marzo y aún no se sabe dónde está.

Bill Richardson, secretario federal del Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations [Consejo Australiano de Asociaciones de Asalariados y Profesionales]; Jim Roulston, presidente del Amalgamated Metal Workers Union [sindicato de trabajadores metalúrgicos] del Estado de Victoria; y George Georges, senador del Partido Laborista de Queensland, agregaron sus nombres a una lista ya bastante larga de personalidades del movimiento sindical australiano que han exigido la libertad de Páez.

En Australia, habían firmado el llamado anteriormente Bob Hawke, presidente del Australian Labor Party [Partido Laborista Australiano]; la locutora de radio Claudia Wright; Ken Fry, miembro del parlamento federal del Partido Laborista; y el Young Labor Council [Consejo Laborista de la Juventud] de Nueva Gales del Sur.

Recientemente, han enviado cartas de protesta sobre el caso de Páez y Apaza a la junta de Videla las siguientes personas y agrupaciones:

- Veintidós periodistas, abogados y profesores griegos.

- La asamblea general del estudiantado de la Universidad de Antioquía en Colombia y funcionarios, de cinco diferentes sindicatos colombianos de empleados públicos.

- Una gran cantidad de personalidades de Estados Unidos, entre ellos los ganadores del Premio Nobel George Wald y Salvador E. Luria; el diputado estatal de Massachusetts John Businger; el Rabino Irwin Blank; el Profesor Noam Chomsky; Russell Johnson del American Friends Service Committee [una organización humanitaria ligada informalmente a los Cuáqueros]; Lydia Sánchez Bracamonte de la Comisión Católica de Habla Hispana; y Douglas Butler, presidente del A. Philip Randolph Institute de Boston.

- La dirección de la Unión Nacional de Educadores de Ecuador. □

Selecciones de la Izquierda

rouge

"Rojo," diario comunista revolucionario que se publica en París.

Rouge envió un corresponsal especial, Julien Tonnac, para cubrir las elecciones presidenciales en Estados Unidos y publicó varios informes sobre la situación política norteamericana en las semanas anteriores a la votación. El número del 2 de noviembre dedica una página a la campaña del Socialist Workers Party, que incluye una entrevista con el candidato presidencial del partido, Peter Camejo.

Tonnac preguntó a Camejo: "Veintidós meses de campaña, un presupuesto de 250,000 dólares, ochenta candidatos repartidos en veintiocho estados, ¿no era éste un proyecto demasiado ambicioso para una organización del tamaño del SWP?"

Camejo respondió: "Muchas personas además de los militantes del SWP participaron activamente en la realización de esta campaña. Lo más importante es que la campaña nos permitió llegar a millones de personas a quienes nunca hubieran podido alcanzar los socialistas de otra manera."

La segunda pregunta de Tonnac era la siguiente: "La campaña del SWP fue extremadamente propagandista. En Francia, el nivel general de las intervenciones que hubo en los actos de tu campaña sería calificado de elemental. Además, no había ni banderas rojas ni cantos revolucionarios, ni hablar de la *Internacional*. ¿Podríamos explicarnos por qué?"

Camejo respondió: "Nuestra propaganda socialista tiene el objetivo de hacer que la gente entienda que los partidos representan clases. En Estados Unidos nunca ha habido un partido obrero de masas y, por lo tanto, nuestra principal tarea en esta campaña es desenmascarar la farsa electoral organizada por los dos partidos burgueses—ambos representan los mismos intereses—, y hacer entender a los norteamericanos que los problemas que los afectan—el desempleo, la inflación, la discriminación, el racismo, la contaminación—están completamente determinados por esos dos partidos para satisfacer los intereses de la clase dominante capitalista."

En una nota enviada desde Berkeley, California, y que aparece en la misma página, Tonnac informa sobre uno de los últimos actos públicos del candidato del SWP y resume sus impresiones sobre la campaña:

"Peter Camejo, candidato del SWP a la presidencia de Estados Unidos, no había hablado en la universidad de Berkeley

desde ese día de mayo de 1968 cuando, en solidaridad con el movimiento estudiantil francés, los estudiantes de Berkeley salieron a las calles. . . .

"En esa época, Peter Camejo era uno de los dirigentes de la Young Socialist Alliance [Alianza de la Juventud Socialista], la organización juvenil que está en solidaridad con el SWP y que había iniciado las manifestaciones. Fue arrestado junto con otros dirigentes del movimiento estudiantil. . . .

"Hoy en día, como muchas otras universidades que hace no mucho tiempo eran muy combativas, Berkeley se ha convertido en un lugar donde los estudiantes están más interesados en trabajar y en gozar el agradable sol de California que en luchar por 'causas demasiado generosas.' Sin embargo, más de mil personas se reunieron en la explanada este miércoles [27 de octubre] para escuchar a Camejo. La concurrencia fue sólo un poco menor que la que había asistido una semana antes a escuchar al candidato a vicepresidente del Partido Demócrata, el Senador Walter Mondale, quien explicó por qué había que votar por Jimmy Carter el 2 de noviembre.

"Sin embargo, la atmósfera era muy diferente. Camejo . . . es un orador excelente que sabe mezclar el humor con el análisis político riguroso. . . . En poco más de una hora, Camejo recorrió los problemas fundamentales a los que actualmente tienen que dar respuesta los socialistas norteamericanos: el origen de la crisis económica; el papel de la burguesía; la farsa electoral de los grandes partidos; la necesidad de un partido obrero y de la organización masiva de los negros, puertorriqueños y chicanos; la necesidad de que se organicen las mujeres; la lucha contra la burocracia en los sindicatos; las falsas alternativas burguesas como la que presentó Eugene McCarthy; el papel del imperialismo norteamericano en los tres continentes; la coexistencia pacífica; la crítica de los 'modelos socialistas' [esto es, los estados obreros burocratizados], la alternativa socialista. . . .

"El acto fue todo un éxito. Setenta y seis personas se suscribieron al *Militant*. . . . Después se realizó una discusión con 120 estudiantes, aproximadamente treinta de los cuales pidieron discusiones más profundas con los militantes de la Young Socialist Alliance. Seis personas se unieron a la organización. El éxito era el mismo de universidad en universidad. Muchas personas no sabían nada sobre la alternativa socialista y veían al comunismo solamente a través del prisma distorsionado de la propaganda burguesa o bajo la forma de la caricatura estalinista. En todas partes las preguntas eran las mismas: '¿Qué piensas de los acontecimientos de China?' '¿De las

elecciones en Checoslovaquia?' '¿Qué alternativa existe para la planeación burocrática?'

"Los norteamericanos, sean obreros o estudiantes, son completamente ignorantes en materia de política. El discurso de Camejo parecería muy elemental en Francia, pero ahí se lo ve como una revelación. Lo que los norteamericanos no logran entender, los socialistas lo explican con una lógica implacable y, lo que es más, ¡ofrecen soluciones! □

INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES 753

"Informaciones Obreras," tribuna libre de la lucha de clases. Se publica semanalmente en París.

El número del 4 al 10 de noviembre contiene un artículo sobre las elecciones presidenciales en Estados Unidos, que termina con el siguiente comentario sobre la campaña del Socialist Workers Party:

"El SWP . . . realizó la campaña presidencial más intensa de toda su historia.

"Una campaña de la que no se puede decir que haya sido 'electoral' aunque utilizó al máximo cada una de las posibilidades del periodo electoral. Fue una campaña política que se apoyaba fundamentalmente en los golpes que el SWP ha dado al FBI, obligándolo a admitir que había cometido actos ilegales contra el SWP y logrando que se prohibiera al FBI vigilar al SWP. Peter Camejo dijo que esta decisión no era solamente una victoria del SWP, sino una victoria de los derechos democráticos de todos los norteamericanos.

"La campaña tuvo que superar muchos obstáculos. Para que la candidatura presidencial fuera efectiva en un estado, se necesitaba que antes un cierto número de ciudadanos (a veces un número muy grande, por ejemplo 100,000 en California) firmara una petición exigiendo que se registrara esa candidatura. El SWP impuso su presencia en casi treinta estados, incluido California.

"Estos obstáculos sólo pudieron ser vencidos por medio de un combate político que se centró en la defensa de los derechos de las masas trabajadoras de Estados Unidos. El SWP insistió en que los derechos democráticos que están consignados en las enmiendas a la Constitución de Estados Unidos, que se conocen con el nombre de "Acta de Derechos," sólo pudieron ser arrancados con una revolución, que aseguró la independencia de Estados Unidos.

"Se necesitó una guerra revolucionaria para lograr la abolición de la esclavitud.

"Hoy en día, para garantizar derechos

tan elementales como el derecho al trabajo y el derecho a la educación, es necesario substituir el gobierno de los partidos capitalistas por un gobierno que se apoye en las masas trabajadoras y que defienda sus intereses: un gobierno obrero.

"Pero en la lucha por ese gobierno se necesita un instrumento: un partido obrero. La siguiente etapa de la historia de la lucha de clases en Estados Unidos será la de la formación de ese partido. La campaña del SWP fue un momento de esta lucha, y un momento importante, puesto que no solamente dio un carácter concreto a esta lucha ante los ojos de decenas de miles de trabajadores y jóvenes, sino que marcó un paso adelante en la construcción del mismo SWP."

Lutte Ouvriere

"Lucha Obrera," semanario parisino publicado por una agrupación de militantes que se consideran de orientación trotskista.

El número del 23 de octubre dedica siete páginas a las elecciones norteamericanas, con descripciones de las campañas de Ford, Carter y diferentes partidos obreros. De estos últimos, el que recibe el reportaje más amplio es el Partido Comunista.

El semanario francés afirma que la campaña del PC representó una ruptura con la política que había sostenido desde 1948 de apoyar a los candidatos del Partido Demócrata. Sin embargo, explica que el PC sigue teniendo básicamente una política de colaboración de clases:

"Su programa es, en el fondo, un programa democrático liberal, simplemente más radical que el de los políticos demócratas liberales. Pero, desde luego, el solo hecho de tener la etiqueta 'comunista' en un país como Estados Unidos basta para colocarlo completamente aparte."

Los trotskistas del Socialist Workers Party, escribe *Lutte Ouvriere*, tampoco pudieron presentar una alternativa obrera en las elecciones:

"El SWP se pronuncia a favor de un partido político obrero independiente. Frente a la crisis y el desempleo, el SWP hace una propaganda socialista y defiende reivindicaciones como la distribución del trabajo entre todos, la escala móvil de salarios. Pero el eje principal de su campaña es la defensa de los derechos del pueblo: derecho al trabajo, a la educación, a la atención médica gratuita, la lucha contra la contaminación, los derechos de las minorías raciales, el derecho a la independencia de Puerto Rico, etc.

"Es en este nivel—y sobre todo en el medio de la izquierda norteamericana, cuya ideología es la de los demócratas radicales y no la de los revolucionarios proletarios—que aparecen ciertas ambigüedades en la propaganda del SWP, sobre la

importancia de la boleta electoral, por ejemplo, o sobre la importancia del sistema democrático, cuyos límites no se muestran claramente ni una sola vez: 'Si se eligen representantes de los trabajadores, éstos podrían hacer que se aprobaran leyes que garanticen el trabajo para todos... un gobierno de los trabajadores garantizaría la democracia y la posibilidad de una nueva acta de derechos de los trabajadores.'" *Lutte Ouvriere* no señala dónde encontró esta frase en la literatura de la campaña del SWP. Es una desgracia que no lo hiciera, puesto que de esas palabras que pusieron entre comillas desprenden la siguiente conclusión aventurada:

"Esto refleja sin duda el hecho de que el SWP ha estado separado de la clase obrera desde hace décadas, y cuando se desarrolló nuevamente, a mediados de los años sesenta, lo hizo sobre todo en el medio estudiantil, es decir, entre la pequeña burguesía radical que luchaba por las garantías individuales o contra la guerra de Vietnam."

En su número del 6 de noviembre, *Lutte Ouvriere* publicó extractos de un artículo de *Rouge*, diario comunista revolucionario que se publica en París, donde se hace un balance positivo de la campaña del SWP.

VOZ SOCIALISTA

Semanario de la Liga Socialista, organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional en Venezuela.

En sus comentarios sobre las elecciones en Estados Unidos en el número del 4 de noviembre, Raúl Castroverde señala la importancia de la radicalización que empieza a darse entre los trabajadores norteamericanos:

"Si 1975 significó crisis económica y derrota en Vietnam, 1976 fue el año en que comenzó el despertar del movimiento obrero, potencialmente un enemigo peor aún que Vietnam para los explotadores. Sea Ford o Carter el ganador de las elecciones, tendrán que enfrentarse a este formidable enemigo interior.

"Para nosotros, como latinoamericanos, este proceso tiene una enorme importancia. Tanto los republicanos como los demócratas fueron y serán los defensores de la explotación en nuestros países y de las dictaduras militares represivas. El movimiento obrero norteamericano, organizado en un partido propio, será el que dará el golpe de gracia al mayor enemigo de los trabajadores del mundo: el imperialismo yanqui.

"En ese camino, en la construcción de un partido revolucionario, están los compañeros del Socialist Workers Party [partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, que comparte los puntos de vista de la Cuarta Internacional] quienes con un programa antimperialista y socialista, plantean, entre otras cosas, la lucha contra el racismo, la igualdad de derechos de los chicanos y puertorriqueños, y la destruc-

ción del propio imperialismo yanqui, presentándose como alternativa revolucionaria ante estas elecciones y como formadores del partido obrero capaz de dirigir la revolución socialista en Estados Unidos."



"*Semanario Rojo*," órgano del Grupo Marxista Internacional, sección británica de la Cuarta Internacional.

El número del 4 de noviembre contiene un artículo de dos páginas sobre la campaña del Socialist Workers Party en las elecciones presidenciales norteamericanas, que incluye un mapa que muestra los estados donde el SWP estuvo en la boleta electoral. El titular dice: "Creciente Interés en la Plataforma Trotskista."

El artículo pinta un panorama bastante detallado de la campaña y el programa del SWP, resume la plataforma que plantearon los candidatos trotskistas y señala el apoyo que obtuvieron por parte de otros grupos políticos y personas independientes. Se explica la manera en que el SWP combinó su juicio contra el hostigamiento del FBI con esta campaña electoral.

Red Weekly informaba a sus lectores sobre los obstáculos que se tuvieron que superar para presentar un candidato contra los partidos burgueses en Estados Unidos:

"Incluso cuando ya se han reunido todas las firmas, las autoridades tratan de sabotear las campañas de los independientes. En Missouri, el SWP fue excluido de la boleta electoral después de haber reunido 25,000 firmas. Una de las firmas que 'invalidaron' los escrutadores fue la de Roger Goldman, Presidente de la American Civil Liberties Union [grupo que defiende las garantías individuales y los derechos democráticos] en Missouri oriental.

"Conseguir dinero para sus campañas es también un problema para los candidatos de oposición. No reciben ni un centavo de fondos públicos, aunque los republicanos y demócratas reciben un bono para sus campañas de \$43.6 millones cada uno."

También se señala el aspecto internacionalista de la campaña del SWP:

"Otro tema que se extendió a todo lo largo de la campaña del SWP fue su internacionalismo. Camejo y Reid hablaron en contra de la represión racista en Sudáfrica e Israel, haciendo de la solidaridad con la lucha de la clase obrera y de los oprimidos de todo el mundo parte integral de su campaña."

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semana a semana un análisis de los
más importantes acontecimientos
mundiales.
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FROM OUR READERS

A student in Israel writes:

"On various occasions at the home of one of my comrades, I have had the pleasant opportunity of reading your weekly, whose analyses have impressed me very much. So, I would like to subscribe. Please send me the price for a subscription by airmail."

In another letter from Israel, a reader voices appreciation for Intercontinental Press, "which we have been receiving regularly for sometime and which gives us most important information and political analysis."

A group of Chileans living in England write that they are "very interested in the magazine," which they "have been following mainly through the articles in Spanish in the English edition," although they "still have difficulty with English. . . ."

M.N.B. of Minneapolis, Minnesota, sent this request with a change of address:

"Try to get it changed as soon as possible. The Post Office is none too swift about forwarding mail."

M.N.B. also includes these points in her letter:

"I was wondering if IP planned to reprint the speech made by Pierre Juquin of the French CP to the rally in Paris. I for one would like to read the whole thing." [This is Juquin's speech at the October 21 meeting in Paris in defense of six victims of political repression, including two in the USSR and another in Czechoslovakia.]

M.N.B. continues: "I'm especially impressed by the articles on developments in China. It is very difficult to get information in any other radical papers or even major bourgeois papers on China."

"Finally, and I never thought I'd be asking for this, we need a balance sheet on Portugal. What's going on over there?"

What effect is the revolution in Africa having, etc.?"

A.R.E. of San Luis Obispo, California, writes:

"You have been sending me the IP for quite a while now (a couple of years) and I wish to thank you for this very much needed bit of fresh air."

"I have come to rely somewhat on the IP. I find myself watching the news on T.V., or reading it in the papers, and thinking, 'I wonder what the IP will say about this,' and invariably your publication has been able to show how the 'news media' lies by innuendo, emphasis or omission."

Much of the mail that crosses our desk these days has to do with Postal Service matters.

K.H., Portland, Oregon, says: "This subscription problem really has me completely baffled. About three weeks ago, right on schedule, I received IP No. 35 . . . in the mail. The next day I got your letter with issues 32-34 enclosed. I didn't answer your letter because I thought that everything was then all right. *But I haven't received a single copy of IP since then!* And this is after complaints to the local post office. Other mail is arriving, that is, bills always seem to make it."

M.G.P., Ann Arbor, Michigan, has a different problem:

"My sub to IP is being sent from New York by first class mail. While I certainly appreciate this, I doubt that it is really worth the extra expense, and wish to suggest that in the future, second class will suffice."

"Recently I ordered some back issues from you and they were also sent by first class, presumably at great expense. Despite the parcel having been sent first class,

it was apparently opened by the post office, and delivered in a state of considerable disarray. I was unable to tell how much you spent for postage because that portion of the wrapper was missing."

C.B., Louisville, Kentucky, writes:

"Since taking out a sub to IP almost two years ago, I've come to rely on it more and more. Up to now I've taken it on a 3rd class rate, but recently this has become unacceptable. Please find enclosed a check . . . to raise my IP sub to first class."

"Things were fine on 3rd class while I lived near the northeast, but since I moved from there early in 1976—first to the southwest and then to the southeast—the mail service has steadily degenerated. . . ."

"As far as 3rd class mail is concerned, regions of the U.S. outside the northeast might as well be other countries."

Despite the complaints from our subscribers, and this is only a sampling, the Postmaster General Benjamin F. Bailar claims that the U.S. Postal Service is "the best in the world."

According to an October 22 Associated Press dispatch, Mr. Bailar told business and government executives at the annual National Postal Forum that the Postal Service "reduced its payroll by 40,000 workers at an annual saving of \$690 million." However, he said, "the Postal Service delivered the mail last Christmas season with 30,000 temporary workers. . . ."

Mr. Bailar thinks that the critics of the Postal Service "have ignored a wealth of progress."

"If postal reform had not taken place when it did," the Postmaster General said, "I am convinced that the nation would today be saddled with a Post Office Department that would be insolvent and incapable of meeting national mail needs."

And Mr. Bailar said: "It remains a mystery to me why, as frequently happens, the Postal Service is charged with being inefficient." □

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