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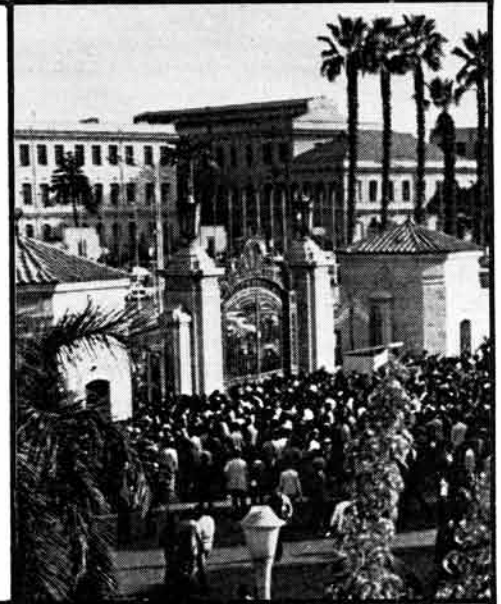
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Balaguer Moves to Crush Opposition



Behind the Latest Plunge of the Dollar

Egyptian Students Demand Democratic Rights



'Terrorist Law' Proposed in Sweden

Antarctica Icebergs

The Rand Corporation, a West Coast "think tank," may have found a solution to the problem of pollution of the water supply in the United States. The idea is to float huge trains of icebergs from Antarctica to the coast of Southern California, where they could be processed.

"The trains of Antarctic icebergs, as now envisaged," Everett B. Holles reports in the February 19 *New York Times*, "would contain eight or more individual icebergs, each about two miles long, one mile wide and 900 feet thick. The lead iceberg of the train would serve as a locomotive, equipped with propellers and electric motors drawing power through a slack cable from an escort ship cruising a safe distance away."

The horsepower required would not be great—about as much as that used by a modern aircraft carrier.

John Hutt of the Rand Corporation said that one two-mile-long iceberg, when cut into blocks and melted down, would yield about one million acre feet of soft water, purer than that sold in bottles . . ."

It would take about one year to quarry all the ice from a single two-mile-long iceberg.

One proposal is to run the icebergs aground. "Putting them aground would simplify the mooring problem and they would still be about five miles offshore," according to Hutt.

While being harvested, the icebergs could be used profitably for recreation. "It would be fairly simple to adapt them to skiing and skating, carving ski slopes into the sides and even equipping them with chair lifts," Hutt said.

In the Antarctic, it takes icebergs about six years to melt after they break off from the glaciers. How long it would take them to melt in the warm waters off the coast of California was not indicated in the *Times* report.

This would hardly be decisive in view of the quantity available. As Hutt put it, "There are plenty of icebergs down there with about one billion acre feet of new ones each year. So there is virtually no end to the supply."

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Behind the Latest Devaluation of the Dollar

By Dick Roberts

[The following article is reprinted from the February 23 issue of *The Militant*, the weekly newspaper that reflects the views of the Socialist Workers party.]

* * *

FEB. 13—"Devaluation of the dollar . . . is at best only a temporary solution. . . . trade legislation must follow." These remarks by President Nixon emphasized the escalated stage of international trade and financial warfare that surrounds the second devaluation of the dollar in 14 months.

The president's meaning was unmistakable. Following the 10 percent devaluation of the dollar, foreign countries, especially West Germany and Japan, must allow more U.S. goods into their markets.

Otherwise the United States will retaliate by barring the U.S. market to foreign goods. "To get a policy of freer trade," Nixon said, "we must always have in the background protection."

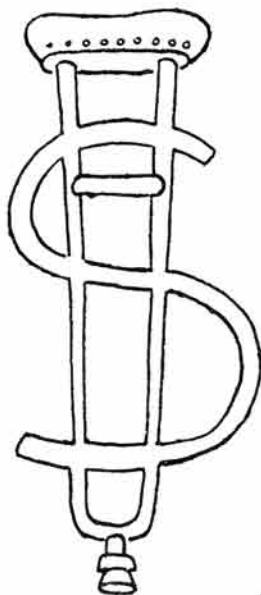
Washington moved late at night Monday Feb. 12 to quell the biggest flight from the dollar in history. More than \$1-billion worth of dollars had poured into West German central banks in just a few hours on Tuesday, Feb. 5.

By the end of the week West Germany had purchased more than \$6-billion despite barriers it attempted to erect against the unwanted greenbacks.

They poured into other central banks too, including \$250-million into Japan. On Feb. 11 most of the governments of Western Europe and Japan announced their exchange markets would be closed.

Meanwhile, top officials of the major capitalist governments and leading central bankers were locked in secret meetings from Paris to Tokyo to bargain over the future of the monetary system.

Their decisions will affect the lives of everyone in the capitalist world.



Le Monde

Dollar devaluation will immediately hit the prices of foreign goods in this country such as cameras, TV sets, cars, wines, and imported whiskey. Electricity and gas prices are likely to rise because of the heavy use of imported oil. Higher prices of these and other imported products will encourage U.S. competitors to raise their own prices and add new fuel to the inflationary fire.

This is a struggle where no matter which competing capitalist power temporarily gains the edge, workers always lose. The fundamental aim of the monopolists is to shift the problems of world trade and finance onto workers' backs.

And the central problem remains the persistent inflation of the U.S. dollar and the increasing disadvantage of U.S. goods in world trade that results from dollar inflation.

Massive Deficit

The final stimulant to the dollar panic last week was news of the 1972 U.S. trade deficit. The trade deficit of 1971—which had been the first in the twentieth century—had not been halted by the Smithsonian Agreement

of December 1971 to devalue the dollar by about 11 percent against other world currencies.

On the contrary, foreign goods continued to swamp the American market. The 1972 deficit of nearly \$7-billion tripled that of 1971—becoming the biggest U.S. trade deficit in history.

Thus the main issues at stake in the secret meetings last week concerned the inflation of the dollar and U.S. trade problems.

- Foreign bankers urged Washington to take stiffer measures to dampen the economy and slow the inflation, despite Nixon's already harsh welfare-slashing of the 1974 budget. (See page 19.)

- Washington urged Bonn and Tokyo to revalue their currencies upward, making their goods more expensive in the United States.

To dramatize the impact of such a measure, Japanese industrialists retorted that they can't make profits unless they market 50 percent of their autos in the United States.

- West Germany opposed a unilateral revaluation of the mark since it would hurt sales of West German products in Europe as well as the United States. But Bonn said it would accept a Common Market bloc revaluation against the dollar. This was opposed in London because of the desire to have the pound float below other European currencies, thus gaining a competitive edge for British products.

- Japan argued against a unilateral revaluation of the yen when many European markets have barriers to Japanese goods. France, for example, has embargoes on Japanese imports in 78 of its 120 major industrial classifications.

The international bankers and politicians squabbled down to the line and finally reached a compromise of devaluing the dollar against most currencies, with the Japanese yen floating upward. This means the value of the yen will be determined in fi-

financial markets, with Tokyo free to intervene in these markets if too wide a disparity grows between the yen and dollar.

U. S. Investment

New threats have increasingly been hinted that if the United States once again fails to stem the flow of foreign imports, U. S. multinationals will step up their world drive to take over markets.

Thus while the dollar was devalued 10 percent, in effect reducing its power to purchase foreign corporations by 10 percent, Washington also made moves to increase the flow of dollars to foreign markets. This consisted of removing taxes Congress had erected in the mid-1960s on U. S. foreign investments.

A none too subtle defense of this strategy appeared in Joseph Kraft's nationally syndicated column Feb. 13. "... the country," said Kraft, "has been exporting on a grand scale technology, management and capital which has gone into purchase by American firms of some of the best companies in Europe. These investments can be made to yield returns in the form of dividends and royalty payments which should more than make up for the trade deficit in the long run."

At the same time, the editors of the *Washington Post*, in which Kraft's column appears, moped that "the effects of these recurrent crises are not limited, unfortunately, to the technicalities of international banking. They touch the most sensitive aspects of nations' lives. Each crisis contributes something more to a growing mistrust and hostility between the United States and its commercial competitors. Its strongest competitors are also its strongest military and political friends and allies. The meeting now being prepared [to agree on dollar devaluation] promises to buy a little more time. It promises nothing more."

And what "solution" do they suggest for a more long-term health of the world economy?

"When a country began heaping up surpluses, its currency would step up until a new equilibrium had been reached." Fancy words for the same thing—revaluation of the West German mark and Japanese yen.



The offices of a dollar speculator in Frankfurt, West Germany, during recent wave of currency trading.

Within the framework of world capitalism there can be no other solutions. The uncontrollable need to expand markets means that what one power gains—under the prevailing conditions of saturated world markets—an-

other power loses.

This irrepressible competition is the cause of the financial crises, and the increasingly harsh measures against workers' wages and standards of living the world over.

Hundreds Arrested in Police Raids

New Repression Launched in Bolivia

La Paz

The Banzer government has launched a new wave of repression in Bolivia. It began at the end of December, when agents of the dictatorship denounced an alleged "Loto-Rojo-Tachai plot" that supposedly involved an "invasion" of the country by armed groups from abroad.

Hundreds of people were arrested—members of organizations struggling against the dictatorship and people suspected of being members. So far, the POR-Combate [Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers party], Bolivian section of the Fourth International, the pro-Chinese Communist party, the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left], and the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army] have been hit.

The police have arrested comrades Cecilio Alcon, Alfredo Zapana, Fran-

cisco Alcon, and Jorge Bustos. All these comrades have been badly tortured, but Cecilio Alcon has gotten the worst treatment of all. His house was attacked, and many members of his family who were not involved in any political activity at all were carried off (including two babies).

The women are being held in the Achicalla prison and the men are in the dungeons of the Ministry of the Interior, where they are being tortured.

The police came to the house of Hugo Gonzales Moscoso, secretary of the POR, and dynamited the door. But the raid was unsuccessful, because Comrade Gonzales and his wife had already gotten away earlier. □

Retirement Fund?

The Committee for the Re-Election of the President, which raised \$50 million during Nixon's campaign, is still accepting "campaign contributions."

Thieu's Violations of Cease-Fire Mount

Colonel Kozma, one of the Hungarian delegates to the International Commission of Control and Supervision in Vietnam, has complained that he has had difficulty getting to see the National Liberation Front and North Vietnamese representatives to the Joint Military Commission (JMC) in the area where he is stationed. "The two delegations have [Saigon] sentries at their doors and a mine field around them," he said.

In Saigon, where the headquarters of the JMC is located, the liberation forces' delegates are in scarcely a better situation. They remain under armed guard at the Tan Son Nhut air base and have been forbidden to talk to reporters.

"On Saturday [February 17]," the February 19 *New York Times* reported, "the Saigon authorities warned newsmen that if they attempted to visit the Communist members of the Joint Military Commission . . . they could be shot by military policemen."

The Saigon regime's treatment of the liberation forces' delegates, who according to the Paris agreement are supposed to have diplomatic status, is but one aspect of Thieu's violation of the agreement. Others include stalling on release of prisoners of war, carrying out ground operations against liberated areas, and sending hundreds of planes into the air to bomb both civilian hamlets and alleged concentrations of liberation troops.

On February 17, the headquarters of the Joint Military Commission (composed of representatives from the Provisional Revolutionary Government, North Vietnam, the United States, and Saigon) issued a unanimous appeal to troops of both sides to cease firing immediately. The appeal was proposed, according to various reports, by the PRG and Hanoi delegates, and the Saigon clique was forced to go along—at least verbally.

Radio Hanoi explained the reason for the appeal. Saigon troops during the past three weeks have conducted "thousands of terror raids and nibbling operations against the liberated

areas in most provinces of South Vietnam." The broadcast charged that "the Saigon army is violating the cease-fire in a serious, systematic, and deliberate manner."

One of the violations—which has escaped the attention of most of the U. S. press, now caught up in churning out nauseating chauvinist garbage about the return of U. S. prisoners of war—has been bombing. Air strikes are explicitly prohibited in the Paris protocol on the cease-fire. But on February 18 the *New York Times* reported that the Saigon air force has been flying between 100 and 200 "tactical air strikes" *per day* since the cease-fire went into effect. Thieu claims the bombing is not a violation of the protocol because the strikes are "acts of self-defense."

As of February 19, two days after the JMC appeal was issued, there was no sign that Thieu's forces had stopped, or even slowed down, their offensive operations. "If anything," the February 19 *New York Times* commented, "the fighting seems to have increased somewhat since Saturday [February 17]."

The Saigon regime has threatened to violate the Paris agreement's provision on prisoner release as well as its terms on cease-fire. Thieu claims the liberation forces are holding 40,000 Saigon soldiers, about thirteen times as many as the NLF says it has. Saigon has said that it will halt releases of NLF and North Vietnamese prisoners unless the liberation forces show "good faith" by turning loose an adequate number of Saigon prisoners—this to be determined on the basis of the vastly inflated figure.

It may well be that the NLF will not release all its Saigon captives. When those currently being held receive reports about the treatment to which those already released have been subjected, they may have second thoughts about dashing back to the Free World. The February 18 *New York Times* described it this way:

"There was no indication that the South Vietnamese P. O. W.'s were be-

ing regarded as outcasts, but the Saigon Government and its people were not going all-out to welcome them back to freedom. Their highest ranking official greeter has been an out-of-favor army general who holds an obscure post. And the P. O. W.'s have been put up in a dilapidated compound at Bien Hoa that was gutted shortly after its American tenants left for home.

"The men are to receive medical examinations while in the compound, but one gets the impression that the Government is more interested in what its security agents are going to learn in the interrogations that lie ahead."

The allegedly impending cease-fire in Laos is faring no better than its Vietnamese counterpart. In fact, the course of the Laotian negotiations ominously resembles that of the Vietnam talks last December. Both sides had released information that a cease-fire would go into effect on February 14. Instead, fighting has intensified and, even according to government officials in Vientiane, the reason is that the United States has demanded further concessions from the Pathet Lao.

"It's all your fault," the February 16 *New York Times* quoted a government negotiator as saying to U. S. reporters. "We had worked out an agreement which was virtually ready until the Americans began insisting on all kinds of other things. Now the Pathet Lao have dug in their heels, demanding all kinds of other new things—even guarantees that American bases in Thailand will be closed down."

As was the case in Vietnam, the United States has answered the liberation forces' rejection of total capitulation with bombs. U. S. air raids on Laos during the third week of February were reported to be approaching the intensity of wartime strikes on North Vietnam. □

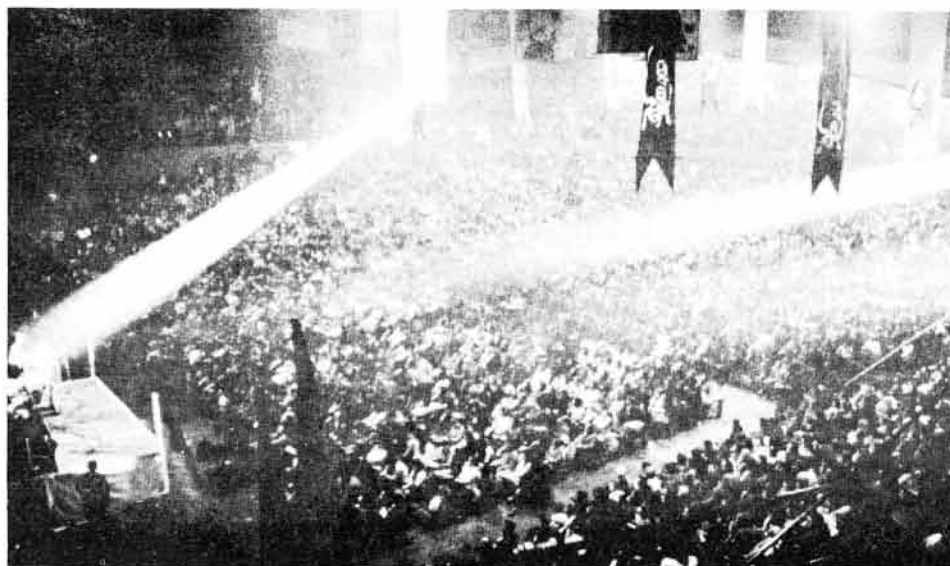
The Loved One

"That is why our people, full of feelings of unbounded reverence and gratitude, sing of the great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, of the great love of the fatherly Leader which will shine forever in our history. . . .

"The great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung is the benevolent father of the people, the sun of the people, which has risen over this land for their sake." From *Korea Today*, on the occasion of Kim Il Sung's 60th birthday.

Ligue Communiste Holds Election Rally

By Pierre Frank



Some of the thousands of participants in the Ligue Communiste election rally held February 7 at the Palais des Sports in Paris.

Paris

For several weeks, in preparation for the coming elections, the Ligue Communiste has been organizing meetings in many provincial cities. They have been well attended and have aroused much interest.

To mark the official opening of the campaign, the Ligue organized a big meeting on February 7 at the Palais des Sports in Paris. It was chaired by Jeannette Habel. The hall was packed with about 6,000 or 7,000 people, and the audience responded enthusiastically to the speakers.

The first speaker was Comrade Moran of Lutte Ouvrière, whose own meeting, scheduled for February 26 in the same hall, had just been banned under a phony pretext. He explained that the two organizations had agreed to wage a campaign against electoralist illusions aimed at arming the workers for the class battles that will follow the elections, whatever their results.

Comrades Alain Krivine, André Fichaut, and Daniel Bensaid spoke for the Ligue.

Here is what the February 9 *Le*

Monde had to say about Krivine's speech:

"Mr. Alain Krivine, member of the Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste, began by making some sarcastic comments about the ORTF [Office de Radiodiffusion Télévision Française], which grants 'seven minutes to the revolutionists and fourteen years to the UDR [Union des Démocrates pour la République].' Then he added, 'May 1968 in France let loose thousands of moles who have been progressively gnawing away at the foundations of bourgeois society.'

"Listing the government's setbacks (the Concorde, the rottenness of the police, the 'courageous' stand of the doctors on abortion), Mr. Krivine observed, 'For the last several months, Messmer and the UDR have looked pretty miserable.'

"The head of the Ligue Communiste then analyzed the political situation, noting with some amusement that Servan-Schreiber's Radical party wants to wait for the results of the first round before deciding what to do. On the common program of the Union of the Left, Mr. Krivine said:

"The common program is another blind alley, just like the program of the Popular Front or that of the Liberation. The components of the Union of the Left think social institutions are neutral; they want to build socialism by using the present structures. It's like giving a drinking straw to a fireman and thinking that that makes it a fire extinguisher. The leaders of the Union of the Left are dizzy with the scent of power. If I may say so, they have pulled back on their advanced democracy even before taking power. It's already watered down.

"Naturally, the SP leaders like the present constitution; after all, they wrote it. Even Allende in Chile is going further than the leaders of the Union of the Left. He has now declared that Congress must be dissolved and a referendum held to change the constitution. But Mitterrand explains that he wants to keep Pompidou on. Such is the bridle the Union of the Left is willing to wear. We are forewarned about what their program is. The left parties will respectfully ask the bourgeoisie for permission to build socialism a little at a time.

"For revolutionists, there is only one road to socialism. The bourgeois state must be destroyed and the dictatorship of the proletariat established. But the reformist, Social Democratic, and Stalinist leaders will not have a free hand the way they did in the past. Since 1968, a revolutionary force has come on the scene. It is natural for the bourgeoisie to be afraid of the Union of the Left. It's not Mitterrand they fear, but the dynamic that would be unleashed in the working class if the Union of the Left wins. They're afraid of a working-class upsurge. And they can count on us to do everything we can to organize it. For the first time, thanks to 1968, the question of power is posed.'

"Finally, Mr. Krivine refuted the argument that his group is 'anticommunist': 'We have nothing to learn from those who, party card in hand, don't hesitate to crush the people of Prague, to shoot workers in Poland, to lock up intellectuals in psychiatric hospitals. The title of communist is earned through day-to-day participation in the workers' struggles. The

Soviet version is an assault on socialism and communism. The real anticommunists are the ones who sold out the 1968 strike. Are we just a bunch of dreamers? Well, let's make sure our dream becomes a nightmare for the exploiters and capitulators.'"

Comrade André Fichaut talked about the crucial importance of democracy in the workers' struggles, using as an illustration the recent electrical workers' strike in Brest, of which he was a leader. He showed how the formation of a democratically elected strike committee, working under the permanent control of all the workers and supported by the local union, made sure the strike was run by the workers themselves, not only up to the end of the conflict, but even afterwards in forcing management to live up to its agreements. He stressed that this experience made for a big rise in the consciousness of the workers who had gone through the strike.

In his speech, Bensaid concentrated on demonstrating that the program of the Union of the Left could not lead to socialism. *Le Monde's* account:

"Mr. Daniel Bensaid, member of the Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste, for his part, attacked 'Chevènement's infatuation with Japan,' denouncing the Socialist party secretary's proposal that France attain a growth rate as high as Japan's. He said he was especially surprised to hear Chevènement assert that capital will remain in France provided its profitability is guaranteed. 'That means exploitation will remain,' he said.

"Those who are trying to administer capitalism will be led, whether they like it or not, to impose the rule of capital on the workers. We demand that Pompidou be kicked out and that all bourgeois institutions be swept away. If you start by bending over, you'll wind up crawling. We must stand up straight, fight with daring, and show that we are determined to win."

The last speaker was Comrade Ernest Mandel, who spoke for the Fourth International. He came despite the ban on his traveling to France, imposed in 1968, and his talk was covered by all the media—newspapers, radio, television. The audience gave him a tremendous ovation.

Mandel began, as *Le Monde* report-

ed, by "denouncing the repressive atmosphere in Europe, and he was astounded by 'the blindness of the reformist and Stalinist leaders,' who, he said, 'are sitting on their hands while the revolutionary organizations are being attacked.' Recalling the rise of the Nazis, Mr. Mandel declared that already, in Italy, attacks on the new far left have been followed by attacks on the offices of the Communist party. He asked that all parties claiming allegiance to the working class and the trade-union movement bring about a resurgence of the spirit of solidarity."

Then he strongly stressed the huge upsurge, the growing politicization of the European working masses since May 1968, and the revolutionary crises this is preparing, by virtue of the fact that the workers, despite the reformist policy of the Social Democratic and Stalinist leaders, were tending to challenge capitalist property relations in the factories as well as the power of the capitalist state.

He pointed out that the perspectives of revolutionary struggle thus raised

were made still more favorable by the fact that American imperialism, after its stinging setback in Vietnam, finds it impossible for a whole period to intervene militarily against revolutionary movements elsewhere in the world, especially in Europe.

The last part of his speech was devoted to explaining the kind of socialism we want, the socialism that is now attainable in Europe with its broadly developed productive forces, a socialism that will bear no resemblance whatever to the bureaucratic caricatures and monstrosities.

The meeting also had a good artistic side. The actress Collette Magny presented a tape-recorded story about a recent strike of immigrant workers, most of them North African, at a Penaroya factory in Lyons. And what can we say about the great world-renowned Spanish singer Paco Ibanez. Finally, an Argentine ensemble, the Cedron Quartet, led by Paco Ibanez, evoked the repression in Argentina through remarkable songs, and paid tribute to the Trelew martyrs. □

Uses 'Invasion' as Pretext

Balaguer Moves to Crush Opposition

By David Thorstad

Dominican Republic President Joaquín Balaguer moved swiftly to counter an alleged invasion of his country by a handful of guerrillas early in the morning of February 4. Nearly two weeks later, he had instituted measures assuring himself of virtual dictatorial power, proclaimed the equivalent of a state of emergency, driven his major political opponents underground, and mobilized troops and military hardware in a show of force.

The immediate aim of his sledgehammer approach is thought to be to assure himself of winning a new term in the elections still scheduled for next year.

The circumstances surrounding the alleged invasion are somewhat suspect, not to say preposterous.

The government, in announcing the invasion February 5, claimed that a group of eight to eleven heavily armed

men landed on Caracoles beach east of the city of Azua in the southern part of the country. "The insurgents left behind them the boat in which they arrived," according to a United Press International dispatch from Santo Domingo printed in the February 8 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*. "The government said that inside it they found food, clothing, Dominican money, ammunition, and documents linking the landing to ex-president Juan Bosch." The government did not bother to attempt to explain why guerrillas would leave behind not only incriminating evidence of this nature, but even such obvious necessities as money.

The purpose of the invasion, Balaguer claims, was to divert troops away from the capital, where an uprising was said to have been planned.

In addition, he charged that the invasion had been carried out with the aid of Cuba, but he was forced to admit February 15 that the government still lacked any proof of such a link.

Although a few peasants claimed to have seen the alleged guerrillas, none was apparently able to provide an accurate count of how many there were. The government's figure of eight to eleven stems largely from the estimated capacity of the boat the guerrillas allegedly left behind.

César Medina reported in the February 5 issue of the Dominican daily *Ultima Hora* that peasants in the mountainous region who claim to have seen the guerrillas asserted that the latter "identified themselves as members of the National Army, apparently to avoid suspicion."

Some of the peasants went so far as to claim that they had clashed with the guerrillas. Medina did not say whether it was plausible that a peasant in the Dominican Republic would so readily engage in combat with persons who claimed to be part of the army, nor did he explain how the peasants knew the armed men in question were actually guerrillas and not soldiers. He did note that "thousands of soldiers belonging to the Army regularly carry out training operations in the Ocoa and Constanza mountains" in the region. Thus, the presence of soldiers in the area would presumably not be considered unusual by peasants.

It is possible that some of the peasants may have told their story out of fear of reprisals from Balaguer's troops. "An undetermined number of peasants have been arrested throughout the entire mountainous region of Ocoa and Constanza," Medina wrote. "It has been learned that all those peasants who are in any way suspect are placed under arrest."

Some 2,000 troops have reportedly been sent into the mountainous region to hunt down the handful of "invaders." "Immediately fleets of planes from the Dominican Air Force, armored battalions belonging to the National Army, and ships from the navy moved into the area," wrote Medina. "They are now keeping the entire zone virtually surrounded."

Simultaneously with the announcement of the invasion, government



JOAQUIN BALAGUER

troops surrounded the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo and carried out hundreds of raids on the homes of political figures and former military men and ex-police officials. No figures have been given out on the numbers arrested, but one spokesman for the presidential palace told UPI that "persons considered to be suspect" were being arrested. Others, who have not been taken into custody, are being kept under house arrest.

Among the homes raided were those of Juan Bosch and José Francisco Peña Gómez, leaders of the main opposition party, the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD—Dominican Revolutionary party). Neither was at home at the time and both immediately went into hiding. A few days later, they declared that their party would continue its activities, hereafter underground.

Soon after the announcement of the invasion, Juan López, general secretary of the Federación de Estudiantes Dominicanos (FED—Dominican Students Federation), said that "this governmental fraud must be energetically denounced," according to a report in *Ultima Hora* February 5. He went on to call on students and the people as a whole "to remain in a state of alert, because the nature of the military and police movements in the

capital and in other towns in the interior, as well as all the raids carried out this morning, presage an escalation of repression against the entire opposition movement."

Mirna Santos, widow of a student and political leader who had died in his home by an assassin's bullet, accused the government of attacking the revolutionary movement and in particular the widows and relatives of political prisoners and assassinated political figures. "For me this is nothing but another way for the government to repress us," she said, "after getting rid of our husbands, and I wonder if what they did to them wasn't enough."

From Madrid, General Elías Wessin y Wessin, former head of the Dominican Air Force who led the government troops in putting down the 1965 rebellion, accused Balaguer of fabricating the entire incident, according to an Associated Press dispatch in the February 8 issue of *El Diario*. "Based on contacts I have had directly with people in Santo Domingo," he said, "I believe that this whole thing is a show organized by Balaguer's government itself in order to destroy the political opposition."

Bosch and other unnamed political figures are being sought by the government and charged with being the "instigators" of the guerrilla plot. They are being threatened with "appropriate judicial action."

From hiding, Bosch emphatically denied any connection with the "real or imagined landing of guerrillas on the southern coast of the country," according to a statement published in the February 6 issue of the Santo Domingo newspaper *El Caribe*. He added that "neither I nor any other leader of the PRD has the slightest idea of what could have brought about this incident."

"We think that the aim of these outrages is to get us out of the country by taking advantage of a general state of confusion, since Doctor Balaguer thinks that our deportation would greatly aid him in his plan to get himself reelected—something that has become a veritable obsession for him."

On February 15, Balaguer announced that the present security measures, including the virtual siege of the university, will remain in effect

"as long as the present emergency situation continues."

On February 16, the government announced that its army had killed four of the guerrillas. It identified one as former Colonel Francisco Alberto Caamaño Deñó. UPI reported February 17 that the body said to be that of Caamaño was dumped into a crude grave. "Three newsmen with

the Government force pursuing the guerrillas concurred in dispatches that the body was that of Mr. Caamaño," UPI reported.

Caamaño was the leader of the rebel forces during the 1965 effort to return Bosch to the presidency. He disappeared in 1967 from his post as the Dominican Republic's military attaché in London. □

Advertisement in 'Haaretz'

Israeli Human Rights League Demands Inquiry Into Charges of Torture

[The trial of six of the defendants in the case of the Israeli "espionage and sabotage network" began on February 11. According to the February 12 *New York Times*, the lawyer for Daniel Vered, one of the two Jewish defendants, refused to enter a plea on the grounds that police had confiscated twenty pages of written instructions that his client had prepared for him while in prison.

[Ehud Adiv, the other Jewish defendant, admitted talking to a Syrian intelligence agent in Athens and Beirut, but denied passing information intended to harm state security. The four Arab defendants pleaded not guilty.

[Previous issues of *Intercontinental Press* have reported on the witch-hunt hysteria the government has unleashed around the "spy" case. Several of the defendants have charged that they have been tortured by Israeli authorities, an accusation that has been lightly dismissed by the government.

[The following declaration exposes the regime's lies on this score. It was placed as a paid advertisement in the January 15 issue of *Haaretz*, Israel's largest-circulation morning daily, by the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights (Post Office Box 14192, Tel Aviv).]

* * *

This is not the first time that Israeli authorities have been accused of beating and torturing prisoners:

1. Dr. M. Shalgi, justice of the peace, ordered the immediate release without

bail of a burglary suspect who complained "that he was beaten with a plank during the time of his arrest, and was threatened that a confession would be gotten out of him by means of giving him injections" (*Maariv*, March 27, 1972).

2. "My client was beaten by the police and was severely injured while held in handcuffs," charged lawyer Mira Lidsky to the presiding judge in a Tel Aviv magistrate's court in another case (*Maariv*, January 24, 1972).

3. "When (the accused Emanuel Ze'evi) appeared in court with his torso covered with plaster, the defendant complained that the police had connected his genital organs to an electric current and had afterwards beaten him with sticks in order to make him yield to their demands" (*Haaretz*, April 12, 1972).

The only reaction of the authorities in these cases, and on many others, has been to say, "It never happened."

This time, after the suspects made grave complaints about being beaten during the time of their arrest, and after these complaints had been made known to the public, Mr. Shlomo Hillel, the minister of police, saw fit to declare that "the suspects did not complain to their lawyers" (*Haaretz*, January 15, 1973).

In contrast to this, the facts are:

(a) The suspect Rami Livneh told his lawyer, Ali Rafa, that he had been beaten and later repeated this declaration at the Haifa court before Judge Mrs. M. Verlinsky.

(b) The suspect Meli Lerman told his lawyer, Felicia Langer, that he

had been beaten and repeated this declaration to Judge Mrs. Verlinsky.

(c) The suspect Ali Shahbar told his lawyer, A. Darawsha, that he had been beaten.

(d) The suspect Dan Vered stated that at the prison he had been beaten until blood was drawn and that, as a result of the beatings he received in both his face and other parts of his body, an eardrum had broken and he could not hear in one ear. His lawyer, Beni Brener from the law offices of Caspi, appealed to the minister of police about this (*Yediot Aharonot*, January 16, 1973).

In the light of this testimony, it should be clear to the general public that the *police minister's* statements that "there is not the slightest shadow of truth behind the claims that the police or the interrogators tortured the prisoners," and that "the suspects did not complain to their lawyers" about beatings and torture *are contrary to the facts*.

The police minister owes us an answer!!!

We demand: The creation of an independent investigation committee in order to bring out the truth about the accusations of prisoners being beaten and tortured. The guilty should be brought to trial! □

Burgoa Deported

Delfina Burgoa, a 68-year-old member of the Bolivian Commission for Human Rights, has been deported to Mexico. She had been imprisoned without charges by the regime of President Hugo Banzer since April 4, 1972 (see *Intercontinental Press*, January 15, 1973, p. 16). Although the La Paz daily *Hoy* announced that her release was part of a Christmas amnesty, Burgoa did not arrive in Mexico until January 25, 1973.

The former public-school teacher was arrested in connection with the confiscation of a book written by her son. While in a La Paz jail, Burgoa was tortured; three of her ribs were broken. She was later transferred to Achocalla, a concentration camp for women in a cold and desolate region outside the capital.

Burgoa's release followed an international campaign on her behalf initiated by the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Leading scholars, artists, and civil libertarians, including Noam Chomsky, Jules Feiffer, Ramon Arbona, and Jose Irizarry, protested to President Banzer against the savage mistreatment accorded her. □

Behind the Valpreda Case

[The following article appeared in the February 8 issue of *La Gauche*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs (Revolutionary Workers' League), Belgian section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The Face of Repression

Last September, the newspaper *Lotta Continua* stated that there are more political prisoners in Italy today than there were at the height of fascism. The far-left organizations estimate that some 70 percent of their members are either in prison, under preventive detention, or being prosecuted.

Between March 1 and June 6, 1972, a total of 1,272 persons were arrested, sentenced, or indicted for political crimes—participating in demonstrations, strikes, press offenses, distribution of political literature, etc.

In mid-July 1972, the trade unions revealed that 3,340 workers had been indicted since January 1971. Here are some examples of the wave of repression:

- July 1972: forty-five members of Potere Operaio [Workers Power] were indicted for "association with malefactors" and for "subversive and anti-national propaganda."

- End of July 1972: 300 members of *Lotta Continua* arrested; same charges.

- Beginning of August 1972: 217 members of a Marxist-Leninist organization arrested in Turin; same charges.

- End of July 1972 in Cagliari (Sardinia): 146 workers were informed that they were being prosecuted for striking repeatedly over a two-year period.

Italian police have an excellent file system that allows them to administer doses of repression and to prosecute members of any group depending on the exigencies of the moment. The wave of indictments has been accom-

panied by spectacular police actions. (On August 10, 1972, for example, 5,166 carabinieri carried out interrogations of 400,000 persons.)

Now, this repression is mainly aimed at the radical base of the trade-union movement and at the extraparliamentary far left.

Two names stand out as symbolic of this policy: Pietro Valpreda and Giangiacomo Feltrinelli.

The 'Anarchist Monster'

Pietro Valpreda was arrested on December 15, 1969, after a bomb exploded in a Milan bank, killing fourteen and wounding dozens. The attack was timely for the regime: The long, hot summer of 1969 and the strike wave that preceded it had triggered an unprecedented radicalization, the effect of which was a series of factory occupations and formation of factory councils.

Immediately, the police investigation of the bombing went after only the left. The year 1970 opened with a series of searches and arrests, followed by a press campaign directed not only against the extraparliamentary left but also against the traditional organizations of the workers' movement (socialist, communist, and trade-union). At the same time, attacks and demonstrations by fascists were on the rise.

Government officials, magistrates, police commissioners, and bourgeois spokesmen all denounced the actions of the allegedly "opposite but complementary extremisms"—the far left's excesses supposedly preparing the ground for the far right.

The Italian Communist party seemed to support this view also, since it called for opposing the rise of fascism with the formation of an "anti-fascist front" oriented toward the right-wing parties. Also, after the bombing, the unions called off a big strike.

It was also the far left alone that tried to prove Valpreda's innocence. In 1970, the Trotskyist publishing house Samona and Savelli published

Etat massacre, the results of a vigorous counterinvestigation. The work named the men whom the Justice Ministry now considers the prime suspects in the Milan bombings: the fascists Freda and Ventura and—the "brains" behind the whole thing—Pino Rauti, leader of the neofascist Movimento Sociale Italiano [MSI—Italian Social Movement] and the Italian far right's liaison with the Greek colonels.

The Witnesses Disappear

It took four years for the Justice Ministry to get around to finding the perpetrators of this provocation that the bureaucratic-police apparatus had so skillfully used against the left. In the meantime, three leading editors of the far-left newspaper *Lotta Continua* had been convicted of publishing articles on the Valpreda affair without the traditional left parties, Socialist or Communist, coming to their defense.

The police obstinately refused to seek the guilty ones any place but in the far-left organizations. This is especially suspect since both a police spy and a few fascist provocateurs had been operating in the March 22 Circles, the group to which Valpreda belonged.

In the course of the investigation fourteen (14!) witnesses died, most often under mysterious or very improbable circumstances. One of them supposedly threw himself out the window of a hospital; there were several other "suicides." The first examining magistrate to start looking into the far right, Mr. Sinagra from Milan, was indicted in February 1972 for revealing professional secrets. Magistrate Stiz from Treviso, the man who definitively directed the investigation toward the far right, was obliged for several months to carry the results of the investigation on his person.

In May 1972 Commissioner Calabresi, the man responsible for the investigation of what happened to the anarchist Pinelli, was attacked in front of his house. (Pinelli was arrested with Valpreda, but died when he "fell out of the window of police headquarters in Milan.")

'While Handling Explosives'

The red hunt was interrupted by

Intercontinental Press

the Feltrinelli affair. This world-renowned far-left publisher had previously been bothered by the police on nit-picking charges. In March 1972 his horribly mangled body was found at the base of an electric-power pylon. The police had their story all prepared: Feltrinelli wanted to launch an urban guerrilla war and was killed while handling explosives with which he was trying to blow up the power line.

A lawyer from Genoa, former Communist party member Carlo Lazagna, was held in custody for *five months* because his car was found in the vicinity of the power pylon. Then the investigation was quashed; we will soon see why.

In the meantime — coincidentally enough, just before the triennial renewing of collective bargaining for wage contracts — repression against the left was intensified. In the course of the election campaign, responses to fascist provocations served as excuses for innumerable indictments against far-left militants. Sentences were heavy: from several months to several years in prison.

Thus, on June 13, 1972, two members of Potere Operaio got five months in jail on charges of "inciting to overthrow the state." More than ever, it is the laws of the fascist 1931 penal code (still in force) that are being applied, and in a typically fascist manner. It is in this atmosphere that the fascist leader Almirante was able to call for "physical conflict with the communists" and in this atmosphere that the attacks by fascist goons cost the life of Mario Lupo, a member of Lotta Continua who was stabbed to death in Parma on August 25, 1972.

The Minister of the Interior Covers Up . . . And Protects

Thus, the Valpreda affair supplied the kickoff for a huge campaign of antiworker and anticommunist repression that went so far as to hit even the Socialist party, a member of the government coalition. It is easy to see who profited by the crime. But today, we also know who organized it and who carried it out. Not the "anarchist monster" Valpreda (that's what the police commissioner called him) and his comrades Borghese and



ALMIRANTE: Calls for physical attacks on the Communists.

Gargamelli (who were finally freed in December 1972 after *three years* preventive detention), but rather the fascists — "citizens above suspicion" like Freda, Ventura, and Rauti. (Rauti, because of parliamentary immunity, is still on the loose.)

These fascist terrorists had already been spotted before the Milan massacre occurred by the Padua chief commissioner Juliano, who was seeking the perpetrators of a bombing attack in that city. But suddenly, the main prosecution witness was killed. As for Commissioner Juliano, he was brought to trial!

The Valpreda investigation came off in the same manner. Reports denouncing the fascists as responsible "disappeared" in the files of the "political branch" of the Milan or Rome police stations or in the "secret affairs" archives of the Ministry of the Interior. It was the same with the evidence. In short, it was strictly *Z*, Italian-style, which is all the more understandable when one considers the many dealings the Italian far right has with the Athens regime.

While all this was going on, the Italian far left was waging a campaign around the case of Valpreda and his friends, and the militancy of the working class was on the rise. And there is nothing like an atmo-

sphere of popular mobilization and proletarian militancy for giving the magistrates a little backbone and making them independent of the regime. In the end, the actions of a few honest magistrates enabled them to reveal the plot. On charges of stealing and destroying evidence that would have allowed for immediate identification of those responsible for the Milan massacre, three high officials were indicted: Bonaventura Provenza, head of the political branch of the Rome police; Antonio Allegra, head of the political branch of the Milan police (he was the one in charge of the "investigation" of Feltrinelli's death); and Elvio Cartenacci, former director of the bureau of "secret affairs" in the Ministry of the Interior.

Watchdogs and Armed Bands: Same Struggle

So it is at the summit that the guilty ones are found. The bourgeois state apparatus, led by the minister of the interior, covered for, protected, and encouraged fascist terrorists. And, just to show that the collusion between the watchdogs and armed bands of capital is still continuing, the two magistrates who compiled the investigation have been penalized. Judge Stiz was transferred to civil affairs; Judge Firsconaro has been retired for "administrative reasons."

All this has been scarcely mentioned in the bourgeois press. *Le Monde*, always so faithful to complete objectivity, thought it had to lace its report on the freeing of the "anarchist dancer" [Valpreda is a dancer] with a nuanced version of the theory of "opposite extremisms" (there's the objectivity!). Then it was forced to publish a letter from the far-left newspaper *Il Manifesto* informing its readers that the Valpreda affair had become the Italian Dreyfus case. (The *Manifesto* group symbolically ran Valpreda as a candidate in the last elections; this was supported by the Italian section of the Fourth International.)

Against the Fascist Beast and the Armed Bands of Capital: Workers' Self-Defense

Still, only a corner of the veil has

been lifted so far. The ties between the state apparatus and fascist and criminal gangs are innumerable. Thus, the Italian parliament appointed an anti-Mafia commission; they all resigned—except one, and he is specifically an agent of the "honorable society" whose connections with the Italian Christian Democrats are well known. The MSI is able to stage its provocation with impunity under the zealous protection of the police and counting on its parliamentary supporters, like General De Lorenzo, former commander of the carabinieri (and once implicated in a conspiracy of SIFAR, the military intelligence)

and Admiral Birinobres, formerly a high commander of NATO.

The Italian working class must react to the mass-based fascist terror, to the systematic provocations, to the witch-hunt and police repression. Last October's show of force in the fascist fief Reggio de Calabre, when 50,000 metalworkers marched, and the following nationwide strike, were a step forward in becoming conscious of this need. The vanguard organizations must contribute to the mobilization of the working class and to the organization of workers' self-defense, without bothering about a fake "legality." □

give up their studies and report for military service. On February 14, police broke up meetings on the campus of the polytechnic institute, arresting dozens of students. Eleven were scheduled to go to trial on February 17.

The February 16 student action that was attacked by the police began as a rally against the draft law and in defense of the eleven indicted students. It started at the University of Athens Law School. When the students were confronted by a large contingent of armed police, they occupied two floors of the university building and held a five-hour-long rally inside. The *New York Times* reported that the main slogans chanted were "Fascism will not pass," "Down with the decree," and "Freedom for the eleven."

When police moved to clear the students out of the building, some of the demonstrators tried to move peacefully to the downtown area, where they were assaulted by the cops.

The police attack seems not to have succeeded in intimidating the students into silence. The February 18 *New York Times* reported that on February 17 medical students at Athens University voted to declare a boycott of classes in solidarity with the engineering students. □

Students Refuse to Back Down

Athens Police Attack Demonstrators

Four hundred club-swinging policemen attacked students demonstrating against government repression in downtown Athens on February 16. According to the February 17 *New York Times*, 100 students were arrested and "many" were beaten in one of the most serious clashes between the regime and the student movement since the colonels took over Greece in 1965.

The immediate reason for the student demonstration was a new repressive law passed in Athens on February 12. But the student turmoil dates back at least as far as last autumn and has shown signs of developing sufficient strength to pose grave challenges to the junta for the first time in years.

In October 1972, as part of a low-key campaign to restore some trappings of democracy, the colonels yielded to student demands for new elections to student government councils on university campuses. The regime gave great publicity to the move.

But students soon discovered that the "elections" would be carried out under the watchful eye of the police and that candidates frowned upon by the junta would stand little chance of getting their views across. Many students therefore boycotted the elections as a sham.

But the antijunta movement on cam-

pus continued to grow. In mid-January students at the Metsovion Polytechnic Institute in Athens, the country's most prestigious engineering academy, began demonstrating for increased university autonomy and for more student control over the university.

At the end of January, some 1,500 students at the polytechnic institute held a demonstration under the slogans "Down with fascism" and "We want to be free." The government responded by locking the students out of class, and the students retaliated by calling a strike in which about 4,000 participated.

Then, on February 12, the junta tried a new repressive tactic. A law was passed empowering the defense minister to revoke the draft deferments of students who boycott classes, urge others to do so, are disciplined for any reason by the university administration, or violate any of twenty-five offenses under the penal code ranging from resisting arrest to spreading false rumors. Minister of Education Nikolaos Gadonas followed up the decree with a statement warning students not to be misled by "outside instigators."

The new law was applied almost immediately. By February 16, eighty-eight students had been ordered to

Ahoy!

A Hamburg firm is offering special burials at sea for a scant \$222 a shot. The price includes both transportation by luxury yacht to a select spot in the North Sea and an appropriate ceremony: engines are stopped, the flag is lowered, sea shanties are played from a tape recorder, and an urn containing the client's remains is slid into the sea.

Relatives of the deceased are given a chart marking the burial spot and a copy of the page of the yacht's log on which the death is recorded.

In general, citizens are free to choose their spots at will, but the city code expressly forbids scattering of ashes over the waves.

City cemetery officials seem amenable to the sea-borne competition, but they offer two bits of advice to prospective candidates. First, relatives are urged to weight down the urn; otherwise it could be carried back to shore at the first big blow. Also, fishing grounds should be shunned in order to avoid unwanted and embarrassing exhumation.

In Bremen, city regulations are more strict. The law stipulates that a person can be buried at sea only if he or she can prove that "my whole love was always the sea."

Makarios Wins New Term in Cyprus

It might seem difficult for a president who received more than 95 percent of the vote in one election to improve his percentage in the next one. But Cyprus's Archbishop Makarios, who also holds the secular post of president, has done just that.

In the 1968 elections, Makarios got about 97.5 percent against Takis Evdokas. This year, the balloting had been scheduled for February 18. According to the election law, candidates had to declare themselves by February 8. When the deadline came, no one had come forward to oppose Makarios, who is supported by the 12,000-strong Communist party and by the Greek Cypriot upper-middle class, which has been raking in record profits under the archbishop's reign. So on that day, the election was canceled and Makarios was inaugurated by acclamation for another five-year term.

But the fact that the election was uncontested does not mean that there is no anti-Makarios opposition on the island. Two major political forces have not given up their efforts to oust the archbishop. One was prohibited under Cypriot law from running in the presidential election; the other chose not to run.

Cyprus has a population of 650,000. Of the total, about 100,000 are of Turkish ancestry and have lived on the island since the days of the Ottoman empire. According to the constitution that took effect when Cyprus won its independence from Great Britain in 1960, the president is elected only by Greek Cypriots. The Turkish community elects the vice president in a separate election held simultaneously with the presidential balloting (February 18 this year).

Since 1960, the Turkish community has generally favored partitioning the island into Turkish and Greek zones as an alternative to the country's union with Greece (*enosis*). Periodically, British imperialism has incited intercommunal civil war as a means of preserving its control over Cyprus, an English presence naturally being necessary to maintain peace and quiet.

The majority of the Greek Cypriot



MAKARIOS: No opponent is even better than 95 percent.

population fought against British rule under the slogan of *enosis*. But after the colonels' coup in Athens, the people's desire for union with the "Hellenic center" cooled somewhat. Makarios became an advocate of Cypriot independence, while still holding out *enosis* as a long-term goal.

In the autumn of 1971, General George Grivas, an extreme rightist who was one of the leaders of the war against the British, returned "clandestinely" to Cyprus from Greece. He has since organized armed bands to fight for immediate *enosis* and has become Makarios's major rival among the Greek community. His forces refused to run a candidate in the elections this year.

But on the eve of the February 8 re-inauguration of Makarios, Grivas's bands carried out their largest-scale guerrilla action of recent years. Simultaneous attacks on twenty police stations, most of them rural outposts, were staged by an estimated 150 to 200 commandos. There were few casualties. In most cases the Grivasites

simply held the local police under guard, stole some small arms and explosives, and disappeared. Three police headquarters were dynamited.

The raids seemed intended to serve a political rather than military purpose. Makarios's vulnerability was demonstrated (in no case were the government police prepared for the assault, and there was virtually no resistance to the theft of weapons), and Grivas made clear the fact that he has not given up his efforts to oust the archbishop. In addition to the guerrilla attacks, the Grivasites called on the population of the capital, Nicosia, to boycott the February 8 rally at which Makarios was re-inaugurated.

That appeal was a failure. The crowd at the pro-Makarios demonstration was variously estimated at 50,000 to 100,000 to 200,000. In any case, it was one of Cyprus's largest rallies ever.

It is presently unclear whether Grivas's raids were carried out with the approval of the Athens junta. In the past, the colonels have provided the *enosis* advocates with both political and material support. Recently, however, Athens appears to have withdrawn some of its backing. The Greek-Turkish dispute over Cyprus has been an embarrassment to the United States, which fears that two countries of NATO's "northern tier" could be drawn into armed conflict over the Cyprus question.

To avoid that eventuality, negotiations were opened in late 1971 between representatives of the Turkish and Greek communities and the United Nations. They were suspended during the Cypriot election period, but are scheduled to resume on February 28.

Last November, the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that a tentative agreement on the future of Cyprus had been reached. Implementation of it was said to have been postponed until sometime after the February elections. In this context, it is not clear whether Grivas's sudden escalation of guerrilla activity represents a new Athens-inspired attempt to override the negotiations by bringing down Makarios, an independent flurry of activity on Grivas's own part, or an attempt to strengthen the pro-Athens position in the negotiations. □

Argentine CP Rejects Workers Front

[The following article, entitled "Another Betrayal by the Communist Party," appeared in the January 18 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

"Frankly, I'm not very enthusiastic about Alende or Sueldo [candidates of the Alianza Popular (Popular Alliance)]. But the CP is banned and so it can't run its own candidates. And since the elections are going to be held, what we are trying to do is to use our vote to repudiate the most reactionary sectors."

These words of a Communist compañero call attention to a fact that our party too has been denouncing—the existence of a Repression of Communism Law that bans the CP and that constitutes a threat to all revolutionary activists. And we agree with the compañero on the need also to use the elections to confront the agents of big capital and the monopolies, and those who are responsible for repression and anticommunism. But the truth is that voting for Alende and Sueldo will not accomplish this.

'Alianza Popular' Is No Guarantee

Some compañeros have replied to us by asserting that "it is not a question of people but of programs. Let's vote for the Alianza because it is anti-imperialist." But don't they think that it is important to see who will be applying a particular program and how they intend to do it? Just remember that this same Alende joined Frondizi in supporting an anti-imperialist program as far back as 1958, and then after winning the votes of the Peronists and Communists, they gave back the oil to the Yankees! Don't forget that Alende supported the Onganía coup in 1966, that a year later he approved "the realistic measures

of Krieger Vasena" [an economics minister associated with a conservative fiscal policy], and finally that he was the greatest defender of continuing in office the second government of the "Argentine Revolution" [the military dictatorship] by supporting Levingston and his minister Ferrer.

Sueldo offers no greater guarantees. His anti-imperialist veneer can't quite hide his ties to the reactionary policy of the church, which is interested in creating reformist currents as a way of diverting the masses from revolution. Sueldo has opposed the socialist transformations in Cuba and supports the maneuvers of Frei, the obvious head of the Chilean reactionary forces that are opposing the workers and peasants who want to march ahead to socialism.

Both are known anticommunists. During his regime, Alende repressed the left and went so far as to initiate, along with Gelsi, the formation of an anticommunist Investigating Commission. As late as 1967, he warned that if "we let ourselves be influenced by the issues raised by the left, which is basically interested in the disintegration and corruption of the country, then we are lost."

Sueldo has shown his true colors by preventing the CP from joining the alliance "because it is an illegal party" and by maneuvering to exclude Communist candidates.

Just think about these precedents. Remember too that Alende and Sueldo supported the imposition of "free education," which meant involving the church in education and liquidating the state school. In light of these things, it is obvious why we say that supporting this ticket is a betrayal of the workers and of socialism.

Workers Must Vote for Workers

The Communist leader R. Iscaro said that "the efforts of the CP are oriented toward reaching an agreement with other forces equally prepared to defend the interests of the people, including in the electoral are-

na, with the aim of giving the workers the opportunity to vote against the government and the right as a whole."

The workers need an alternative in March, but it cannot be the "Alianza Popular." It is not the alternative because of its history of betrayals and because those involved in it themselves say that they are part of the "National Movement" along with Perón and the FREJULI [Frente Justicialista de Liberación—Justicialist Liberation Front]; and both Sueldo and Sandler have already indicated that they will go together with the FREJULI on the second ballot in March. And this should not surprise us because they too are an alliance of bosses and professors in the service of the bourgeoisie who have joined with some sellout trade-union leaders like Basualdo, the top bureaucrat in FOTIA [Federación Obrera Tucumana de la Industria Azucarera—Federation of Tucumán Workers in the Sugar Industry]. If the CP wants "to give the workers the opportunity to vote against the government," the way to do it is not to make a big fuss trying to come up with some bourgeois disguised as a progressive. The way was and is to collaborate in building a Front of the Workers that will run workers' and socialist candidates. The workers want to vote against the government, but the best way to do this is to vote for workers. To this end, our party called on the Communists to join this front, where they will not be discriminated against because they are "illegal" or for any other such strange reason.

Today we are insisting again. Do not call for support to professors who defend "free education" and who are friends of the church, the military, and anticommunism. Work together side by side with us in the Committees of Support to the Front of the Workers and in the Socialist Front. Let this be our starting point in developing support for the demands of the people and the workers, and let us together build, from the bottom up, the great force that will make it possible to get rid of exploitation and to build a socialist Argentina. □

Prefer Real Money

Macao's gambling casinos refused for the first time on February 12 to accept U. S. dollars.

PST Candidate Fights for Women's Rights

[Nora Ciapponi is the vice-presidential candidate of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) in the coming elections in Argentina. The following interview with her was published in the January 18 issue of the PST's weekly newspaper, *Avanzada Socialista*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Ciapponi. Our party is placing a great deal of importance on the inclusion of women in its slates of candidates. This should serve as an example to all working women so that they can begin the struggle to free themselves from the double exploitation they suffer—as workers and as women.

Avanzada Socialista. Could you describe this double exploitation?

Ciapponi. We women do not enjoy the same rights as men in this capitalist society. We receive different wages for doing the same work, and the woman who works outside the home also works inside the home. In addition, there are no child-care centers paid for by the state that could lighten the task of bringing up the children of working women. Nor are there free laundries to take some of the load off their backs.

Another example is that of women who do not work outside the home, and thus when they get old they become a burden for their children and other members of their families. This happens because housework is not recognized as productive labor by the governments of the bosses, and thus it merits neither a salary nor a pension. This condemns women to lifelong dependency on the husband and other relatives.

It is common knowledge that in offices and business it is difficult for female employees to reach the position of supervisor or manager. The fact that the overwhelming majority of those involved in education are

women does not prevent there being many more directors and superintendents of the male sex. Not to mention the universities (there is not even one female university rector) or technical bodies like the Atomic Energy Commission. It was not too long ago that one big daily newspaper in the capital tried to force female journalists to sign their articles with a male pseudonym. It seems that the director thought that the paper would lose prestige if it was known that women wrote for it.

A. S. What influence do these disadvantages have on the situation of women in our country?

Ciapponi. All this means that women are left totally on the fringes of social, trade-union, and political activity since they lack the means to take part in it. For example, I am a textile worker and in the years that I have been active in the union I never knew of a female trade-union leader—in spite of the fact that eighty percent of the textile workers are women.

A. S. Are there clear proscriptions against women holding union posts?

Ciapponi. No, that's not the way it works. Several factors are involved. First, time limitations, for the reasons that I already mentioned. Second, social education, which tries to convince women that they are incapable of doing any such thing. And finally, the bosses and the trade-union leaders have distorted the image of women who devote themselves to such activities. For example, it is very common for leaders who have sold out to give opportunities to women who are ready to give in to all kinds of requests.

As a result of these factors, and in order not to get involved in this kind of atmosphere, many compañeras who would like to seriously take part in trade-union struggles do not decide to organize to defend their

rights and to win a representative leadership for the union.

A. S. What you're saying about the situation in the unions is also true for politics.

Ciapponi. It's even worse. Women play practically no role whatsoever in politics. The parties of the bosses use them only to look after the paper or take care of the headquarters. They are only rarely found in important party posts or running as prominent candidates. For instance, of the eighteen people on presidential tickets, I am the only woman. The same goes for the provincial slates. Ours is the only party running two compañeras (in Córdoba and Buenos Aires). The reason is that just as we want a classless society, we also aspire toward equality between men and women. In a certain sense, we want to show by example that women are as capable as men of holding prominent posts and that they must be given the same right to do so; and we also want to indicate how serious our policy along this line would be if we were in power.

A. S. Would you like to say anything to working compañeras and to women in general?

Ciapponi. I want to call on them to struggle for their rights, for without this struggle socialists will be able to do very little. And one way of doing this is to back the Workers' Front, which supports the rights of women. The support committees for the workers' candidates of the Front must become a place where women can get involved in this struggle. □

Ceylon Public Relations

"Mrs. Bandaranaike said that the public felt that when they entered a police station they were first treated to a blow. Some police officers too thought that the best thing was to sock a person in the jaw first. That was not the correct approach.

"Though force had to [be] used sometimes, the best way to secure public cooperation was not by assaulting those who came to the police station."—*Ceylon News* report of Bandaranaike's latest talk to police recruits.

Lanusse's Government at Crossroads

[The following article, entitled "The Government at the Crossroads," was published in the January 24 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The military chiefs are worried. So are the bourgeois politicians and the bosses as a whole.

There is no lack of reasons for this, for the economic outlook remains bleak, in spite of the good crops. The bosses know that their plans are resting on a fragile and shaky foundation: there is no hope of solving the economic and social crisis, the state deficit continues to mount, and they have already given up any attempt to stop inflation. But what they are most worried about is the discontent that is beginning to surface in the workers' movement after a year in which the bureaucracy has generally managed to keep the lid on struggles.

The bosses need a pilot who can guide them through troubled waters, who they can have confidence will govern the country with a firm hand, and who will have the authority to negotiate with the workers' movement and to harmonize the interests of the big landholders, the industrialists, the medium-scale stockgrowers, etc. The search for this judge whose word is law has taken up the time of the bourgeois politicians, but fear of workers' struggles is still there without any hope of getting rid of it, while the noose of economic difficulties is tightening and discontent is obvious. All this is reflected in the hard line taken in political speeches, in Lanusse's nervousness, and in the discussions going on in the army. So it is that the "pact of guarantees" for the armed forces is again being presented as an ultimatum. And the most alarmist versions talk about right-wing coups within the regime and troop movements.

The situation is a difficult one for

the bourgeois order, and it will not end with the discovery of any great leader that can save it. Lanusse presented himself as this person, but the political situation and the loss of prestige the workers' struggles have brought the government appear to have "used him up"; the clever political leader for whom the bosses clamor can't be Cámpora [the top Peronist candidate]; and Balbín [head of the Radical party], who is doing a balancing act so he can remain on the good side of Peronism without breaking relations with the army, will not end up convincing the other parties and the bosses.

Nevertheless, necessity breeds impudence, and some kind of "arrangement" may be worked out. It is in hopes of doing so that they have come up with the idea of having two rounds in the March elections: Once the electoral weight of each party has been established, the military will be able to make its weight felt by stepping in and dividing up the spoils. No candidate will get more than fifty-one percent of the votes, and this opens

Sweden's Olof Hjort

A Revolutionary Sculptor Since 1919

Last year, Swedish sculptor Olof Hjort held his first one-man show. "He was thirty years old when he decided to become an artist," wrote Hans-Axel Holm in a feature article on the sculptor in the January 23 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*. That was in 1919. Hjort is now eighty-four years old.

A number of his works are portraits of revolutionary figures, among them Trotsky and Lenin. "The largest is of Trotsky," Holm noted. "He began to work on it in 1936. Olof Hjort, who was a member of the Communist party, sided with Trotsky against Stalin." Hjort said the portrait of Trotsky was relatively easy and took only a few years to complete.

"Word about the portrait of Lenin once

up the possibility that it will be the armed forces themselves who, after March 11, will propose "the man who can bring about unity and agreement" — and that they will do so with the backing of the Radicals and the Peronists. Anything to save the existing institutions. . . .

With or without a "certificate of guarantees," no bourgeois agreement is going to guarantee a stop to our starvation wages, an end to unemployment, and the salvation of the country from imperialist penetration and capitalist exploitation.

In order to bring this about, we workers must reach our own kind of agreement. We must agree to struggle for a minimum wage of 1,200 pesos [U.S.\$1 equals approximately 10 pesos] and a fifty percent hike in wages beginning with last December, and to kick the bureaucrats out of our unions. We must agree to follow the example of the *compañeros* of SOMISA [Sociedad Mixta Sociedad Anónima—Mixed Corporation] and TENSA [Talleres Electromecánicos Norte Sociedad Anónima—Northern Electrical-Mechanical Works Company]. This is the agreement around which the Front of the Workers will be built, and we must develop and maintain it not only in union struggles but also in the political arena. If we all join together, we can do it. □

reached the Soviet embassy," Holm reported, "and people from the embassy wanted to come up to the studio to take a look at it, which they later did. Hjort's friends advised him to cover up the portrait of Trotsky with a blanket during the visit of the people from the embassy."

Hjort did not go along with this reasoning. "If they can't stand to look at Trotsky, then they'll just have to go without seeing Lenin," he replied.

During the interview, Holm noticed on the sofa the latest issue of *Mullvaden*, the Swedish Trotskyist newspaper. He described Hjort as "completely Trotskyist, and he also says that he has faith in the future and that he himself counts on hold-out until he reaches at least the age of ninety." □

'Terrorist Law' Proposed in Sweden

In a blatant move to restrict civil liberties, the Swedish government has proposed adoption of a measure that has become known as the "terrorist law." The proposed law is to come up for consideration by the Riksdag (parliament) February 20.

Theoretically, the law, which was first proposed last December, is the Swedish government's response to last year's plane hijacking by anticommunist Yugoslav exiles in Sweden. In fact, however, its wording is so vague that it could also be applied to groups on the left and members of national liberation movements in the colonial world residing in Sweden. Indeed, the law must be seen as an integral part of the international "terrorist" campaign launched by the major capitalist powers—particularly the United States—in 1972.

The law states that any foreigner can be expelled from or kept out of Sweden "if there is good reason to assume that he belongs to or works for a political organization or group that, it is feared here in the kingdom, uses force, threats, or coercion in its political activity."

The proposed law includes certain "guarantees" apparently designed to prevent it from being interpreted too broadly. The "guarantees," however, are far from adequate.

One, for instance, says that the measure is aimed only at "presumed international terrorists," that is, persons who "are prepared to carry out, or who arrange to have carried out, acts of violence in a third country." This is apparently intended to mean that no members or sympathizers of a liberation movement who limit their activity to their own country can be placed on the blacklist or prosecuted.

Nevertheless, even if such a movement limits its activity to its own country, its activity can be viewed under the proposed law as "international terrorism" if it "has been directed against the interests of a third country." The perniciousness of the proposed law is clear in view of the fact that by their very nature colonial liberation movements direct their activities against the

interests of the colonial mother country.

"If the 'terrorist' law had been in effect at the beginning of the sixties," noted the January issue of the Swedish monthly *Kommentar*, "any representative of the NLF to this country could have been expelled, or he could have become the victim of police raids, had his telephone bugged, and had his mail inspected." All the police would have had to do is point to "terrorist activity" of the Vietnamese liberation forces directed against the American "advisers."

"Greater control and supervision of certain foreigners must be exercised so that Sweden should not become a haven for people who belong to foreign terrorist organizations," said cabinet minister Carl Lidbom when the law was first proposed in December.

Catherine von Heidenstam noted in the January 29 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter* that the proposed law follows on the heels of a September 22, 1972, directive to the police according to which "every member or sympathizer of [Swedish] revolutionary groups is to be registered by the secret police. Now the terrorist law provides that even foreigners will be classified according to their opinions. Foreigners who the Swedish or the international police say are members of organizations that the police consider to be 'terrorist organizations' or that it is feared might be involved in political terrorist activity will be placed on the Swedish police's 'terrorist list.'"

This international collaboration between the police occurs within Interpol, which has opened up an "anti-terrorist" headquarters in London.

The number of foreigners who would be affected by this law is not small. Since the middle of the sixties, approximately half a million persons have immigrated into Sweden. Any alien living in Sweden who "belongs to or works for" any organization suspected of using force can automatically be labeled a "presumed terrorist."

In his remarks in the Riksdag De-

ember 11, Lidbom named several groups from both the far right and from the left that he considered to "have force as part of their program."

The proposed law places the Swedish government in an ambiguous position. For instance, it has publicly criticized the Greek junta, but if the law is passed, those who are fighting the junta will find themselves in the category of "terrorists." In addition, the Swedish government gives a considerable amount of financial aid to various liberation organizations in Africa; yet its report on the proposed law offers no clarification on what its stand would be toward such groups once the law were passed.

The measure has stirred a great deal of opposition in Sweden. On February 3, for instance, 1,800 people demonstrated in Stockholm to demand that the bill be killed.

Among those most concerned, of course, are the foreigners in Sweden. *Dagens Nyheter* quoted one Arab student in its January 27 issue: "I myself do not consider force as the correct method for achieving a political objective. But I can understand someone who saw his brother killed, for example, doing something desperate. What if he and I happened to belong to the same organization? Does this mean the Swedish government would brand me as a terrorist? If so, Sweden will no longer be able to measure up to its reputation as one of the last remaining havens for political refugees from tyrannical regimes and from fascism."

"Terrorist law!" one moderate member of the Riksdag said when he heard about it. "This is the first McCarthy law in Sweden." □

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German Trotskyist Fusion Conference

[The following article appeared in the January 1973 issue of *Was Tun*, now the organ of the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group), West German section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

From December 30, 1972, to January 1, 1973, the GIM and the Revolutionär-Kommunistischen Jugend [RKJ—Revolutionary Communist Youth] held a fusion conference in Kassel at which a new German section of the Fourth International was formed. The conference was attended by 240 comrades representing local units and support groups in more than thirty West German cities and West Berlin. It marked the culmination of a year-long period of preparation for the unification, which was opened at the second national convention of the RKJ, held in Cologne from October 30 to November 1, 1971.

During the preparatory period, a united national leadership was built, the central committees of the two groups held joint meetings, and the local groups developed joint work. With this issue *Was Tun* appears as the organ of the GIM, the new united section of the International.

Two representatives of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, as well as guests from many sections and sympathizing groups in Europe, took part in the conference.

European Document

The convention discussed the draft theses entitled "The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe," which were adopted by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International for presentation to the forthcoming Tenth World Congress.

This document proceeds from the lessons and experiences of the situation since the strategic turn of 1968 and the end of entryism in Europe, to an orientation for the work of the

European sections in the present period. The general line of the draft was approved nearly unanimously by the conference, along with a proposal to the leading bodies of the International to make certain points in the document more precise. It will be viewed by the GIM as the basis of its strategic orientation.

As soon as the leading bodies of the International decide to make this document public, the GIM will make it available to the West German left.

Action Program

By far the greatest part of the conference was taken up in discussing the action program for the new German section, which was presented to the convention in three various drafts and many supplementary theses.

During the discussion, broad agreement was reached on some key points: a basic orientation toward the workers' vanguard, now developing within given limits in the factories, and the mechanisms of the GIM's trade-union work; the working out of qualitative, transitional demands for the struggles of this vanguard; the political linking of this workers' vanguard to the revolutionary potential (which has a relative mass character) that has been generated by the youth radicalization.

The drafts relating to these points were seen as corresponding to the general line of the European document. Nevertheless, it was decided not to vote on the proposed texts and not to publish the three drafts, because neither the proposed theses nor the state of the discussion within the organization yet fully meets the objective requirements of the struggles in West Germany.

This state of affairs is primarily attributable to the lack of political centralization of both previously existing organizations, which has caused the strategic development of the organization's politics to lag behind its quantitative growth and geographical expansion. During the next six months, the GIM will hold a

special conference to deal with this problem and will publish the results.

Indochina

In the center of our activity during the past year, along with intervention in the movement against price increases and in other economic struggles, and in the fight against repression, has been our work in solidarity with the Indochinese revolution—carried out, among other ways, through the Indochina Solidarity Committees (ISC) and by publication of the weekly *Viet-Info*.

There are certain differences within the organization over assessment of the current relationship of forces in Vietnam, the character of the North Vietnamese leadership, and the effects of the nine-point accords.

The majority of the conference supported the previous general line of the RKJ and GIM as it has been expressed, among other places, in the October 30 joint statement of the RKJ Central Committee and the GIM Political Bureau (published in issue No. 20 of the magazine *Inprekorr*) and in various articles published in *Was Tun*.

The conference unanimously approved a resolution that called for making January a high point of mobilization against U.S. aggression and, proceeding from our assessment of the present situation and the objective importance of the solidarity movement in the imperialist countries, decided to bring continuous pressure to bear on the other left groups by demanding unity in action, by making general proposals for activity, and by pressing forward our own independent work. It was also decided to intensify the work of the ISCs and to centralize it nationally.

Centralization

In order to overcome the greatest weakness of the old RKJ and GIM and to strive toward political and organizational centralization in the new section it was decided:

- To set up a permanent, centralized leadership in Frankfurt;
- To qualitatively improve the organization's communications facilities and activist structures;
- To merge the magazine *Die Internationale*, which in the past period has been coming out very irregularly

and insufficiently, with *Permanente Revolution*, the magazine put out by the West Berlin group;

● To then aim at improving *Was Tun*, both in style and content, to structure it around priorities set by the European document and the discussion around the action program, and to convert it from a monthly to a biweekly.

Also, the conference elected a new Central Committee, one more reflective of the organization's actual forces than the old leadership.

Necessity for RKJ-GIM Unification

The convention adopted a resolution that once again summarized the essential reasons for the unification of the two organizations, which during the past year has become an accomplished fact.

The RKJ never was an organization having a different political program from that of the GIM, so this is not a "unification" in the usual sense, when two distinct tendencies unite on a common basis. Rather, the RKJ was initiated (in the winter of 1969-70), established, and, at the beginning, built by the GIM.

On the other hand, the RKJ was never a "youth organization" in the classical sense—a group guided by the "mother organization" and having specific tasks in the field of youth work. The strategic conception of the RKJ was rather that it be a "lever" with which to build an organization capable of intervening in the class struggle under the special conditions of the youth radicalization. That is, fundamental to the founding of the RKJ was the GIM's extreme weakness after the end of entryism and the split in the spring of 1969 that gave rise to the "Spartacus" group. Thus, from the very beginning, the goal of unification of the RKJ and the GIM was a logical implication of the general conception of the RKJ.

Nevertheless, we believe that the conception of the RKJ, despite its great practical value in building the section, was based on a number of mistakes, which are described in this resolution: an underestimation of the newly arising revolutionary left itself, which generally strove to overcome an outlook restricted to its own sector and to work out a general perspective for the whole society; an underestimation of the

practical effects of the upsurge of West German workers' struggles, which opened up increasing possibilities for bridging the gap between the working-class movement and the movement of radical youth by direct intervention in the proletariat; an underestimation of the concrete significance of the weight of the Fourth International in West Germany, which in the long run, if this development of a "special West

German strategy for building the organization" had been carried further, would have led to a political regression.

An increasing identity of tasks between the RKJ and the GIM arose from all these factors and finally made the continued existence of two parallel organizations with parallel leaderships and structures an anachronism. □

Socialist Action League Holds National Conference

New Zealand Trotskyists Chart Strategy

Wellington

The Socialist Action League, the first Trotskyist organisation in New Zealand (founded only three years ago), held its Second National Conference here January 7-10. To the fifty delegates and observers in attendance the League's National Executive submitted reports on the world political situation that focussed on the meaning of the Nixon détente with Peking and Moscow and its impact on the Vietnamese liberation struggle; and on the growth of, and current discussion within, the world Trotskyist movement.

Greetings from sections and supporters of the Fourth International, including early Chinese Communist party leaders Chen Pi-lan and Peng Shu-tse, were read out during the conference. The Australian Socialist Workers League were represented at the conference by Jim McIlroy.

The conference, culminating a three-month period of discussion within the League's branches, also discussed the National Executive document "The Challenge of the New Radicalisation," which presented a comprehensive evaluation of the radicalisation under way in New Zealand. This document classifies the new mood of rebellion as "more and more taking on the character of the biggest and broadest challenge to the capitalist status quo in New Zealand's history,"—more significant even than the radicalisation of the 1930s, which brought the first Labour government to power by a landslide.

Key areas of the radicalisation in

which the League has been active—the antiwar movement, the women's liberation struggle, the youth movement, and the campaign to end sports contacts with racist South Africa—were covered in separate reports or resolutions before the conference. The women's liberation report, presented for the National Executive by Kay Goodger, sparked one of the liveliest discussions. Almost 40 percent of the conference participants were women, many of whom had joined the Socialist Action League as a result of its work in the feminist movement.

In her report, Goodger pointed to the nationwide marches in 1972 for abortion-law repeal as examples of the way women are moving into action to demand their rights. She asserted that the right to legal abortion was emerging as the key issue around which the feminist movement will be built in the period ahead.

The report on the youth movement resolution before the conference stressed that the League's central orientation has been and must continue to be towards youth, especially students, and the construction of an independent youth organisation. The report affirmed support for the document entitled "The Worldwide Youth Radicalisation and the Tasks of the Fourth International," adopted by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International in 1969.

The report on the antiwar resolution emphasised that even if a "peace settlement" should be reached in Vietnam, the goal of the antiwar movement—to end foreign interference in

Indochina — would still not have been achieved. While a period of disorientation in the antiwar movement could lie ahead, reducing the possibilities for mass protests, antiwar coalitions should use every opportunity to publicise the situation in Vietnam and to organise protest activities against continuing New Zealand and United States involvement in Southeast Asia.

A central theme at the conference was the importance of the League's taking a clear and uncompromising stand against all forms of ultraleftism. The mass antiwar mobilisations of 1971 and 1972, while giving a big impetus to the radicalisation, also engendered a growth of ultraleftist currents within the student movement. The major forms this new ultraleftism has taken have been disruption, notably of political meetings, especially during parliamentary elections; and organisation of confrontation-oriented demonstrations, especially those related to protests against the projected 1973 New Zealand tour of the Springbok South African rugby team.

In some instances, ultraleftists have aimed their politics of physical confrontation at their opponents on the left, most often against the Trotskyists, who have been the most vocal and consistent revolutionary critics of the disruption tactic. "It is vital that revolutionary socialists make absolutely no concessions at all towards ultraleft rhetoric and modes of activity," Russell Johnson said in his report on the political resolution. "We want to be continually posing ourselves as the clear *radical* and *socialist* alternative to disruption."

George Fyson gave the organisational report for the National Executive; he drew together the practical threads of four days of political discussions and projected an ambitious campaign of organisational expansion of the League. Fyson projected a major campaign to communicate Trotskyist ideas. Foremost in this campaign will be an effort to expand the circulation of the League's newspaper, *Socialist Action*, through increased bundle sales and through a twelve-week drive beginning February 16 to obtain 1,000 new subscribers to the paper. Already the most widely read radical paper in the country, *Socialist Action* will become an eight-page biweekly in 1973.

In addition, the conference voted to work closely with the New Zealand distributors for Pathfinder Press in an effort to increase the circulation of Trotskyist books and pamphlets. And a special effort will be made to substantially increase the circulation in New Zealand of the international Trotskyist periodicals, *Intercontinental Press* and *International Socialist Review*.

Dovetailing with this campaign to spread Trotskyist ideas on a broader basis than ever before, Fyson projected an aggressive national effort to establish the Trotskyist movement at the universities. He also emphasised the need to expand the New Zealand campaigns in behalf of Latin American political prisoners, particularly in Argentina.

During scheduled breaks in the main

conference and in the two days immediately following it, nearly twenty workshops and fraction sessions were held to discuss different aspects and areas of League work. By the time the socialist gathering had closed, literature worth more than \$450 had been sold.

Altogether it was an enthusiastic and united conference, with unanimous agreement on all the reports, resolutions, and proposals presented for a vote. It clearly emerged that despite its youthful composition (statistics presented to the conference gave an average age of 21 years, with 46 percent of the membership joining in 1972), the Socialist Action League has already developed a rounded and mature appreciation of how best to build the revolutionary socialist movement in New Zealand. □

Strategy for Revolution in Australia

Australian Trotskyists Hold Conference

[The following article is reprinted from the February 8 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney, Australia.]

* * *

The Socialist Workers League held its Second National Conference in Sydney over January 27, 28, 29. The SWL is the Australian sympathising organisation of the Fourth International, the world revolutionary party founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. The task of the Conference was to sum up the experiences of the League in its first thirteen months of existence, draw the lessons, and lay down guidelines for our future work.

The League's character as an integral part of a real world movement, struggling for socialism on all continents, was demonstrated by the greetings it received from the overseas sections and groups of the Fourth International. Greetings came from the Socialist Action League of New Zealand; the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière of Canada; the Socialist Workers party in the U.S.; the Japan Revolutionary Communist

League; the Israeli Socialist Organisation (Marxist); the Venezuelan Trotskyist Group; the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers party) of Uruguay; and the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party) of Argentina. All these organisations are in the front ranks of the struggle for socialism in their countries and internationally. The work of the Argentine Socialist Workers party, for example, in organising a class-struggle workers front in the elections there, must be an inspiration to revolutionary socialists everywhere.

Trotskyism is internationalist through and through. Flowing from this outlook, the Conference began with a report on the international situation. The report focussed on the struggle in Vietnam which, it pointed out, remains the central issue in world politics today, the central arena of the struggle between the forces of world revolution and capitalist counterrevolution. The so-called "peace" treaty, the report stressed, would not lead to peace and justice in Vietnam. The treaty was forced on the Vietnamese by the U.S. through a com-

bination of terror and pressure exerted by the bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and China, who have completely betrayed their elementary duty to defend another workers state from imperialist attack.

Only the victory of the socialist revolution in Indochina can bring about a just peace, and that means the total withdrawal of all U. S. forces from the region and the overthrow of the military-landlord-Thieu clique in Saigon. Our task in Australia remains that of explaining the meaning of the recent events and demanding that the U. S. get out now and let the Vietnamese determine their own future.

The report also considered the rising curve of struggle in the advanced capitalist countries, where the radicalisation continues to deepen and extend to ever new layers. A vivid demonstration of the international character of this move to the left among the youth and the labour movement is the gains made by the labour and social-democratic parties in recent elections in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Germany.

The report concluded with a survey of the antibureaucratic struggles in the workers states, and the continual upsurge of the colonial revolution, which has not been halted by the numerous defeats it has suffered in the past years. The report was unanimously endorsed by the Conference.

Next on the agenda was a report on the discussion now under way in the world Trotskyist movement in preparation for the Tenth Congress (the Fourth Congress since the 1963 reunification) of the Fourth International later this year. The reporter was Jim Percy, who was elected the National Organiser of the SWL after the conference. This report, which was unanimously endorsed, projected a conference of the League in July to consider, in particular, the questions facing the world movement in more detail and to adopt a comprehensive position for the World Congress.

All of Sunday was devoted to the presentation and discussion of the draft political resolution, which set projections for our local work. The main report on this document was given by Dave Holmes, the National Secretary of the SWL. The document systematically developed the analyses

and positions familiar to the readers of *Direct Action*.

The document begins by setting the developing crisis facing the Australian ruling class in the context of the crisis of the world capitalist system. Then, after considering the contradictions of Australian capitalism, the draft analyses the various sectors of the mass movements and sets forth our tasks in relation to them—the antiwar, women's liberation, black, and student movements, the labour movement and the Labor party. We shall not attempt to summarise in detail this part of the draft, as the essential points will appear in articles in our press over the coming months. The main tenor of the draft here was the very favourable conditions that were developing for the advance of the socialist movement.

A key section of the draft was one which elaborated our basic method, the method of Trotsky's *Transitional Program*. This method consists in trying, in all cases, to link the day-to-day struggles of the oppressed with the struggle for socialism through a series of democratic and transitional demands. The draft points out that struggles for elementary democratic rights can have, in an era of capitalist decline, a very revolutionary significance (such as, for example, the democratic right of national self-determination). But in all these struggles we push for revolutionary means of struggle—mass action—and not a reliance on parliamentarianism. We

also advance transitional demands which point directly to a socialist reorganisation of society such as the demand for a sliding scale of hours and wages, against inflation and unemployment.

The draft concludes by reemphasising the central and decisive importance to the socialist revolution of the building of a revolutionary party, which can correctly lead the various sections of the oppressed against the capitalist state.

The draft was unanimously endorsed by the Conference. The unanimity around these perspectives and conceptions was also a final judgment by the whole group on the claims of those who split away from us last August, to form the "Communist League".

The final day of the Conference considered the organisation report, a press report and a report on last August's split. The highlight of the press report was the launching of a drive to increase the circulation of *Direct Action* and gain 500 new subscriptions by Easter. Finally a new National Committee and Control Commission were elected.

The Conference marks the close of a year of development for the SWL. In that time the League has become a much more solidly structured nucleus, carrying out an active intervention in all the sectors of the mass movement. The conference makes us confident the League will extend its size, influence and prestige in the coming year. □

U.S. Loses Case Against Reporter

A federal grand jury in Washington D. C., refused on February to indict Hank Adams, Anita Collins, and Leslie H. Whitten on charges of illegally possessing "stolen" government documents. Whitten and Adams were arrested by federal agents on January 31 as they were returning three boxes of the documents to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Collins was arrested the same day, at the home of friends.

Whitten is employed by columnist Jack Anderson. He helped Anderson write a series of articles based on the documents, which contain information exposing the role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in exploiting American Indians. Adams and Collins are activists in Trail of Broken Treaties, an Indian organization

that obtained the papers during a six-day sit-in at the BIA office last November. The FBI learned from an undercover agent that Adams was planning to return the papers, with Whitten's help.

In a February 7 column, Anderson charged that his staff was a special target of Nixon's war against the press. "The word was passed to the Justice Department to try to make a case against us. Last week, Les Whitten was arrested while gathering news for this column. . . . cuffs were snapped around his wrists and he was thrown into a lock-up."

"Let there be no confusion about it," Anderson continued, "Whitten's only crime was digging out critical information about the Nixon administration's mishandling of Indian rights."

Students March Against Army Reform



Part of the 15,000-strong high-school students' demonstration in Brussels against the "VDB plan." Throughout Belgium, 150,000 marched on January 31.

More than 15,000 high-school students demonstrated in Brussels January 31 against a government plan to reform the army. The action was the largest in a series of countrywide rallies that mobilized an estimated 150,000 students, the largest student actions in Belgium in years.

The army reform centers around a plan drawn up by Defense Minister Van Den Boeynants (the VDB plan) to strengthen Belgium's armed forces. It involves reinforcing combat units, developing younger officers, increasing appeals for volunteers, and abolishing draft deferments for students. It was the last point that triggered the protest.

On January 24 a peaceful demon-

stration in Brussels opposing the so-called VDB plan was brutally attacked by police. This attack raised another issue—the "Vranckx plan," a project (named for the minister of justice) that would pass laws prohibiting the organization of defense guards for demonstrations.

On January 28 in Brussels, students formed the Front National Lycéen (FNL—National High-School Front), a united group composed of committees that had been formed in Brussels, Antwerp, Liège, and Ghent to oppose the VDB and Vranckx plans. It was the FNL that called for the January 31 mobilizations.

After the demonstrations, Van Den Boeynants suddenly began talking

about "dialogue" with the students, and the minister of culture called for FNL participation in discussions on the VDB plan. The FNL plans to hold a national conference to decide what to do next.

The Belgian government, while forced to appear conciliatory toward the students, has in no way given up its plans to use repression to deal with protest. One of its targets has been the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs (Revolutionary Workers League), Belgian section of the Fourth International, which has played a leading role in the student upsurge. The attack has taken the form of harassment of Ligue activities and, in at least one case, a raid on a local Red Circle office. The Red Circles are youth groups allied to the Ligue.

The following article describing such harassment appeared in the February 9 issue of *La Gauche*, the Ligue's weekly newspaper. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

* * *

A conference-discussion on the topic "From Internationalism to the Fourth International" was supposed to take place in Tournai on February 1. It had been organized by the local Red Circle, and was to feature as speakers Alain Krivine of the French Ligue Communiste, and a member of the LRT. But our brand-new government was to initiate its policy of increased repression and strong statism in Belgium.

A ministerial decree issued on the night of January 31 declared Alain Krivine persona non grata in Tournai because of his "interference in Belgium's internal affairs."

Coming after the ban on Bernadette Devlin at Bordeaux, the expulsion of British trade unionists at Dunkirk, and the entrance bans on Ernest Mandel issued by several countries in our "free world," Krivine's expulsion shows once again the concrete reality behind bourgeois "democracy."

Despite Krivine's absence, the meeting took place, and F. Vercammen, a member of the LRT Political Bureau, took the occasion to explain Belgium's progression to a strong state through the VDB and Vranckx schemes.

A comrade from the Red Circle traced out a balance sheet and per-

spectives for the high-school struggles and reported on the anti-VDB demonstration at Tournai, which was attended by about 3,000 persons. He talked about the platform and aims of the Tournai Red Circle and urged people to attend its meeting on February 3.

But on February 3, the Belgian bourgeoisie, acting through its police in complete contempt of the most elementary constitutional rights of assembly and association, raided the local headquarters of the Red Circle.

Even though the meeting had already been postponed, the "gentlemen" rounded up and questioned all those present.

The "legal" justification for the search and "roundup" was: "Search for any object or material suitable for making placards." That did not prevent them from regarding personal papers and books by Ernest Mandel (such as *Revolutionary Strategy and Workers' Control*) as evidence that these celebrated placards were being made.

After the search, the Red Circle put out a press release denouncing this "intrusion," and it will open a campaign asking all democratic and progressive forces to denounce this assault on the most elementary civil liberties. □

Depending on her financial means, she can get an abortion in complete safety abroad, and even in France, or else she is forced to seek a secret abortion at the risk of her life (there are dozens of such deaths each year). Every year, thousands of women fall victim in this way to tragic complications (perforations, hemorrhaging, infections, etc.) and expose themselves to the possibility of prosecution.

Doctors, who know about these risks, objectively share in responsibility for these deaths. Many of them have become aware of this and their attitude has evolved. The position of the [Medical] Society's board is not the position of all doctors, upon whom it cannot foist its own moral rules.

France, "the country of liberty," does not give women the liberty to control their own bodies. Sexual education is nonexistent; the law on contraception is not applied; couples are deprived of information permitting them to achieve sexual equilibrium and choose the moment they wish to bring a child into the world; the National Family Planning Program has just been refused recognition as a useful, nonprofit organization, which prevents it from receiving any subsidies.

We believe that all individuals must be in a position to be responsible for their own bodies and their own health, as well as to benefit from all progress in scientific knowledge.

We want:

1. All means of contraception to be made available to everyone, including minors, thanks to a broad informational campaign, and to be reimbursed by social security.

2. Abortion to be free.

The decision to have an abortion must be left entirely up to the woman. We reject any commission being set up that forces her to justify her choice, that retains the notion of guilt, and that allows secret abortions to continue (as the experience in foreign countries shows that it would).

Abortion, just like any other medical and surgical operation, must be reimbursed by social security.

Modern methods, which have made abortion into a simple act involving no risks, must be put within reach of everybody so that women can interrupt their pregnancies under the best medical and psychological conditions.

Freedom of abortion means that the

Physicians Put Pompidou on the Spot

Statement by French Doctors on Abortion

[On February 5, in a signed manifesto for the "freedom of abortion," 331 French doctors caused a stir by revealing publicly that they had performed abortions. Their admission entails the risk of penalties of up to ten years in prison and fines as high as \$14,000. In theory, they could also be barred from medical practice.

["The publication of the manifesto left the Medical Society nonplussed," observed the February 10 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International. "Nothing like this had ever been done to it before." In face of the threat of reprisals against the signers, *Rouge* called on its readers to "begin now to plan our response and to frustrate any repressive moves by the powers that be and by the Society, through organizing the broadest possible support."

[*Rouge* noted that abortion has rapidly developed into an important issue in France. ". . . the campaign around the Bobigny trial thoroughly altered the way in which this question is viewed. The mass concern that it abruptly revealed, the increasing tendency to view abortion as a commonplace matter that is of concern to everyone, the ending of the shameful silence that used to surround it,

and the radicalization of women around this question have greatly increased the pressure on doctors and lent greater urgency to demands for the right to have an abortion without feeling ashamed, in the kind of conditions enjoyed by those who are able to go abroad to get one."

[The text of the doctors' manifesto was published in the February 4-5 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. The following is a translation of the manifesto by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

For several months now, and particularly since the Bobigny trial [See *Intercontinental Press*, November 27, 1972, p. 1295], everyone has been able to see that, as far as questions of sexuality and abortion are concerned, France is one of the last remaining countries still in the Middle Ages. In spite of the hundreds of thousands of secret abortions and the tragic consequences they bring, public authorities and the board of the *Ordre des Médecins* [Medical Society] persist in not taking this reality into account. They put off indefinitely any change in the existing legislation.

Nevertheless, when a woman has decided to interrupt a pregnancy she does so in spite of the law and the personal convictions of her doctor.

decision to have or to perform one must be made on the basis of nothing but one's own moral or religious convictions.

The undersigned doctors state that they perform abortions or do what

they can to help obtain them outside of any considerations of financial gain; and that they solemnly pledge to answer collectively for their action before all judicial or medical authority, as well as before public opinion. □

ed during the next few months.

On January 30, the negotiating team of the National Union of Mineworkers, representing some 212,000 miners, unanimously rejected a recent pay offer by the National Coal Board. On the same day, leaders of the General and Municipal Workers' Union and the Transport and General Workers' Union rejected an offer involving 47,000 gas workers.

On February 6, the first national official industrial action of the gas-supply industry for more than fifty years was called for the following week. Local union branches will decide between strikes, overtime bans, and withdrawal of cooperation. The decision will give official sanction to widespread industrial action already occurring within the industry.

Similar demands for pay increases far above the government's "Phase 2" levels are being drawn up for consideration by the leaders of the engineering section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. A decision to demand strike action was also reached by the National Union of Public Employees, representing National Health Service ancillary workers, and is to be proposed at a February 10 meeting with three other unions involved.

In another challenge to the government, leaders of the London dockworkers officially rejected a government pay offer on February 6. And on February 7 the 230,000-strong National Union of Teachers (N. U. T.) recommended selective strikes for its 36,000 London members. N. U. T. and other teachers' unions have been seeking a higher living allowance for London teachers, who number some 60,000.

The first national strike by 290,000 civil service workers is being mounted this month in protest against the government's "Phase 2" wage freeze. The three unions involved decided February 6 to call a one-day protest strike for February 27, to be backed by an overtime ban and a policy of non-cooperation officially scheduled to begin February 12. The decision came after mass meetings of clerical and administrative staff in government offices in many parts of the country had produced, during the previous week, floods of demands for industrial action. □

Miners, Teachers Challenge Heath

1972—Big Year for Strikes in Britain

London

In 1972, for the third year running, the annual strike figures in Britain have climbed to the highest level since 1926, the year of the general strike. This is the broad picture that emerges from the official data published January 31 in the *Department of Employment Gazette*.

The 23,904,000 striker-days [employee-days on strike] in 1972 nearly doubles the level in 1971. To this crude figure pertaining only to industrial disputes must be added at least a further 735,000 striker-days attributable to political strikes over the jailing of five London dockers and over fines imposed on the engineering workers' union by the government's National Industrial Relations Court.

The official figures, while impressive and useful, are nevertheless somewhat conservative. The Department of Employment calculates "working days lost" on the basis of noncompulsory reports from employers and trade unions. Excluded from the records are those strikes not reported, and small strikes involving fewer than ten workers or lasting less than one day, except where the aggregate number of "working days lost" exceed 100. Nor do the official statistics include alternative forms of worker protest that do not develop into open work stoppages, such as extended lunch-hour meetings and overtime bans, for example.

According to the Department of Employment, a total of 1,714,000 workers were involved in stoppages last year, compared with 1,178,000 in 1971. The number of stoppages during the first full year of the Industrial Relations Act rose from 2,228 in 1971 to 2,470 over the past year.

As in 1971, the bulk of the total striker-days resulted from several ma-

ior confrontations. In 1971 the Ford and Post Office strikes together accounted for some two-thirds of the total. In 1972 the victorious miners' strike, which officially amounted to 10 million striker-days, and the protracted construction and engineering strike actions accounted for the largest part of the annual total.

"The mining strike alone lost more working days than strikes in the whole economy in any year after 1926 until 1970, and very nearly as many as in 1970," complained an editorial in *The Times* of January 31.

The high strike levels and the importance of conspicuous battles at national level is directly related to the Tory government's antiunion policy. Arbitrary wage "norms" imposed by the government precipitated the miners' strike last spring, and anti-trade-union legislation in the form of the Industrial Relations Act provoked the massive defense of imprisoned dockers' leaders in July.

The wage freeze decreed by the government on November 6 seems to have taken its toll at least on the poorly organized workers. According to *The Times*, "In the early part of 1972 the number of strikes beginning each month was below the equivalent period for 1971—running at 180 a month. For the next five months the average was 240. The figure dropped to 181 in November and to 89 in December."

However, the continued existence of the Industrial Relations Act and the introduction of "Phase 2" of the wage freeze will tend automatically to escalate every wage struggle into a major confrontation with the government. With large and powerful sections of the working class caught up by "Phase 2," major strike action can be expect-

Black Strikers Shake Apartheid Regime

Strikes involving more than 50,000 Black and Asian workers swept Durban, South Africa's third largest city, during the first weeks of February. The strikes represented the most significant outburst of protest from South Africa's 15 million Blacks since 1960, when police murdered scores of Black demonstrators at Sharpeville.

According to the February 4 *New York Times*, "The trouble began . . . when laborers at a large brickworks walked out and refused to return unless they were paid more. They returned after being promised a weekly increase of \$4 that brought the weekly minimum at the factory to about \$16.

"Meanwhile, other workers—mostly Zulus, men and women, and some Asians—began to walk off the job in textile factories, engineering workshops and other industrial plants. One was the city's biggest bakery. Others affected by stoppages included the Pepsi-Cola bottling company and some of the city's luxury hotels."

The militancy of the Durban workers has been paralleled by strike action in other South African cities. In Johannesburg, Pretoria, and Cape Town bus drivers, building laborers, and dockworkers have walked out.

On February 5, workers in Durban's drainage, roads, and electricity departments walked off the job. They were joined by almost all the municipality's 16,000 nonwhite workers.

Striking Blacks took to the streets in support of their demands. "A procession of strikers, many of them Zulu workers, marched on city hall waving clubs and clenched fists," the February 6 *Washington Post* reported.

On February 7 the police, bolstered by reinforcements brought in from Pretoria, and armed with clubs and tear gas, attacked a crowd of 200 Blacks in an industrial section of Hammarsdale, about 25 miles from Durban, that had been closed down by strikes. These workers had broken away from a rally of 7,000 Blacks in a residential section of Hammarsdale. Hundreds were arrested for "incitement" and "disturbing the peace." According to the *New York Times*, "Policemen armed with riot guns and

accompanied by dogs continued to patrol the residential and factory areas."

On February 8, Durban's mayor, Ron Williams, threatened to fire any city employee who did not return to work the following day. Faced with this ultimatum, and with the prospect of a long strike without pay, the municipal workers decided at mass meetings to return to work. The Durban City Council has promised the workers an immediate 15 percent pay increase. This would give the lowest-paid workers an increase of \$2.30 a week.

A Reuters dispatch quoted a textile worker as saying that the men were going back "because we are hungry, and not because we have accepted the new wages."

The central issue in the strikes was the starvation wages paid to nonwhite workers. The municipal workers, for instance, demanded a \$13 increase to \$30 per week, scarcely more than the poverty line set by the South African government for a family of five. About 80 percent of South Africa's Black industrial workers are paid less than this miserable government standard. According to the February 4 *New York Times*, "many were being paid a minimum wage of about \$60 per month—half the poverty line figure." White workers, on the average, earn \$475 per month.

Furthermore, spiraling inflation continuously erodes the already abject living standard of nonwhite workers.

The low wages paid Black workers are the foundation of South Africa's capitalist "prosperity." The apartheid regime has sought to preserve a supply of cheap labor for the ruling class by depriving Blacks of political rights and forcing them onto "reserves," and by making it illegal for them to form unions or to go on strike.

The militant strikes have sharpened the divisions in South Africa's ruling circles. Even Prime Minister Vorster felt it necessary to utter some democratic homilies to placate the strikers:

"They [employers] should not view their workers merely as units working so many hours a day, but also as human beings with a soul."

His underlings, however, took a harder line. Minister of Labor Marais Viljoen blamed the National Union of Students and the all-white Trade Union Council for "agitating" the Black workers. In Viljoen's view, Blacks are a simple folk who are more than satisfied to live on fifteen dollars a week as long as they are not stirred up by subversive whites. He warned that "the Government cannot countenance the use of wage demands to bring about disorderliness prejudicial to the order of the state."

According to the February 6 *Washington Post*, "Viljoen said that however necessary wage increases in the private sector might be, they could only be made if employers were able to pay. Compulsory increases, he warned, might force factories to close down, creating unemployment."

Critics of the regime, on the other hand, felt that it was time to introduce some reforms into the apartheid system.

Sir de Villiers Graaf, head of the opposition United party, told South Africa's parliament, "Common humanity, common sense, and our very survival itself demand that the plight of these people, and what they are suffering as a result of higher living costs, should be considered with the greatest urgency."

Jock Espie, secretary of the Trade Union Council, said that the strike movement was "gathering a momentum of its own and fast developing into an avalanche." And the *Rand Daily Mail* warned in an editorial, "The Zulus have brought home to employers that they can no longer get away with appallingly low wages." □

150 Political Prisoners Shot?

Venezuelan presidential candidate Jose Vicente Rangel has charged in a telegram to the president of the International Red Cross that 150 political prisoners in Nicaragua were mowed down by machine-gun fire as they attempted to escape from prison during the Managua earthquake last December. Rangel called on the Red Cross to investigate the matter and demand an explanation from Nicaragua's strong man, General Anastasio Somoza.

A New Issue of 'Chronicle of Current Events'

Issue No. 27 of the *Chronicle of Current Events* appeared in the Soviet Union in November 1972. For the fifth time that year, the underground human-rights journal managed to elude Kremlin censors and defy the bureaucracy's efforts to stamp it out.

Given the ruling caste's special measures aimed at eliminating the *Chronicle*, the magazine's very publication is a victory for the democratic opposition movement.

The intense campaign to destroy the *Chronicle* dates from December 1971, when the Soviet Communist party Central Committee voted that the *Chronicle* and *Ukrainsky Vysnyk*, a similar magazine published secretly in the Ukraine, were to be smashed.

Arresting all the people responsible for the composition and distribution of the two journals would have been quite difficult. A two-stage attack was called for. First, eliminate the most prominent opposition figures, leading suspects for the crime of contributing to the *Chronicle*. Second, carry out systematic searches aimed at arresting people possessing unauthorized writings, especially the *Chronicle*. The combination, Kremlin leaders hoped, would cause the magazine to die a gradual death.

From January through May the KGB (secret police) conducted intensive searches and interrogations; hundreds of persons were arrested. The crackdown was especially savage in the Ukraine, where many young people, mostly students and intellectuals, have formulated strong Marxist critiques of bureaucratic practices. The most articulate representatives of this current were arrested—more than 100 students, intellectuals, and workers in January alone. This led to widespread protests to which the KGB responded with further arrests.

Trials began in May. Most of the defendants were charged with possessing, distributing, or conducting "anti-Soviet propaganda." But the "incriminating evidence" was so weak that the trials were held in secret, "open"

only to KGB agents and bureaucratic stooges. Sentences were harsh, ranging from five to fifteen years.

The regime preferred not to arrest some figures who were too well-known in Western academic circles. So a new tactic was developed: The victims were offered a choice of emigration or arrest. As a result of this maneuver, such opposition figures as Yuri Glazov, Yuri Shtein, and Valery Chalidze were forced into exile.

To searches, arrests, and trials, the Kremlin added one further technique: rumor mongering. Near the end of 1972, the KGB "leaked" a report that Pyotr Yakir, a leading dissident arrested in June, had recanted and was turning over to the KGB the names of dissidents, including the editors of the *Chronicle*.

But the regime's attack did not succeed. Issue No. 6 of *Ukrainsky Vysnyk* appeared in March, and issues Nos. 23-27 of the *Chronicle* appeared roughly on schedule in 1972.

But the KGB has not given up. The February 10 *New York Times* reported that a number of dissidents, including Anatoly Yakobson, have been threatened with arrest if the next issue of the *Chronicle* appears. Yakobson is a dissident communist who has been active in the opposition movement since the mid-1960s and was a founding member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR in May 1969.

The *Times* also reported that Victor Haustov, who is described as "a worker," and Irina Belogorodskaya were arrested in December 1972 and January 1973 respectively in connection with the crackdown against the *Chronicle*. Belogorodskaya had previously served a prison term after being arrested in 1969 for her actions in defense of Anatoly Marchenko, author of *My Testimony*.

Gyusel Amalrik, wife of Andrei Amalrik, who is presently serving a three-year sentence for his book *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?*,

was summoned for questioning by the KGB on February 9.

Chronicle No. 27 provides a broad review of some of the recent protest activity in the Soviet Union.

Repression in the Ukraine. The sentences, and in some cases the trial proceedings, for twelve of the more than 100 persons arrested between January and March were reported. The sentences resulted from trials that took place in July and August. Most of the defendants were convicted of violating Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code—"agitation or propaganda carried out for the purpose of subverting Soviet power."

Five of the sentences have not been previously reported in *Intercontinental Press*: Fedir Kovalenko, a fifty-four-year-old teacher—five years in a strict-regime camp; Zinoviy Antonyuk, a philologist—seven years in a strict-regime camp, three years in exile (for possessing copies of Ukrainian samvydav (samizdat) writings as confirmed by the testimony of "witnesses": three persons who had been arrested in January but who were released after making public statements "acknowledging" their guilt); Iryna Stasiv, a thirty-one-year-old poet—five years in a camp, three years in exile; Ivan Hel', who has already served a sentence under Article 62—five years in a special-regime camp (the harshest regime), five years in a strict-regime camp, and five years in exile; Yuri Shukhevich, forty years old—five years in prison, five years in a special-regime camp, five years in exile—he has already spent twenty years in prison camps for the crime of being the son of Roman Shukhevich, who was a general in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

In many cases "incriminating evidence" against the defendants was the possession of writings of Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chornovil, two prominent opponents of Russification in the Ukraine. They have been arrested and are still under interrogation, but have not yet been tried and sentenced.

Arrests, searches, and interrogations. Victor Krasin was arrested September 12. Krasin has been active in the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR and has worked closely with Pyotr Yakir. In 1969, Krasin was convicted of being a "parasite." His sentence, five years in exile, was rescinded in 1971 as a result of efforts by his defense attorney. Krasin suffers from serious heart trouble and in 1972 was classified as a second-category invalid.

In October, Reshat Dzhemiliev was arrested. A Crimean Tatar, he has been in Moscow since 1965 and has played a leading role in the Tatars' struggle to win the right to return to their homeland in the Crimea, from which they were deported *en masse* by Stalin in 1944. This is the third time Dzhemiliev has been arrested for his activities.

Yuri Shikhanovich, a Moscow mathematician, was arrested in September. He was accused of duplicating and distributing anti-Soviet literature, an offense defined under Article 70 of the Russian criminal code. Shikhanovich was fired from his job at Moscow State University in 1968 because of his protests in defense of arrested dissidents. He has worked closely with Andrei Sakharov.

Searches and additional arrests were reported in Moscow, Riga (Latvia), Ulan-Ude (near Lake Baykal in East Asian Russia), Abkhaz Autonomous SSR (NW Georgia), Tashkent (Uzbek), and throughout the Ukraine between June and October.

Events in Lithuania. The *Chronicle* featured the first detailed account of the events of May 14-19 in Kaunas, Lithuania, surrounding the self-immolation of Romas Kalanta. *Chronicle* No. 26 had reported that Kalanta burned himself under a banner reading "Freedom for Lithuania." According to information that the *Chronicle* received later, Kalanta wrote a note just before setting fire to himself. The *Chronicle* did not know the exact contents of this note. It was known only that he expressed strong opposition to the existing regime in Lithuania and stated that he would rather die than live under it.

Four hundred young people were arrested May 18 and 19 when his funeral turned into angry demonstra-

tions against the Russification of Lithuania.

Persecution of the Crimean Tatars. The Crimean Tatars have issued new appeals in the course of their continuing struggle. One, sent to officials in the government and the Communist party, demanded full amnesty for arrested Crimean Tatar activists and the prosecution of persons who are responsible for the persecution and slander of the Crimean Tatar people. The appeal opened with the text of the resolution signed by Lenin, M. Kalinin, and A. Yenukidze authorizing the establishment of the Crimean Autonomous SSR [presumably the decree of October 18, 1921].

Thirty-three Crimean Tatar youths addressed an appeal to "the government, party, and society of the USSR." It charged that during the USSR's fifty-year existence the basic needs of the Crimean Tatar people have not been met.

Both these appeals were timed to coincide with the regime's official celebrations commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Union—December 30, 1922.

In Prisons and Camps. The *Chronicle* continued to report on the names and sentences of political prisoners as well as the protest activities that prisoners have conducted. Thirty-nine "especially dangerous" state criminals (political prisoners) who are being held in Vladimir Prison were identified. Six of them, including Vladimir Bukovsky, conducted a hunger strike from June 26 to July 6, 1972, in protest against the prison conditions.

In Psychiatric Hospitals. Victor Fainberg went on two more hunger strikes: one was conducted in July; the other began September 28. Both were in protest against the treatment administered in the hospitals. Fainberg has conducted several hunger strikes previously; one in 1971 lasted more than 70 days. He is undergoing "compulsory psychiatric treatment" for his participation in the August 25, 1968, Red Square demonstration against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

In a September letter to United Nations General Secretary Kurt Waldheim, Fainberg appealed on behalf of journalist Boris Evdokimov, who was recently declared insane for his writings critical of the Soviet bureau-

crats. Fainberg states that because of the compulsory treatment Evdokimov is undergoing, his health has so gravely deteriorated that he may not survive.

Letters and Statements. Alexei Tumerman, who took responsibility for making the transcript of Vladimir Bukovsky's trial available to the West, issued a press statement October 11, 1972.

The statement reports that while Tumerman was confined in a mental hospital following his arrest in June, the KGB offered to allow his entire family to emigrate if Alexei ceased his political activities. If he rejected the offer, the KGB said, he would be arrested.

Tumerman's statement further declares that his activities were never conducted for the purpose of attaining his right to leave the USSR. They were conducted, he states, in defense of human rights in the USSR; he totally rejects the KGB offer. He expects further KGB reprisals. (Tumerman was confined in a mental hospital following his arrest in mid-September.)

Among the other letters and statements reported were several in defense of Pyotr Yakir, including the July 1972 appeal signed by fifty-two Soviet citizens, which was reported in the Western press.

Material in Newspaper Articles. The August 9, 1972, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* featured denials by a certain A. Krivitsky, whom the *Chronicle* describes simply as "a writer," of charges made in the West that in the USSR dissident writers are placed in mental hospitals.

Krivitsky denies that this is true by claiming that no one who is currently a member of the Writers Union is registered in a psychiatric hospital.

Samizdat News. There were only six items described. The topics covered ranged from the crises of Soviet society to Solzhenitsyn's letter to Patriarch Pimen.

Issue No. 28 of the *Chronicle* was due to appear in December 1972. There has as yet been no word of its publication.

— Marilyn Vogt

Too Poor to Go Broke

Robert Kras's request to be declared bankrupt was rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court because he could not afford the \$50 filing fee required in such cases.

Egyptian Students Demand Democratic Rights

[The following statement was issued by the Councils for Defense of Democracy and the Homeland, groups set up in the universities during the December-January student upsurge in Egypt. It was entitled "After the Recent Campaign of Arrests" and was published in the January 15 issue of the Beirut weekly *al-Hurriya*.

[The statement is one of the most comprehensive summaries of the students' demands to be published, and it gives a picture of the present political level of the Egyptian student movement. Since this statement came out, the Sadat regime has ordered still more arrests and has tightened restrictions on the press and on campus political activity.

[The translation from the Arabic is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Our beloved Egypt is now being subjected to vicious attacks from imperialism and Zionism, attacks which the regime meets with ever greater passivity and capitulation. At the same time, it is carrying out criminal plans to liquidate the popular movement and to suppress the democratic, patriotic forces. The government has now reached the point of imprisoning a large number of honest citizens, making up charges against them, and falsifying their militant positions, which so well express the real movement of our people.

All this is preparation for the regime's capitulation to the enemy.

The Egyptian students emphasize once again that they have no special student demands, that their recent movement was nothing more than an expression of the entire people's demands: that the occupied territory be liberated; that democratic rights be granted; that all measures of repression, suppression, imprisonment, and hiding the truth from the people be ended; that the lives of the poor classes be improved; and that oppression, exploitation, and coercion of the people cease.

In face of the campaign of distortion and falsification being waged by the regime and its frenzied hacks against the noble student movement, we would like once again to emphasize our demands.

First, on the struggle for the liberation of the occupied territories:

1. Stop all moves toward surrender or indifference to the enemy and insist on rejecting all capitulationist solutions, especially United Nations Security Council resolution Number 242, which extends recognition to Israel, guarantees it secure borders, and grants it the right of passage through the Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran, and which thus leads to liquidating the Palestinian resistance.

2. Prepare, organize, and arm the people in the belief that war—people's war—is the only way to liberate the occupied land and to deal with the possibility of imperialist attack.

3. Form war councils composed of all patriotic individuals—not of government officials and members of the security council apparatus, as Sadat proposed in his most recent speech.

4. Construct a real war economy, instead of just laying down slogans and bombast about it. This will be possible only by abolishing the privileges and expense accounts currently enjoyed by the higher strata of society, by setting upper limits on salaries (no more than ten times the minimum wage), by eliminating further expenditures on items that do not serve the struggle, by ending imports of luxury goods, and by eliminating imperialist investment in Egypt, particularly investments in banking and the free market.

5. Extend complete support to all sections of the revolutionary Palestinian resistance. Lift all restrictions on the Palestinian movement, open the way for Egyptians to join in, and form popular support councils in the villages and cities, and at points of production.

6. Liquidate imperialist interests—especially oil interests, and in partic-

ular, American oil interests—in Egypt and Libya.

7. Deal more severely with reactionary forces that represent imperialism's watchdogs in the Arab world.

8. Close the door to imperialist culture and promote a revolutionary national culture that expresses the real interests of the Egyptian people.

9. Break relations with all imperialist countries that aid Israel, beginning with West Germany.

10. Stress our fundamental alliance with the revolutionary liberation movement in the Arab region and throughout the world in face of the enemy imperialist camp.

Second, victory can be achieved only by uniting the people's forces. It cannot be attained while the poor, downtrodden people face growing poverty and misery, their lifeblood drained off by parasitic groups who contribute nothing in return for the monstrous wealth they extract from the people. We therefore emphasize the following:

1. The living standards of the poor classes of people must be raised; production workers must be granted appropriate compensation for the nature of their work; workers in the private sector must be given a day off with pay; working conditions must be improved, and the workers must be guaranteed security. For these reasons we support the workers' struggles in Helwan and Shubra el-Khaima, as well as all the union demands of the shipping workers and textile and cotton workers in Alexandria. We ask that they link their trade-union struggle to the political struggle. We condemn the repression, harassment, and firings that the noble working-class leaders are facing.

2. We demand the end of expulsion of peasants from their land. The 4 million agricultural and transportation workers must be given respected jobs and be allowed to organize; all forms of exploitation of these workers must be stopped.

3. We demand the annulment of the amendment to the agricultural coop-

eratives law, which raises the limit on land ownership for members of the managing boards from five to ten feddans [1 feddan equals 1.038 acres] and which bars illiterates (90 percent of the peasantry) from serving on the managing boards of the cooperatives.

4. We demand the imposition of taxes on capitalist farming—orchards, vegetable plantations, and medicinal plant production.

5. We demand stricter measures to prevent plunder of wealth in the public sector, to eliminate bribery and embezzlement, destruction, and illegal use of the people's property.

Third, it is impossible to go to war and win victory without preparing, organizing, and arming the people. This cannot be achieved by police measures, intimidation, and administrative control, but only by granting the people the freedom to express their patriotism. This necessitates the following:

1. Abolishing all laws restricting democratic freedoms, beginning with

the "national unity" law, which is the regime's sword hanging over the heads of the people's movement and its national leadership in Egypt.

2. Granting the people the right to form their own organizations, independent of the regime, such as councils for the defense of democracy, national war councils, and so on.

3. Establishing freedom of the press and eliminating all forms of censorship; individuals and popular forces must have the right to publish their own independent press; the political misleadership provided by elements of the hack press hostile to the people must be rejected (Muhammed Hasanein Hayakal, Ihsan Abdel Koudous, and Musa Sabri, for example).

4. Granting the right of the people to assemble, strike, defend themselves, and demonstrate. These are basic democratic rights through which the people can oppose measures of suppression and subjugation and can put forth their own legitimate demands.

5. Abolishing all offices of the political police and putting an end to

the security forces' persecution of patriots; removing all police and administrative control from the trade unions, the associations, and the cooperatives.

6. Granting the popular masses' right to really participate in the formulating and drawing up of laws; providing legal guarantees, especially the presence of lawyers in all investigations and trial proceedings; guaranteeing the right to public trials.

We again stress the necessity of releasing all imprisoned patriots—students, workers, lawyers, and literary figures. We will defend the people's democratic movement, which the regime is now sacrificing in preparation for capitulation to the enemy and accommodation with imperialism.

The regime had better learn that no matter how many patriots and citizens are arrested and tossed into prisons, the people's struggle will not be halted until it creates a free and democratic Egypt.

Democracy to the People!

All sacrifices for the homeland!

The Czech Political Trials and the Opposition

[The following is the lead editorial from the November-December issue of *Listy*, a Czechoslovak exile magazine published by Jiri Pelikan, a leading publicist and reformer under the Dubcek regime. The translation from the Czech is by *Intercontinental Press*.

[Subscriptions to *Listy* cost 16 Deutsche Marks for Europe (1 DM equals approximately US \$.32), 21 DM (by airmail) for North America and Israel, and 23 DM for Oceania, South Africa, and South America. No prices are listed for Asia. Payments should be sent to Konto No 112844, Bayerische Vereinsbank, Leopoldstrasse, München, West Germany. The editorial address is *Listy*, c/o MPL, Via Torre Argentina 21, 00186 Rome, Italy.]

* * *

After the conclusion of the main wave of political trials, many people wondered what the real reasons behind this repression were, and whether it would continue or whether it was really the "price" the Husak leadership had to pay in order to shift over to some kind of "Kadarization" or "positive policy."

It is symptomatic that this series of trials came after the so-called Fourteenth Congress of the KSC [Komunistická Strana Československa—Communist party of Czechoslovakia] and the "elections" in November 1971, two events that the Soviet leadership could hold up to the rest of the world as demonstrating the completion of the "stabiliza-

tion." If some people both in Czechoslovakia and abroad were ready to close their eyes to these contemptible masquerades in the hope that by this means Husak could achieve a withdrawal of Soviet troops and a free rein in domestic politics, they were deeply disillusioned by the subsequent development.

In fact the political trials from June to September 1972 represented primarily an acknowledgement of the failure of the so-called normalization. The Husak leadership won control of the party, state, and security apparatus, and so was able to rule. And while a part of the population is worn out and has adjusted to the situation, showing its opposition to the occupation primarily in indifference to its work and to politics, Husak has failed to win broader popular support for the occupation regime. Thus, since he cannot rule with the support of the people, he must rule by means of terror.

The first objective of the political trials and jailings in 1972 was to promote and reinforce an atmosphere of terror among the population. It would be light-minded to underestimate the psychological effect of this on a people who in today's international and domestic situation see no quick way out of the current state of affairs and thus are more prone to depression than to fighting back. Nonetheless, terror cannot be a permanent political factor because it does not remove the cause of popular discontent, which—aggravated by anxiety, humiliation,

and waiting—must erupt with unexpected violence whenever an opening appears.

The second—and possibly the main—reason for the recent political trials was an attempt to liquidate the political opposition in Czechoslovakia. Our country is the first in Eastern Europe to develop—besides pervasive discontent with the regime—a socialist, political opposition that takes the form of a real movement. This has occurred for a whole series of reasons—the change that came about in 1968, the expulsion of almost half a million Communist activists from the party and the banning of hundreds of thousands of citizens from public life, the mobilization of the youth in 1969, the linkup between the intellectuals and the workers, the presence since 1968 of political programs and leaders that have won and maintained considerable moral authority and thus represent a strong alternative for the future, the invasion of foreign armies and a united national resistance, etc.

This opposition is not fighting against the socialist system as such but against the repressive, authoritarian, and bureaucratic-centralist form this system has taken, which fundamentally has very little in common with the ideas of socialism. The official propagandists of the regime are making a great effort to represent the adherents of this opposition as "reactionaries," "rightists," and advocates of a return to capitalism. So, since January they have concealed the names of the political prisoners (because otherwise everybody could see that these persons are veteran Communists or figures associated with socialist ideas); this is why they are afraid to mention the real situation of the prisoners; this is why the trials had to be held behind closed doors. But most people understood what was going on.

The fact is that this opposition is criticizing the present leadership from a socialist standpoint and showing that by their actions these leaders are trampling on socialist thought—in fact, Jaroslav Sabata told the judge that it was not he himself and his comrades who were traitors to socialism but those who sat on the judicial bench and the ones who were behind them. This is what is arousing the greatest fury on the part of the lackeys of the occupation regime and their protectors in Moscow. They fear that it could set the example for similar opposition movements in other East European countries, including the USSR itself.

This is the reason for such extensive arrests; this is the reason for such long and harsh sentences. We do not want to blame Husak alone for this. He really did not want trials and would rather have played the role of a Czechoslovak Kadar. But there is an iron logic to a certain policy that he chose of his own free will, for which he bears the responsibility, and in whose grip he finds himself. Husak knows that he attained power at the behest of Brezhnev and his marshals. This conditions his whole policy and will continue to do so in the future. It is dangerous to have any illusions about this.

It is in this direction also that we must look for the answer to the question of whether these political trials were the culmination of the repression or the beginning of a revenge campaign that might strike the leading representatives of the "Prague Spring." It seems that Husak wants to limit the repression to those who still believe in the ideas of 1968 and are ready to fight to realize

them. He knows in fact that if he gave the go-ahead for revenge against 1968 that such a campaign would eventually turn against him also. Once unleashed, such mechanisms of repression become those celebrated "mills" that ultimately catch up even those who start the machinery grinding. He knows also that if he permits prosecution of Dubcek, Smrkovsky, Kriegel, and their closest collaborators, this will unleash a still greater wave of protest throughout the world. And at the present time even the Soviet leadership does not want this and would like to see people forget about Czechoslovakia as soon as possible. This, however, does not say that there is not, and will not be, pressure from revanchists in the police and party apparatus who are hinting today that it is the "little people" who are being punished and not the "ringleaders." Any turn for the worse in the international situation might also exercise an adverse influence.

The international factor is playing an ever greater role in the question of repression. This was shown by the really gigantic worldwide outcry at the latest trials. Since 1968 the occupation regime has never been as isolated as it was this summer. The overwhelming majority of the Communist parties either condemned these political trials or took their distance from them. The socialist and workers' movement, labor unions, and representatives of science and culture rejected the false claims about the "legality" of the trials and clearly exposed their reactionary, antisocialist character. The organizers of the trials hoped that holding them in the summer vacation would make it possible to get the thing over with quietly, but this did not help. The power and extent of the wave of protests startled not only the Husak leadership but also Moscow. Some defendants have been rescued from prison, and a great battle is now being waged for the release of the others.

The socialist opposition, the defendants, and those already condemned have won great international support and solidarity. There have been numerous protests, demonstrations, and a great deal of publicity. Besides this, initiative groups, committees, and commissions, including representatives of various political parties and tendencies have been formed in a number of countries and will keep up the struggle against repression in Czechoslovakia. The regime is trying to hide the fact that they exist, but it cannot fail to heed their voice and their influence.

We must of course expect that the repression against the socialist opposition and against all those who refuse to silently accept foreign occupation and slavery will continue. The occupation regime is hoping that by the harsh sentences it can intimidate part of the people, silence another part for a longer period, and so wear out and demoralize another part that they will fall into indifference and later become ready to collaborate to a limited extent. Such collaboration always arises from a feeling of defeat and frustration.

The repression may, of course, inflict losses on the socialist opposition; it may weaken it for a time or inhibit its growth and activity. But it cannot destroy it because it cannot eliminate its source, the origin and the condition for its existence—foreign occupation, the neo-Stalinist regime, exploitation, the suppression of freedom and national independence. In the place of those who are jailed

or silenced new fighters, new groups, movements will learn from the mistakes and struggles of a whole series of young people. The struggle will continue in forms suited to the conditions and the real possibilities. It may be a long struggle or a short one; on one or another of its fronts we may suffer temporary failures, retreats,

and desertions, but in the end it will be victorious. It will lead to the end of foreign occupation, the restoration of our national sovereignty, and a change from the present bureaucratic structure to a democratic, socialist, independent Czechoslovakia in which genuinely free and equal citizens will rule their country. □

Indian Militants' Letter to Pakistani Vanguard

[The following letter was written by former Naxalites who have broken with Maoism. It is directed mainly to Pakistani revolutionists, with whom Indian militants cannot easily communicate. The letter was therefore sent through London. Its authors have not publicly revealed their names, because of the victimization they would consequently suffer—both from the Indian government and from political opponents.]

* * *

Dear Comrades,

For a long time, ever since we became involved in radical politics, we have desired to communicate with comrades in Pakistan and exchange ideas and experiences with them. We are glad that at last we have this chance, though, alas, it is via comrades in London.

For twenty-five years now our peoples have been divided because of the divide-and-rule policies of the British imperialists and the stupidity and opportunism of political leaders in undivided India. There has been much bloodshed, much bitterness, and much misery caused to common working people. A new generation has grown up in both countries; into its ears has been poured hatred and chauvinism built up over the decades. There has been no communication between our peoples; there has only been abuse. And there has been no exchange of experiences between us Indian and Pakistani revolutionaries; there has only been silence.

We are desperately keen to break this silence, comrades, because we firmly believe that the revolution in Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and Ceylon is part of one movement, that historically and geopolitically we are one country, although thanks to Nehru, Patel, and Jinnah, we are now divided. This division is a great boon

to imperialism, because as long as our people are infected by the false consciousness of Hindu chauvinism and casteism and Muslim communalism; as long as workers can be forced to think of themselves not as workers, but as Hindus (of different castes), Muslims, Sikhs, or Buddhists; as long as nationalities like the Punjabi, Sindhi, Gujerati, Bengali, etc., remain divided artificially on the basis of religion; as long as this lasts, comrades, there cannot be a revolution in our subcontinent. Communalism, chauvinism, and the "two-nations" theory are the greatest enemies of the revolution—these false ideologies are used by the ruling classes in both countries to divide the proletariat. For our peoples, liberation from the economic and political stranglehold of the ruling classes must be combined with liberation from the social and cultural stranglehold of religion, liberation from the pandit and the mullah, from casteism and "untouchability"; in short, our cultural revolution is a very important part of our entire revolutionary outlook. Politics must be freed from religion—the combination of politics and religion is a deadly enemy of socialism. Once we have established contact, comrades, we would like to discuss these issues in greater detail.

As you know, during the years 1967-71, there was a strong tide of revolutionary ferment in India. (The experiences of some of us—gathered in the course of the revolutionary movement—have been summarized, and we are trying to send you a copy of this.) During 1968-69, we were also greatly encouraged by the revolutionary militancy of the Pakistani youth and working people, and we witnessed with great pleasure the downfall of the military tyrant and U.S. puppet Ayub Khan. But for both you and us, comrades, the outstanding problem has been the absence of a united,

mature, and intelligent leadership which could use critical periods like 1968 and 1971 to strengthen the hand of the workers and peasants in the class struggle. This is yet another reason why we feel the great need to establish contact with Pakistani comrades and learn from their experiences.

The events of 1971 taught us a great many things. We have learnt that opportunism and chauvinism is practiced not only by the imperialists and their allies but also sometimes by the socialist countries, including People's China. We have learnt that we must start to use our brains and imagination, learn from our own history and experience, if we are to carry out a revolution in South Asia. We know now that neither Moscow nor Peking Radio can be a guide to action.

This year more than 50 million of our people—in Maharashtra, Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh—are, even according to government statistics, living under famine conditions. Inflation is at its highest ever, there is less and less food to eat, and the growth rate of industry is less than 2.5 percent. And all this after 25 years of "freedom"! We know that conditions in Pakistan and Bangladesh are no different. You know as well as us, comrades, that our part of the world is one of its richest areas, both in human and material resources. And you know as well as us that without socialism our subcontinent is doomed to eternal misery and stagnation.

No other part of the world has to deal with as many contradictions as us, comrades. Everyone, from the imperialists to even the "socialist" nations, is going to try to exploit these contradictions—have we not seen this already? It is therefore extremely urgent that you and we begin to communicate with each other and use our own brains to analyse our conditions.

Moscow tells us Indira Gandhi is a "socialist." Thousands of revolutionaries have been killed by this "socialist." Peking tells us Bhutto is "progressive." We know how many workers died on the streets of Karachi and how many still languish in prison! Both Moscow and Peking tell us that Bandaranaike of Ceylon is an "anti-imperialist." She organized the murder of 8,000 comrades in one month alone in 1971!

Comrades of Pakistan, we look upon you and the Bengali revolutionaries as our closest allies in this struggle for the liberation of our subcontinent. We look forward eagerly to a continuous exchange of ideas with you so that we can learn from your experience in struggle. This particu-

lar letter we are sending in an open form via revolutionary papers outside our subcontinent. The very fact that we cannot correspond with each other directly is one of the contradictions of our subcontinent so prized by imperialism. We hope that this letter will reach you and that you will translate it into all your languages—into Sindhi, Baluchi, Pushto, Punjabi, Urdu—and distribute it widely so that workers and peasants in Pakistan know that they have their counterparts in India and that we all face a common enemy. Reply soon, initially via the same channels.

Lal salaam (red salute),
Some Indian revolutionaries
(until recently members of
the CPI [M-L])

'A Position of Unparalleled Dishonesty'

Belgian Medical Society Opposes Abortion

"With regard to abortion as well as contraception, the position of the Ordre des Médecins [Medical Society] is one of unparalleled moralizing and backward dishonesty," stated an article in the February 8 issue of *La Gauche*, the weekly organ of the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs (LRT — Revolutionary Workers' League), the Belgian section of the Fourth International.

In its opposition to legalizing abortion, the Belgian Medical Society not only falls back on moral attitudes that have little, if anything, in common with medicine, but it also resorts to medical data of questionable value. In an attempt to show, for instance, that complications result from legal abortions, it cites the case of one hospital in Oxford, England. Aside from the fact that such a selective choice of data is in itself statistically invalid, the Society does not even bother to provide any breakdown as to how late in the pregnancies the abortions occurred, which is a point of some relevance in assessing the possibility of subsequent complications.

"In short, the council of the Medical Society," continued *La Gauche*, "is firmly opposed to any revision of existing legislation as far as abor-

tion is concerned. Without any hint of embarrassment, it states that a modification of the legislation 'would undermine present efforts to strengthen family planning.' This is certainly the first time that we have heard this august medical body express an encouraging opinion on the matter of family planning! For this very same body has already taken a position on family planning in another memorandum sent to its provincial councils. In that memorandum, it stated that the doctor working in a planning center can examine people but *he must send his patients back to their own doctor*, who will then prescribe a means of contraception if it is required. It is quite easy to see how anxious the Society is to protect private medical practice."

La Gauche accuses the Medical Society of trying to defend the special, lucrative financial privileges of the doctors it represents. These doctors "have too successful a business going by performing clandestine abortions at prohibitive prices for them to want to see abortions legally authorized and to see an important source of income thus dry up.

"Taken as a whole, the position of the Society's council amounts to de-

fending the economic and other privileges of the profession and holding the interests of the masses of people in contempt. In this sense, we offer our firm support and our encouragement to the many doctors who are 'disobeying' the council, which is continuing to protect and defend a class-oriented medicine. In addition to demanding free abortion in a medical facility performed by a specialized doctor, we demand that it be reimbursed on an equal basis with child-bearing."

Expanding on its position, *La Gauche* stated: "Practically speaking, it is the woman who bears all the responsibility and suffers all the consequences of the sex act. Whether what is involved is an oversight or a material error on either her part or that of her partner in a moment of abandon, she *alone* will suffer the consequences."

"There is an ideological aspect to the problem of abortion as well as of contraception," it said in conclusion. "Freedom of abortion and the generalized spread of contraception would give women sexual freedom. Sexual freedom for women means the loss of authority over them by men. Sexual freedom for women inspires proper-thinking men with great fear. This freedom means the disintegration of the male supremacist tradition and ideology of our patriarchal society." □

Solidarity

"There's no law requiring a person to be a writer. If he prefers to write as he wishes to, then it's up to him to take the consequences. That's all I can say."—U.S. author Erskine Caldwell commenting on Solzhenitsyn during a visit to the USSR.

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