

# Intercontinental Press

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## French Left Debates Mitterrand Candidacy



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**Eyewitness Account**

**Workers Upsurge in Portugal**

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## Italy Takes Lead

In the international postal race for worst service, Italy seems to have taken the lead. Here are some of the facts as reported in the April 23 *International Herald Tribune*:

"An experiment in Turin, Italy's Detroit, reveals that letters mailed there for delivery within the city limits may take up to 14 days to get where they're going. In Rome, 10,000 telegrams a day fail to make the telex and are mailed instead. In Milan, on April 8, a postal clerk got around to opening a sack dated October, 1973, and found a bunch of special delivery letters in it. Also in Milan, 50 tons of registered mail and 500 tons of periodicals have backed up at and around the central post office; and dozens of sacks keep arriving daily at the railroad station in Milan from Calabria, in the far south, addressed to people in Calabria but piling up so unreasonably there that they are simply put on a train to get them out of the way."

However, human ingenuity being what it is, a solution may be found before long. "Courier services have sprung up all over the place in the last year or so, and are doing wonderfully well. Not only do they carry letters into Switzerland several times daily for posting abroad, but their inter- and intra-city services are generally impeccable. For \$2 or \$3 a letter, you can get word to anybody in Milan, Turin, Genoa, Bologna, Rome, Naples with no trouble at all: from Milan to Genoa, it costs only \$1 and takes only three hours."

Another proposed solution was the introduction of electronic machines, but the first attempt did not work out. "Milan spent nearly \$1 million on an ultra-modern postal machine two years ago, only to find that human labor was equally efficient, and cheaper."

One of the reasons given for the delays in deliveries is the shortage of personnel. "In Turin, for instance, the 500 mailmen on the payroll would each have to carry nearly 1,000 pounds of mail a day to get through the quantity actually reaching the central post office for distribution."

Still another reason is the postal buildings, "many of them tomblike underground caverns unfit for human habitation."

Not much is expected to be done about the shortage in workers. "Although the government was supposed to hire more personnel . . . it is too broke to hire twice, still less three times, the present postal staff of 160,000. Its plans at present are actually to take on another 3,000."

Unless other countries adopt more strenuous measures, that ought to assure Italy's lead for the time being in cutting down postal services. □

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## May 1—The Celebration in Lisbon

By Gerry Foley

### Lisbon

"The explosion of joy that swept the entire country yesterday has no parallel since the demonstrations at the end of the war marking the liberation of nations occupied by fascism-Nazism." That was the way *Diário de Lisboa*, the first paper to come off the press following the May 1 demonstrations, described the massive outpouring in celebration of the fall of the fascist government of Marcello Caetano. As the paper was snatched up by eager crowds, the analogy with the liberation spread in minutes through all of downtown Lisbon.

It was a fitting analogy in more ways than one. Although the Cuban demonstrations in Havana's Plaza de la Revolución may have been bigger in absolute numbers, the joyfulness in Lisbon May 1 certainly matched it in universality. Such demonstrations can be seen only when an entire nation is liberated from a universally detested regime. The Portuguese May Day also resembled the liberation demonstrations following World War II in its political character. It was marked by the spirit of the "national democratic front," with the Communist party, apparently gaining an immediate mass following as it emerged from the underground, calling for inclusion of "all democratic forces in the government."

As in the mass movements that followed the liberation in France and Italy, the Communist party seemed clearly the politically dominant force in the May Day celebrations. The prevailing chant on the march was "O povo unido, jamais será vencido" (the people united can never be defeated), the same slogan as the one used by the Popular Unity government in Chile in the last mass demonstrations before the military coup. It was put across to the crowd in Lisbon by apparently well-coached CP cadres.

The second strongest force in the march seemed to be the Socialist party. Its members could easily be distinguished because they usually car-

ried red flags, instead of the Portuguese national flags and the "Democracy and peace" slogans of the CP. The SP contingents raised the slogan of "socialism" most often, but it was not clear whether this was just a plug for the party. Some CP members standing near me thought it was, but then their own contingents often simply chanted the initials "PCP."

As for the SP, it seems to have chosen to define itself in terms like those of the left-wing of the Chilean SP, whose coalition experiment it apparently hopes to repeat. For example, point No. 5 of the SP statement of principles published in the April 29 issue of *República* said:

"Considering the Soviet socialist revolution as a fundamental turning point in the history of humanity, and taking account of the importance of the socialist revolutions carried out in China and Yugoslavia, among other countries, and also of the originality of the Popular Unity experiment in Chile, the Partido Socialista proposes a kind of socialism that would welcome and develop pluralism, with respect for human dignity, freedom of criticism, civil rights, and the organization of a state based on the rule of law."

The SP is working together with the CP and "progressive Catholics" in the MDP (Movimento Democrático Português—Portuguese Democratic Movement, sometimes called the Democratic Electoral Commission).

There was a sprinkling of other tendencies in the march—student radicals carrying banners calling for workers power, some anarchists.

The Maoist MRPP (Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party) covered the Praça de Rossio with placards and leaflets calling for a rally there at 7:30. Their main slogans were "Red May!" and "Immediate independence for the colonies." *O Diário de Lisboa* did not give an estimate of the number present but did report that the speeches

dealt entirely with the colonial problem.

I noticed at the University of Lisbon in the morning of May 1 that the Maoists had put up a lot of slogans attacking the CP as "social chauvinist" for not taking a strong enough position on colonial independence. But there were no concrete slogans or demands relating to the situation in Portugal itself. There were strong attacks on General Spínola, the head of the junta, but all centered on his



Lisbon, May 1.

role as an accomplice in the colonial repression.

Since an enormous mass of people spent most of the afternoon walking to the official rally, the Maoists' demonstration, at best, could only have attracted their own followers and a relatively small spillover. And on the march they were hardly in evidence, possibly because they were preparing for their own demonstration later in the evening.

Many spontaneous, apolitical elements also participated in the march. Some young women carried posters covered with hearts and flowers calling on God to bless General Spínola.

On the other hand, also apparently spontaneously, some people raised the slogan "Bread, Peace, Land," in an analogy much more hopeful than *O Diário's* evocation of the post-liberation euphoria. The Russian analogy gained force, moreover, because the assembly point for the march was in a square under a huge movie theater advertising Eisenstein's "The Battleship Potemkin," the classic film commemorating the first Russian revolution, the dress rehearsal for 1917.

A number of feeder marches converged on the Alameda de Don Afonso Henriques. I followed one from the São Sebastião area and got in close to the head of the crowd. All the different feeders apparently confused some people. At least no one I talked to seemed to know where the starting point of the demonstration was; everyone gave a different answer. But once the marchers started, you could follow any crowd and end up at the assembly point. And the people were all waiting on the street. Every café, every business establishment was closed. Perhaps everyone wanted to march. But in any case, I did not see a single person trying to make money by selling food or cold drinks to the huge crowd. It was hard to believe; but it was so.

The march started off at 3:00 and reached the rally point, a football stadium on the outskirts of the city, at about 5:30. I waited inside the stadium grounds for an hour, but the marchers outside still stretched as far as I could see. And the march was tightly packed; the route was like an endless New York subway car in rush hour. Most participants were swept along uncontrollably. The route was lined with six-story concrete apart-

ment buildings, most of them quite shabby-looking, with their pastel coloring faded and soiled. People were hanging out of almost every window. Most, it seemed, had draped the most beautiful piece of cloth they had from the window sill, usually what looked like fancy bedspreads.

At one point, the march passed the shell of an apartment house under construction. It was so filled with people that it was like a gigantic reviewing stand. When we passed, the roar was so immense it probably could be heard many blocks away.

Again and again the crowd took up songs—not booming anthems, but quiet or humorous melodies. There was one refrain I heard over and over. I could only understand the words "Sing, sing our song, all alone." Perhaps it was a song of resistance in the long years of fascism. The next most popular was "è bom, è bom, a liberdade" (freedom, freedom, it's good), sung to the tune of "Auprès de ma Blonde."

The most popular slogans in general were peace slogans: "Peace, yes. War, no!" "End the colonial war!" and "Mozambique!"

The last had a haunting quality with its soft Portuguese pronunciation trailing off to a faint crystalline whisper at the end. As the crowd passed a building with "America" written on it, tens of thousands of people began to chant softly "Viva Vietnam, viva Vietnam."

The most common flag was the Portuguese national flag, a red and green banner with a yellow dynastic emblem of some kind in the middle. It seemed to both the CP and the obviously conservative elements that went most for this. But the press reports did indicate a feeling among the humblest layers of society that a deep national humiliation had been removed when fascism was overthrown.

In any case, the symbol of the day was not the flag, but flowers—red roses and red carnations. The army seems to have taken to wearing flowers on their insignia as a sign that they are with the people and for peace. The tough-looking potbellied old colonial warriors who lined the route at the start of the march wore expressions that belied the posies in their gear. But groups of young soldiers and sailors were so caught up by the

spirit of the demonstration that they joined in, to the joy of the demonstrators. I saw one fellow, about nineteen or younger, I would guess, dancing along and clowning with a rose. He looked at some officers on the sidewalk; they beamed back.

There were a number of rhyming slogans such as "è bom, è bom, e continua, o povo português pôs o fascismo na rua" (it's good, it's good, it's going further; the Portuguese people threw fascism out) or "um, dois, três, quatro, o Marcello está no papo" (one, two, three, four, Marcello is done for).

The most deeply felt slogan was one word. The packed crowd always concentrated entirely on it when it was chanted: "Victória, vitória!" Thousands upon thousands raised their fingers in the sign of victory.

As I watched the marchers file into the stadium, I saw many more banners and slogans. One said: "Better to die defending the truth than live spreading the lie." Another reminded: "10,000 patriots still in prison in Angola." One said: "Down with the concordat [with the Vatican]." There were many calling for the right to strike and for democratic education.

As the sun started going down and the crowd kept coming in endlessly, I decided to leave early so as not to be trapped indefinitely by the crowd. Many scores of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, must have made the same decision, or given up trying to get into the stadium.

The sidewalks all around were almost as crowded, and the streets were jammed with cars bumper-to-bumper, all sounding their horns with a code for "o povo unido, jamais será vencido." The whole city seemed caught up in an enormous cacaphony that I could hear from my hotel until 3:00 a.m.

Very few of the crowd could have heard the speakers at the rally. They said some things, according to the report of the May 2 *O Diário de Lisboa*, that were true enough. Francisco Pereira de Moura of the MDP warned of the possibility of fascism returning, because "the basis of fascism is capitalism."

After forty years of fascism, the cosy relationship between the fascist government and big business is obvious to most Portuguese. The demand for an end to capitalism arises as natural-

ly as it did in other European countries after the defeat of fascism. But there is no indication, despite occasional oratorical flights by CP and SP speakers, that any visible force intends to fight for socialism by calling on the workers to organize independently on a political basis to fight for their interests, to trust only in their strength and not in any bourgeois savior.

For example, the CP leaflet that was distributed to publicize the demonstration said: "The leadership of the Lisbon Regional Organization of the Communist party, which proposed to the other democratic currents to join in holding a mass demonstration, declares that it now associates itself with the call issued by the unions, and it appeals to Communists and the working class to take an active part in the demonstration and the following rally.

"—Let us affirm our support for the Armed Forces.

"—Let us affirm our support for the democratic transformation in progress."

In fact, the head of the CP, Alvaro Cunhal, speaking to the crowd that welcomed him back from exile April 29, said that the greatest challenge now was "to be able to unite the Armed Forces Movement and the popular masses." He also indicated that the CP was anxious to be included in the government: "The best guarantee of genuinely free elections would be the formation of a government representative of all democratic forces." The assembled party faithful echoed: "Take Cunhal into the government, Cunhal into the government." (*O Diário*, May 2.)

The Socialist party's official position has not yet been expressed in such an openly opportunistic way, but the essence is pretty much the same:

"The Socialist party, conscious of its responsibilities, solidarizes with the struggle of the Portuguese people and hails the Armed Forces Movement and the junta de salvação nacional [junta of national salvation] as its expression.

"It considers the implementation of the Armed Forces Movement Program, a body of measures that must be carried out in this phase of transition to democracy, to constitute a first and important step in the march that, under the impulse of the class struggle, must lead to the establishment of a so-

cialist democracy in our country." (First Socialist party communiqué, *República*, April 29.)

A similar line was taken by a prominent figure in the LUAR (Liga de União e Acção Revolucionária—League for Revolutionary Unity and Action) guerrilla group, Herminio da Palma Inácio, a veteran anarchist militant, in an interview in the May 2 *Diário de Lisboa*:

"I judge things by their results. At this moment, I don't know for sure what is going to happen. We must be vigilant and on our guard. I confess that the Armed Forces Movement communiqué startled me at first, but then it seemed quite progressive. I felt satisfaction at seeing many officers show a desire to achieve national renewal. As for what the junta de salvação nacional is going to do, it is premature to offer any hypotheses.

"Still I hope the junta will prove capable of achieving everything in its

manifesto. And we must make its path easier."

One thing the massive outpouring of May 1 did seem to create was an atmosphere in which it will be hard for the junta to turn quickly to repression. It gained some time, perhaps, for a process of political discussion in Portugal, for starting the process of building a leadership that can assure that the exuberant hopes of the long-oppressed Portuguese people will not end in the disillusionment that followed the postliberation "national democratic" governments or the slaughter that followed the downfall of the Popular Unity in Chile.

In the May 1 demonstration in Lisbon, I recall one voice in particular. It was a melodious female TV announcer reminding people, oh so sweetly, that the police were still guarding public and private property from attack. □

## Stage March in Lisbon

# Postal Workers Demand Free Unions

By Gerry Foley

Oporto

In downtown Lisbon May 3 as I went from place to place trying to change enough money to buy a train ticket (the money exchanges had been closed since April 25), I suddenly got a clear impression of how explosive the demands for free unions could be in a country where all working-class organizations have been banned for forty-eight years.

I was just coming out of the national tourist center on the Praça de Restauradores when I heard chanting in the distance. As in all public buildings in Lisbon, the door was guarded by heavily armed soldiers and sailors, all wearing red carnations on their uniforms. The guards grew agitated and milled around when they heard the chanting.

I thought that maybe it was the Maoists who had converged on the square on May Day with hammer-and-sickle banners and vociferously shouted the slogans: "Not fascists, nor liberals, nor revisionists—A people's democratic republic," "Red May," etc.

A few minutes later, a banner came into view with a couple of hundred people marching behind it and giving, it seemed, clenched-fist salutes. It really looked like a demonstration of the student left.

I tried to catch up with the rapidly moving demonstrators. But as I was on my way to the railway station, I was carrying two rather heavy suitcases and could not close the gap. Then, fortunately, the marchers slowed momentarily. The participants were all wearing uniforms. Some were carrying big leather bags. It was the "democratic postmen"—a couple of hundred of them.

The banner at the head of the march said: "The letter carriers demand a free union." Behind the banner, pumping their right fists up and down, and chanting militantly, the demonstrators marched on in doubletime.

There were other placards denouncing the "parasitic fascist unions." I tried to make out more, but the demonstration quickly outdistanced me on the long avenue leading out of the

Praça de Rossio. But I could still hear the chants. They echoed through the giant old squares at the foot of the banks of ancient stone houses that mount terrace-like to the overlooking walled fortress.

When I got to Oporto the next day, I noticed that the papers reported some cases of workers organizing and demanding the removal of repressive bosses and fascist union functionaries, as well as reinstatement of workers fired for their political beliefs and union activities. The fascist vertical union apparatus was a special target.

For example, the May 4 Oporto *Jornal de Notícias* reported that twenty-four unions in this northern Portuguese city had formed an União dos Sindicatos do Porto (Oporto Union Federation) and that this new body had decided, as one of its first acts, to occupy the offices of the fascist union agency, the INTP.

Shortly after the occupation began, an army unit arrived; and the officer in charge informed the unionists that the INTP was a state body and that although the ministry of which it was a part had no head, it was continuing to perform its functions.

The leader of the union delegation then read the União dos Sindicatos resolution:

"Considering that the fascist state machine must be destroyed, because its sole activity was to repress the workers; considering that maintaining this machine with the same fascist teams in control would mean leaving a field open to reaction; considering that within this machine are the delegations of the INTP, representatives in the districts of the Ministério das Corporações and centers of repressive activity against workers and the unions; considering that the dismantlement of the apparatus of the fascist state is an essential point in the program of the Armed Forces Movement; considering that the president of the Junta de Salvação Nacional said that it was necessary to speed the liquidation of the corporative structures, the undersigned decided to oust from office the delegates and sub-delegates responsible for repressing the workers and to begin to administer the INTP directly through a committee chosen by all representative unions."

The union representatives went to the military command headquarters to discuss the situation. According to

*Jornal de Notícias*, the outcome was an agreement on temporary coadministration of the INTP by a trade unionist and a military officer.

The problem of workers rights took an acute political character immediately for press workers. The decree abolishing official state censorship was only a starting point in winning real freedom of information. The workers of the Lisbon *Diário de Notícias* set up a committee after April 25 to eliminate internal censorship on the publication by the editors and publishers. Finally, a special committee was set up among the typesetters to check whether stories were altered or not. This led to a further step. On May 1 the committee noticed a remark in an article in another paper published in the *Diário de Notícias* printing plant that they considered offensive to the May Day marchers. They informed the workers, who refused to print it.

On Saturday afternoon, the May 5 *Diário de Lisboa* said, a committee of workers at the *Diário de Notícias* met to discuss, among other things, the links of the administrators and

editors to fascism.

This explosive process of the Portuguese working class reorganizing itself and tending to move toward directly solving its problems obviously poses a grave threat to the bourgeois junta and its objective of finding a "political solution" to the chronic decline of Portuguese capitalist society.

On May 5, the junta issued a warning: "The Junta de Salvação Nacional, which feels that it has been accorded recognition in view of the exuberant support given by the people and political and trade-union movements to the Armed Forces Movement, informs the nation that it cannot allow its authority—the guarantee of maintaining sound democratic principles—to be impaired by actions not receiving prior sanction from the state power that it has taken into its hands and exercises."

Already the junta seems to be trying to use the political support given it by the Stalinists, Social Democrats, and other currents of the left on May 1 to block the dismantling of the repressive fascist apparatus and reorganization of the working class. □

## 'Three Marias' Acquitted by Lisbon Court

"United women shall never be vanquished," was the slogan that rang out in a Lisbon courtroom May 7 when three women's liberationists were acquitted of the "pornography" charge that had been hanging over them for more than a year.

Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Vello da Costa, and Maria Teresa Horta—the "Three Marias"—were actually on trial for having written *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*, an anthology of feminist letters, essays, and poetry.

The case had been widely reported

and protested internationally. Shortly before the April 25 military coup, the government prosecutor had recommended dismissal of the charges.

The defendants told a *New York Times* reporter, "Today's decision is only the beginning." They announced plans to start a women's movement in Portugal. They will work to legalize abortion. At present, Barreno stated, thousands of women are forced to resort to illegal abortions "under deplorable conditions." □

## Missionaries Report Mozambique Massacre

Portuguese forces in Mozambique tortured and massacred 113 Africans at Imhaminga in February, according to an account given by five Dutch missionaries in London May 10.

Following attacks by Frelimo against Portuguese forces in the area, colonialist troops were stationed at Imhaminga, where they "interrogated" suspects by hang-

ing them from their feet and applying electric shocks. On February 18 a bulldozer dug a pit in which thirty-five Africans were shot and buried. Another seventy-eight were killed the same way a few days later.

Beginning March 8, major military operations were carried out in the region, in which napalm was dropped from helicopters and bombers. □

## Lisbon Threatens to Step Up African Wars

By Ernest Harsch

General Francisco da Costa Gomes, chief of the Portuguese military staff and vice-president of the military junta, warned May 11 that if the African liberation forces did not accept the junta's cease-fire proposal, Lisbon would continue—and even step up—its colonial wars.

Speaking at a press conference in Lourenço Marques, the capital of Mozambique, he said that he was aware that some parties in Portugal would be against the continuation of the war, but that if Frelimo (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique—Mozambique Liberation Front) rejected the cease-fire proposal, "the majority of parties will surely be of the opinion that the fight must go on."

Costa Gomes promised Frelimo "full freedom of expression and propaganda" if it would lay down its arms, move its headquarters from Tanzania to Mozambique, and become a "nonviolent" political party.

The same day in Lisbon, a representative of the junta repeated a May 6 appeal to the guerrilla groups in the African colonies to lay down their arms. He also stressed that the war was continuing and that Portuguese troops were being rotated regularly between Africa and Portugal.

On May 6 Costa Gomes had made a cease-fire offer in Lisbon, calling on the guerrilla groups in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau to accept the "framework of the democratic program of the armed forces." The May 7 *New York Times* reported a statement by Costa Gomes that the guerrilla forces would be allowed, under the cease-fire conditions, to participate in open political activity preceding a referendum on the future status of the colonies and that the members of the guerrilla organizations imprisoned by the colonial forces would be given amnesty. The general did not specify when, or under what conditions, such a referendum would take place or whether the question of independence for the colonies would be raised in it.

The original cease-fire proposal also contained a threat to continue the Portuguese attacks against the liberation forces. According to the May 7 *Le Monde*, Costa Gomes said that unless an open agreement is reached, "Portugal will have no other choice than to continue the war. The armed struggle against the guerrillas in Portugal's African territories will continue as long as they refuse a political settlement. It is our intention to continue fighting. This position will not change as long as the guerrillas refuse to accept our offer."

The major guerrilla organizations responded to the proposal immediately. At its headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, Frelimo repeated May 7 that the war would not end until the Portuguese recognized the Mozambicans' right to independence. In Mozambique itself, Samora Moises Machel, a leader of Frelimo, called for a "general offensive" against the colonialist forces. Renewed attacks by Frelimo were reported in the days that followed.

Another, smaller, guerrilla group in Mozambique, Coremo (Comité Revolucionario de Moçambique—Mozambique Revolutionary Committee), issued a statement in Zambia, in which it also said that the war would go on as long as Lisbon "refused to recognize the right of African peoples to self-determination and independence."

Francisco Mendes, an official of the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné-Bissau e Cabo Verde—African party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands) provisional government, said in Dakar, Senegal, according to the May 9 *Washington Post*: "What the new leaders in Portugal are proposing to us is a pure and simple surrender. . . . We have not battled for 11 years just to lay down our arms in response to a simple appeal from the new regime in Portugal."

According to the same report, Agos-

tinho Neto of the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) said in East Germany: "The Angolan people have decided to pursue, together with Portuguese democrats, the struggle for the complete liberation and independence of their country." "The imperialists," he added, "are trying, by new neo-colonial methods, to relaunch a colonial policy, which has already failed, and continue to loot African countries."

The white minority regimes in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), both of which border Mozambique, have been watching the events in Portugal and its colonies very closely, as have U.S. and European imperialism.

According to a report prepared for the United Nations decolonization committee, NATO is preparing contingency plans to intervene in southern Africa, ostensibly to "protect" the sea routes between the Arab-Persian Gulf and the Atlantic Ocean. Michael J. Berlin reported in the May 10 *New York Post*: "The debate over protection of sea routes, the UN report says, is a 'smokescreen' designed to hide from the public of the Western nations an evolving alliance designed to sustain the rule of [the] South African government."

"If Mozambique, from which African terrorists are said to operate," wrote Dana Adams Schmidt in the May 10 *Christian Science Monitor*, "were to be given some form of autonomy or independence, South Africa would be threatened."

Schmidt reported that Admiral Hugo Biermann, chief of staff of the South African military, was in Washington and had met with Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Thomas H. Moorer and with Acting Secretary of the Navy J. William Middendorf II. "Many believe," Schmidt wrote, "that they have been brought together by common concern about the effects on security in the Indian Ocean of the recent coup in Portugal." □

### When You Move...

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## Transcripts Spur Moves to Dump Nixon

By Allen Myers

"The authority of the President of the United States," wrote the editors in the May 12 *New York Times*, "is visibly disintegrating. Instead of the master stroke that Mr. Nixon apparently envisaged, the disclosure of the edited transcripts of his Watergate talks has proved a disaster for him. . . ."

"Mr. Nixon's authority is no longer crumbling at the edges or flawed on certain sides. It has collapsed at the center."

Less than two weeks after his April 30 release of edited transcripts of White House conversations, Nixon's political fortunes had reached a new low—even lower than during the period following the firing of the Watergate special prosecutor last October. The publication of the transcripts lost Nixon many of his most tenacious supporters among conservative newspapers and members of Congress. On May 11, Nixon's daughter Julie and her husband held a news conference to defend her father; in all of official Washington Nixon could find no one except family members and hired employees willing to take on such an unpleasant task.

William Randolph Hearst Jr., the editor-in-chief of the reactionary Hearst newspaper syndicate, wrote in an editorial published in all the chain's newspapers May 5:

"President Richard M. Nixon has made it impossible for me to continue to believe what he claims about himself in the Watergate mess. . . ."

"To me, it is simply astonishing that he would make the transcripts public with the avowed belief that they would exonerate him. They may not actually amount to a conviction of criminal behavior. Perhaps the kindest way of putting it is that they amount to an unwitting confession, in which he stands convicted by his own words as a man who deliberately and repeatedly tried to keep the truth from the American people."

In the next few days, such conservative newspapers as the *Omaha World-Herald*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Kansas City Times*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*,

and *Los Angeles Times* called for Nixon's resignation or impeachment.

Hugh Scott, the Republican leader in the Senate, who earlier in the year loudly proclaimed that he had seen White House transcripts that proved Nixon innocent, on May 7 described the public transcripts as showing "deplorable, disgusting, shabby, immoral performances" by all the participants in the conversations.

The Republican leader in the House of Representatives, John J. Rhodes, told reporters May 9: "The content of the transcripts was devastating." Rhodes called on Nixon to "reconsider" resigning. John B. Anderson, chairman of the House Republican Conference, said Nixon had "damaged himself irreparably." If Nixon did not resign, Anderson said, "I would predict he would be impeached."

Even a member of Nixon's cabinet, Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton, let himself be quoted as saying, "We have seen a breakdown in our national leadership. We have seen a breakdown in our ethics of government, which I deplore and which I am having a very difficult time in living with."

". . . as the week wore on," *Newsweek* reported in its May 13 issue, "the cumulative effect was devastating. House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill told a Republican colleague privately that a bill of impeachment, far from suffocating under the mass of transcripts, would carry by 100 votes."

Rumors of Nixon's impending resignation were so widespread in Washington that on May 10 White House press secretary Ronald Ziegler was put to work telephoning denials to newspapers.

Why had Nixon released so much incriminating evidence? The reason, evidently, was that the original tapes would have been even more incriminating. Nixon gambled that the edited transcripts could be made to seem "ambiguous" and that few persons would bother to read through the 1,254 pages. *Washington Post* colum-

nist William Raspberry compared him to "a wild animal who chews off his leg in order to escape the certain death of the hunter's steel trap. It is a desperate, excruciatingly painful thing to do, but it has to be done."

"Even if it means bleeding to death after all."

The Congressional and press reaction to the transcripts seems to have taken the White House gang by surprise. "Despite all that has happened," correspondent John Herbers wrote in the May 12 *New York Times*, "the predominant view from the White House still is that Mr. Nixon is an innocent victim of a political vendetta by liberals and the news media, that the President, because he is Richard Nixon, is being persecuted for behav-



SCOTT: Deplorable, disgusting, shabby, immoral . . . and typical.

ior that other Presidents got away with."

But it is precisely the fact that his predecessors got away with similar behavior that forces the capitalist press and politicians to "persecute" Nixon. What is different about Nixon is not the extent of his crimes, but the fact that he got into a situation where those crimes were made public.

The bourgeois politicians and editorial writers knew very well, long before the Watergate scandal developed, that Nixon, like his predecessors, was a schemer, bigot, and liar capable of performing any crime. The daily duties of the president of



the United States, after all, include such tasks as ordering saturation bombing of Vietnamese peasants, overthrowing governments that are not sufficiently subservient to U.S. business interests, providing technical assistance to torturers and weapons to mass murderers, etc.

But the qualities of character required in a U.S. president are supposed to be kept secret from the people of the United States. The White House transcripts, despite all Nixon's editing, allowed too much of the reality to show through. The indignation of Congress and the capitalist press is designed to make Nixon appear an exception rather than the rule, so that his successor—whenever he takes office—can go on getting away with the sort of activities Nixon has been caught at.

But the more sophisticated ruling-class circles are under no illusions that it will be easy to restore the myths

surrounding U.S. capitalist politics that have been undermined by Watergate. Complaining that Nixon has continued to lie about the transcripts even after they were made public, the *Washington Post* concluded a May 8 editorial:

"Maybe he thinks the public is too dumb to notice or too insensitive to care or too trusting of a man who holds the office he holds to question his public utterances—especially when he looks us in the eye and says, in effect, Trust me—I am your President.

"It is that trust—that reservoir of respect for the office and that unwillingness to believe that a President would systematically deceive—that Mr. Nixon has so exploited and abused. He continues to do so. As a consequence, whatever his personal political fate turns out to be in the next several months, we will be picking up the wreckage of the American presidency for years to come." □

all Western Europe. They say they are denying entry into the territory of the Federal Republic, not to the scientist, but to the revolutionist. But if one defines the activity of the revolutionist, then it appears that what he is charged with—lectures and training of cadres; training of cadres *through* lectures—is nothing but written and spoken words, and that narrows the charge.

"No one has—and no one can—accuse me of any illegal deed, any action or personal activity that is in any sense illegal. I am accused only of propaganda, education, and agitation by written and spoken word. If one accepts this as the definition of activity threatening the order of the Federal Republic, then this will be an extremely dangerous precedent under which the defense of peace and order will include a significant restriction of basic human rights and basic personal freedoms. Then it will be only a question of time until this restriction no longer is applied only to foreigners and representatives of small groups, but is expanded to important parts of the public in West Germany."

In its ruling, the administrative court of the Saar walked a tightrope. On the one hand, it generally followed Genscher's argumentation. On the other hand, it had no concrete proof of revolutionary activities by Mandel. The summary of the basis of the ruling therefore said:

"Even if the plaintiff [Mandel] has not called for armed struggle against the Federal Republic or in the Federal Republic, it is to be concluded from his statements that he attempts to use his influence on students, pupils, and workers to make them dissatisfied with the present economic and social relationships in the Federal Republic, to intensify dissatisfaction where it already exists, and to encourage these circles of the population to . . . deeds that by means of (legal) strikes, (illegal) factory occupations, and street demonstrations . . . would cause economic difficulties in the Federal Republic, which would be intended finally to lead to the toppling of the present regime. It is self-evident that the present government of the Federal Republic would . . . not stand idly by and watch such a development, which would ruin the German economy and place the exist-

## West German Court Upholds Mandel Ban

[The following article appeared in the April 25 issue of the West German liberal daily *Frankfurter Rundschau*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

[In its introduction, the paper reported: "The ban that federal Interior Minister [Hans Dietrich] Genscher imposed against Ernest Mandel, prohibiting him from entering the Federal Republic of Germany, will remain. The upper chamber of the administrative court of the Saar [in Saarlouis] has rejected Mandel's appeal against the republic for a ruling that his 'exclusion is contrary to law.' It thereby declared Genscher's administrative act lawful. Our correspondent Henryk M. Broder spoke with Mandel."]

\* \* \*

The background: In 1971 Mandel was considered for a professorial chair in economics at the Berlin Free University. The West Berlin Senate on February 22, 1972, refused him employment. On February 28 Mandel was to give a press conference in West Berlin, which was to be followed by a student-organized teach-in on the matter, at which Mandel was to speak.

In this situation, Berlin Senator for the Interior Neubauer asked federal Interior Minister Genscher for official help. Genscher immediately arranged for Mandel's name to be put on the border control roster under the heading "rejected." And that is what happened. As Mandel arrived from Brussels at the Frankfurt airport on February 28, 1972, he was recognized by passport control and turned back by officials of the Frankfurt division of the Saarbrücken border guard, who were acting on the instruction of the federal interior minister.

On March 1, 1972, Genscher explained to the Bundestag that his measure applied not to Mandel the Marxist scientist, but to Mandel the active revolutionist. Until that time, the Belgian citizen and member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth (Trotskyist) International had not been hindered from appearing for countless lectures and discussions in West Germany—and there had been no such official division of his person.

Mandel: "I believe that that is the decisive aspect of the so-called Mandel case and the Saarlouis court's ruling, and the aspect that poses the greatest future danger to democratic freedoms in the Federal Republic and

ing state order in question."

In this paragraph, the court made two amusing errors: It called the government of the Federal Republic a "regime," and it wrote *deutsche Wirtschaft* [German economy] with a capital D.

Mandel: "The Saarlouis administrative court has affirmed that I endanger, not the interests of the free-democratic basic order, but the interests of the economic order of the Federal Republic, in that I seek to create mass dissatisfaction and to spur it further where it already exists. I think that this is a very unserious and frivolous overestimation of the role that propagandists or agitators can play today in a highly developed industrial economy.

"When mass dissatisfaction develops, it will have its causes in the contradictions of this society. I give the representatives of the Federal Republic, and above all the bourgeois class of the Federal Republic, the good advice to try to reduce these contradictions; then they would undoubtedly so limit this dissatisfaction that agitators like me couldn't get started. But if they can't build a better eco-

nomie order, then they themselves should take the blame for dissatisfaction and not try to put it on the shoulders of agitators."

Still, the administrative court of the Saar was aware of the declaratory character of its ruling. The court itself recognized:

"Of course, police measures, such as the exclusion of the plaintiff, cannot eliminate his political influence. But at least they can restrict his possibilities of action to influencing from abroad, as opposed to the possibilities when he is present in the country."

Mandel: "There is another historical aspect of the ban on me and the Saarlouis ruling that deserves to be stressed. The revolutionary activity I am charged with is based on classical Marxism and the promotion of soviet democracy, which do not collide with the essentials of the free-democratic order as enumerated in the constitution of the Federal Republic.

"I am not the first person in the history of the modern workers movement to advocate these principles.

They were represented in a systematic manner by Karl Marx, who for more than twenty years lived as a foreigner in Great Britain and defended them with tongue and pen and propaganda and agitation. In Wilhelm's Germany they were represented by, among others, Rudolf Hilferding, who spoke and wrote in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and who later became a minister in the Weimar Republic. They were represented by Rosa Luxemburg, who today is honored by being pictured on a West German postage stamp.

"How can one explain the fact that it is the government of a society as apparently stable as that of the Federal Republic that is frightened of my insignificance compared with the talent and importance of Marx, Rose Luxemburg, Hilferding, and other greats in the past—such as Lenin and Trotsky, both foreigners in Switzerland, and Bakunin, also a foreigner in Switzerland? The answer throws a very significant light on the lack of assurance, the lack of self-confidence, of the ruling circles in the Federal Republic." □

## Greetings Received From Around the World

# Banquet Marks 10 Years of 'Intercontinental Press'

More than 400 persons attended a celebration of the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press* May 5 in New York City. The banquet and rally also marked the fortieth anniversary in the Trotskyist movement of Joseph and Reba Hansen, the editor and business manager, respectively, of *IP*.

Chaired by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the revolutionary socialist news-weekly *The Militant*, the rally featured speeches by Joseph Hansen, Marxist scholar George Novack, Reba Hansen, and Norman Oliver, the former Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of New York City. The speakers described the origins and evolution of *Intercontinental Press*, and noted the necessity for *IP* to expand its coverage and analysis.

Many in the audience contributed to a fund for the publication of *IP*. Donors of more than \$20 received a book of drawings by Copain, the artist whose work has been appear-

ing in the pages of *IP* for seven years. Two of the drawings were done especially for the book.

Greetings were sent to the celebration from around the world. Among them were the following.

From Pierre Frank, a leader of the Fourth International and a contributing editor of *Intercontinental Press*: "I could not be present at the celebration of the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press* for reasons quite independent of my will. In writing these lines, I recall particularly the beginnings of *Intercontinental Press*, then called *World Outlook*. Joe, Reba, and I were in charge of its weekly publication in Paris, in a tiny headquarters, with extremely limited material means. This was a very important period for our movement. The Fourth International had just been reunified, and the publication contributed enormously to strengthening that reunification. I send my best wishes for the

future of *Intercontinental Press*."

From the Sattar League, the Iranian sympathizing organization of the Fourth International: "As an international publication, *IP* has been the most consistent in publicizing the cases of Iranian political prisoners. A collection of articles from *Intercontinental Press* about repression in Iran . . . has been used by Iranian students abroad to expose the shah's repressive regime.

"Even in Iran, despite the shah's heavy censorship, some publications have been able to make use of *IP* and report news and analysis of international events. As one of your readers in Iran wrote, 'In this period of political suffocation, this unusual magazine will be, as in the past, like a window to us.'"

From Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pilan, two of the founders of Chinese Trotskyism: "It [*IP*] became an international publication of great stature



Militant/Jo Hendrickson

Left to right: Mary-Alice Waters, George Novack, Reba Hansen, Joseph Hansen.

that speaks in a powerful voice, reflecting its rich content, to and for the world Trotskyist movement.

"Hereafter its contribution and its role will increase as the world Trotskyist movement continues to increase, and will, at the same time, help to push the movement forward.

"... we send our special warm salute to all three worthy comrades—to Joe and Reba on the fortieth anniversary of their participation in the movement and to *Intercontinental Press* on its tenth."

From Charles Michaloux, an editor of *Rouge* and a leader of the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire: "For revolutionary militants the international experiences of the proletariat are always of a concrete help in their own struggle: They show what can be accomplished by the powerful strength of the working class and its allies, what has to be avoided in order not to fall into the blind alleys of class collaboration.

"As such, *Intercontinental Press* will remain an original tool for us and we will continue to bring the best of it to the knowledge of our readers..."

From Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco: "Greetings to *Intercontinental Press* on its anniversary.

"I have heard very favorable comments in Europe on *IP*. The two most common are: (1) that it makes a notable effort to touch on the most im-

portant problems of the day; (2) that it makes in-depth analyses.

"Unfortunately there are very few Latin Americans who speak English. Thus we hope that soon *Intercontinental Press* will appear in Spanish.

"Happy Birthday."

From Tamara Deutscher: "I am a regular reader of the *Intercontinental Press* because it provides information which the bourgeois papers very often do not care to publicize, and it gives a survey of world events from a well-defined left-wing and Marxist viewpoint. I should like to join you in congratulating Reba and Joe Hansen and their team on the splendid achievement."

Other greetings were sent from: Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party of Argentina); League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière of Canada; Revolutionary Communist Group of Finland;

the Venezuelan Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores; *Bandiera Rossa* and the Revolutionary Communist Groups of Italy; Pathfinder Press (the British distributors of *IP*); Dr. Mohamed Mehdi, the secretary general of the Action Committee on Arab-American Relations; Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist); Revolutionary Marxist Group of Ireland; *Socialist Action*, organ of the New Zealand Socialist Action League; Roman Kupchinsky, secretary of the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners; Gruppe Internationale Marxisten in Germany; Espartaco in Colombia; Chitta Mitra, a veteran Indian Trotskyist; Socialist Workers League of Australia; and the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire of Switzerland.

The rally closed with a taped message from James P. Cannon, the founder of U.S. Trotskyism, in which he said: "We began our movement with the recognition that internationalism is the central principle of our entire movement, and that internationalism means, first of all and above all, collaboration of those people in all countries who recognize the international character of our historical problem. . . ."

"The two comrades whom we honor tonight are models of this capacity to work together, not only as a team of two but as a part of a larger team in this country, and especially in the last ten years they have made their great contributions to the development of the international movement as models of collaborators and team workers. They have contributed mightily to the dissemination of this idea to comrades around the world through the magnificent publication which they started and have continued to publish, reaching ever wider circles of readers—the *Intercontinental Press*." □

## \$500 Million Available

## Pentagon Stockpiles Arms for Saigon

By a vote of 43 to 38, the U.S. Senate rejected May 7 one of the Nixon administration's latest efforts to step up arms shipment to the Thieu

dictatorship in Saigon.

Nixon had tried to claim that discovery of a Pentagon "accounting error" made it possible to ship an ad-

ditional \$266 million in arms to Thieu without going over the military-aid ceiling set for the current fiscal year. The Senate, one-third of which is up for reelection in the fall, disagreed.

"The White House, perhaps concerned about the political implications of the Congressional setback to its foreign policy, seemed more perturbed by the Senate's action than Defense Department officials," reported *New York Times* correspondent John W. Finney on May 7.

Rightly so, for while the vote reflected popular sentiment against military aid to Thieu, it is generally acknowledged that the Senate action will have little effect on Saigon's military operations. Some \$100 million is still available under the old budget.

"To stay within the ceiling," Finney reported, "officials suggested it might be necessary to cut back in some programs, such as perhaps on the planned delivery of F-5E fighters to South Vietnam and the supply of spare parts. Between the unspent balance of the budgetary ceiling and reductions in other programs, however, these officials suggested it would be possible to continue supplying South Vietnam with the necessary ammunition and petroleum products for its military forces."

An alternate possibility, of course, would be for the Pentagon to "discover" a supply of arms and ammunition that had already been bought and paid for. That, in fact, is exactly what they did.

The day after the Senate vote, the Nixon administration revealed the existence of an arms stockpile of about \$515 million allegedly set aside in 1972 and 1973 for Saigon and other puppet regimes in Southeast Asia.

"According to Pentagon officials," Finney reported in the May 9 *Times*, "the stockpile consists of ammunition, trucks, tanks, radios, spare parts, and other types of equipment that would be expended or lost in the early phases of a war." Or in any other phase, for that matter, and thus it is presumably available for shipment to Thieu.

Although Nixon says he started the stockpile two years ago, the U.S. public has generally been kept in the dark about it. This led one senator to claim that it was "typical of the way the executive branch tries to get around Congressional [arms] cuts."

Pentagon officials, on the other hand, say the stockpile was "well known" to Congress, and that Congressional approval had been secured for every cent spent on it.

They did admit that the stockpile had been funded under the rather general category "War Reserve Stocks, Allies," but suggested that it certainly

## India

# Widespread Support for Rail Strike

By Sharad Jhaveri

[The following article was written a few days before the nationwide railway strike in India began May 8. As of May 11, the Gandhi regime had arrested some 7,000 rail union leaders and militants in an effort to break the strike.]

\* \* \*

### Bombay

While negotiations were still going on to avert the threatened nationwide rail strike, the Gandhi government ordered sweeping arrests of rail union leaders May 2. In response to the arrests, the Joint Action Committee of the Central Trade Unions called for a one-day bandh [general strike] in Bombay May 4. The national front of eight left parties called a bandh in Delhi for the same day. Both bandhs succeeded in bringing commercial and industrial activity to a standstill.

The arrests of the rail union leaders also evoked a flurry of protest in parliament. The entire opposition—with the exception of Congress (O), a splinter group from the ruling Congress party—condemned the government's action. In the Rajya Sabha [upper house], the entire opposition—again except for Congress (O)—walked out after an unprecedented forty-minute uproar.

The rail workers are seeking recognition as industrial workers, an eight-hour day, job evaluation, and a minimum wage based on need. In the meantime, they demand that they be treated on a par with other workers in the public industrial sector and that

wasn't the Pentagon's fault that it had taken the Senate two years to get around to asking what the money was for.

Nixon has asked for \$490 million more for the arms stockpile in the new Pentagon budget. That is in addition to the \$1,600 million he has requested for direct military aid to Thieu. □

they be paid the same wages as such workers. That would include a retroactive bonus for 1971-72 and 1972-73.

Railway Minister L. N. Mishra has rejected their demands, saying that the railroads cannot afford the 5,000 million rupees [approximately US \$650 million] it would cost to meet them. He declared that the government would release the strike leaders and resume negotiations only if the strike were canceled.

One noteworthy feature of the struggle is the failure of the government's strategy of trying to drive a wedge between the rail workers and a public harassed by all types of scarcities and by inflation. The call for the rail strike has received widespread support from almost all the political parties, including even the far-right Jan Sangh. In addition, INTUC, the trade-union wing of the ruling Congress party, has supported the bonus demand.

The government has spent hundreds of thousands of rupees on advertisements and television and radio publicity to alienate public sympathy for the rail workers. It even prematurely canceled about 200 passenger trains all over India under the pretext of conserving coal. That action stranded thousands of passengers.

At the same time the government has begun to victimize militant workers and has threatened to fire railwaymen who go out on strike. It has also threatened to use the Defence of India Act and the notorious MISA [Maintenance of Internal Security Act] against them. The unions' Political Affairs Committee met May 3 to dis-

cuss these threats and decided to remain firm.

The militancy and organization of the rail workers are remarkable. Union workers, for example, have been asked to ensure that no attempt will be made to burn or damage railway property. Any attempts by agents provocateurs to carry out such acts are to be dealt with collectively. Brisk preparations are being made to ensure the strike's success despite the ab-

sence of the jailed leaders.

Many railways have already been paralysed by workers who went out on strike five days early, on May 3. If the showdown comes on May 8, as now seems inevitable, it will be the first such confrontation between railway workers and the government since the general strike of 1960. A rail strike at this time would have a devastating effect on the badly shaken economy. □

## Chile

# Junta Hands Down More Death Sentences

By Judy White

Twenty-nine top members of the Popular Unity government, who had been imprisoned on Dawson Island since last September, were transferred to Santiago prisons May 8 in preparation for their trial. They have been charged with "having plotted to establish a Communist dictatorship," according to an Associated Press dispatch dated May 9. After their transfer the island concentration camp, located in the frigid Straits of Magellan, was closed.

Meanwhile, the show trial of sixty-seven air force and civilian personnel continues. The May 4 Buenos Aires *La Opinión* reported the proceedings against María Teresa Wedeles. She is former secretary to the president of the state bank of Chile. The prosecutor asked an eighteen-month sentence, accusing her of concealment for supposedly having burned documents dealing with "Marxist infiltration" of the armed forces.

*La Opinión* also noted that attorneys will no longer be allowed to make any political allusions or accusations of torture unless they present them with "authentic proof." The tribunal can be expected to use the same kind of criteria to judge "authentic proof" as the ones they use to justify trying political prisoners under the military code: They maintain that the Allende government had no legitimacy and therefore state-of-siege regulations can be applied retroactively to the period before the coup.

A newly formed committee of United States lawyers and former congress-

men, the Fair Trial Committee for Chilean Political Prisoners, issued a report dated April 16 on its first nine days of activity in Chile. The committee was formed to observe the trials and collaborate with local lawyers in the defense effort.

Charles O. Porter, ex-congressman from Oregon, detailed the committee's concern with "fair trial questions." Among them were the problem of proving that confessions had been obtained by torture, the lack of guarantees that the defense would be able to put the accused on the witness stand to repudiate the confessions (the military tribunals have the power to refuse to hear certain witnesses), and the use of a treason article in the military code in which Allende is defined as the "enemy."

The group also reported that even their delegation of attorneys representing imprisoned Chileans was unable to force the junta to reveal clients' whereabouts and the names of their Chilean lawyers in several cases.

More than 400 writs of habeas corpus have been filed in Chile this year, but military authorities insisted in all cases that they did not know the whereabouts of the persons named.

Two more Chileans were sentenced to death and four to life imprisonment in a new frame-up trial reported in a May 5 dispatch by Reuters. In the southern city of Valdivia, the six Socialist party members were convicted of having "favored the enemy or prejudiced Chilean troops."

Uldaricio Figueroa, former region-

al party director, was sentenced to death for supposedly broadcasting a radio call on the day of the coup urging workers to support the constitutional government. Victor Hormazábal, local propaganda chief, got the same sentence for allegedly having given paramilitary training to Allende supporters. The four receiving life sentences were rank-and-file party activists.

Five more Socialist party members, who had supposedly formed a paramilitary group, were sentenced to death April 26 in the town of San Fernando. However, Reuters reported May 6 the announcement by Interior Minister General Oscar Bonilla that the sentences had been commuted.

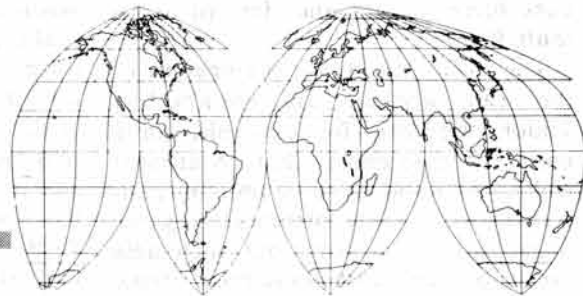
The military government was reported by *La Opinión* to have begun granting safe-conducts again for those who wish to leave the country. Safe-conducts had been suspended for several months. Thirty-four leftists are said to have received passes May 3, but, the paper continued, there are still 178 more persons who have requested them.

The other side to this policy was reported in the April 20 *Boletín Informativo* of Chile Democrático, the Rome-based coalition of all former parties of the Popular Unity government and the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria — Movement of the Revolutionary Left]. The junta has placed new restrictions on those leaving Chile: They are required to buy a round-trip ticket and pay a travel tax of 50,000 escudos (approximately US\$67), and, if a professional, an additional US\$5,000 "bail." Also required is a police check forty-eight hours before departure, and those traveling by air must report to authorities before departure.

Luis Suárez Luque provided new data in the May 1 *El Diario* on the alleged "suicide" of former Chilean Minister of the Interior José Tohá. The junta maintains that in mid-March he hanged himself while in prison awaiting trial. Luque referred to official reports that Tohá had stomach cancer and weighed only forty-five kilograms at the time of his death.

"Reports attributed to official sources say that he [Tohá] could not stand up," wrote Luque. "Nonetheless, the official report insists that he was strong enough to hang himself with his belt." □

# AROUND THE WORLD



## Kremlin 'Postpones' Ceremony Honoring Academy of Sciences

Soviet authorities have abruptly "postponed" the ceremonies scheduled for May 14 in celebration of the 250th anniversary of the Academy of Sciences. Since no new date has been set, and scientists around the world who had been invited to attend have been told there is no longer any point in their making the trip to Moscow, the postponement seems to be permanent.

The official reason given for the cancellation was a conflict with the elections for the Supreme Soviet. But these elections will not take place until July 16, a date set long ago. It therefore seems likely that the Soviet bureaucrats had another reason for canceling the ceremony: the embarrassing possibility that one or more guests might publicly denounce the Kremlin's attempts to expel dissident scientists Andrei Sakharov and Benjamin Levich from the academy.

## Iceland Government Falls

Premier Olafur Johannesson ordered Iceland's legislature dissolved May 9 and set new elections for June 30. The move came after the disintegration of the ruling coalition of Johannesson's Progressive party, the Communist party, and the Liberal Left party. The coalition broke up over the issue of how to deal with inflation, the Liberal Left party withdrawing to protest plans to restrict wage increases.

Until the election, Johannesson will remain as head of a caretaker government, which has power to rule by decree. He announced plans to devalue Iceland's currency, the krona, by 2 or 3 percent.

## Egyptian Court Rules Nasser's Confiscations Illegal

Egypt's highest court of appeals ruled May 8 that confiscations of private property during the rule of Gamal Abdel Nasser were illegal. The court ordered the return of property seized from a prominent lawyer, Farid Abou Shady. The decision is expected to be a precedent for other suits.

During the last months of 1960, Nasser ordered the confiscation of property belonging to about 600 "reactionary capi-

talists." It is these seizures that the court declared illegal. The decision did not mention corporations, about 500 of which were nationalized during the same period.

## Saigon Buddhists Ask Release of Thieu's Political Prisoners

Seventeen Buddhist monks and two nuns marched through Saigon's main streets May 6 to call for the release of the 200,000 political prisoners held by the Thieu regime. The marchers were stopped by the police before they could get to the Saigon City Hall, where they had planned to hold a demonstration.

## Broadcast Appeal for Bukovsky

In a telephone appeal broadcast May 4 over Dutch television, the mother of Vladimir Bukovsky called for worldwide support in the campaign to free her son from the Soviet prison camp where he is serving a seven-year sentence. Bukovsky was jailed in 1971 for protesting the confinement of Soviet dissidents in mental hospitals. There is serious concern for his health because of a heart ailment and a kidney disease he contracted during an earlier imprisonment.

## Venezuelan CP Splits

The second split within the last three years occurred May 6 in the Partido Comunista Venezolano (PCV—Venezuelan Communist party). Guillermo Garcia Ponce, spokesman for the Nuevo Partido Comunista Venezolano (New Venezuelan Communist party), announced the move.

"The division in the PCV is an extremely painful episode for us," he said, "but the worst crime we could commit against our revolutionary principles would be to accept liquidationism in the Communist party."

The new group accused the PCV leadership of bureaucratism, opportunism, and a cult of spontaneism.

Prior to the split, Garcia Ponce and five other members of the PCV Central Committee were accused of "factionalism," and an attempt was made to expel them from the party. This was voted down by the party membership, but on May 4 Garcia Ponce was removed from the

Central Committee.

A split in the PCV three years ago took with it an important section of the party's youth and resulted in the formation of MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo—Movement Toward Socialism). MAS polled 200,000 votes in the December 1973 presidential election.

## Spanish Students Warn Police

Thousands of demonstrating students in Madrid and Barcelona were attacked by police May 9 and 10. The demonstrators shouted their support for the people of Portugal and protested a new selection program devised by the Spanish government to keep leftists out of the universities.

Police in Madrid reportedly drove students from the campus on May 9 and returned the next day to break up new protest meetings. They also took down a large poster warning the Spanish political police to beware the fate of their colleagues in Portugal.

## Brazilian Political Prisons Reported Filled by New Arrests

Reports from Brazil indicate an increasing number of arrests in Sao Paulo in recent weeks. The victims include trade unionists, members of Catholic lay organizations, and students. According to a prisoner who was recently released, all the cells of the DOPS (Department of Political and Social Order, the political police) are presently filled.

Among those jailed and tortured since the beginning of the year are leaders of the metalworkers union, which had halted work at Villares Elevators, a plant with more than 5,000 workers. It was one of the first real strikes in Brazil since the military coup of 1964. The union has also led recent work slowdowns at the giant Volkswagen plant, the biggest auto producer in the country.

At the beginning of April there were massive arrests of students at the University of Sao Paulo. Coming only two weeks after the installment of the new Geisel government, the arrests were seen as a demonstration by the political police that they had no intention of relaxing the repression.

Following the most recent arrests, a Committee to Defend Political Prisoners

in Brazil was formed at the University of Sao Paulo. Its first leaflet, which was distributed on the campus, said the committee was composed of "students, relatives of political prisoners, members of the Church and the MDB [Movimento Democrático Brasileiro—Brazilian Democratic Movement, the official opposition party], and lawyers."

### Exodus of Scientists From Chile

Chile is experiencing a mass exodus of scientists, according to Osvaldo Cori, the president of the Academy of Sciences of the Institute of Chile.

In an "open letter" published in the April 29 issue of the Santiago daily *El Mercurio*, he reported that 73 percent of the members of the Biology Department of the Faculty of Sciences in Santiago have left Chile recently. "Seventy-two percent of the mathematics professors of the Catholic University are already abroad or have purchased their tickets," he added.

### Rightists Oppose Amnesty in Turkey

A bill sponsored by the Turkish coalition government that would provide a general amnesty to most of the country's prisoners, including a majority of political prisoners, is meeting stiff opposition in parliament.

Adopted by a plurality in the National Assembly, the bill was drastically amended in the Senate, which excluded those charged with committing terrorist acts and some other political offenses. Right-wing senators chanted "No amnesty for communists and anarchists" during the debate.

The government says there are presently 910 political prisoners and 65,000 common criminals in the jails, of whom some 50,000 could come under the proposed amnesty. However, even the government's original draft would not provide amnesty to 170 prisoners sentenced for terrorism.

The bill now goes back to the National Assembly where the Senate amendments can be overridden only by an absolute majority.

### Argentina Gets Soviet Loan

The Kremlin will extend \$600 million in credits to Argentina under terms of an agreement worked out during a five-day visit to Moscow by Argentine Minister of Economy Jose Gelbard. The loan will be used to construct hydroelectric plants and to purchase Soviet equipment for them.

The agreement reportedly provided in addition that the Soviet Union would buy 100,000 tons of meat and 100,000 tons of rice from Argentina.

In an interview May 8 with the Soviet

press agency, TASS, Gelbard said that the agreement "turned a new page in relations between the two countries" and that Soviet leaders "take great interest in Argentina and show real understanding of her problems."

### 'Chronicle of Current Events' Resumes Publication

The *Chronicle of Current Events*, the samizdat publication of Soviet dissidents, has reappeared in Moscow. Western journalists in the Soviet capital obtained copies of Nos. 28, 29, and 30 early in May.

The last previous issue of the underground journal had appeared in October 1972. Arrests and harassment of dissidents by Soviet political police succeeded in preventing further publication until the recent issues.

In a foreword to the twenty-eighth issue, the editors explained that publication had been stopped because of "the repeated and unmistakable threats of the KGB organs to answer each new issue of the *Chronicle* with new arrests, with arrests of people suspected by the KGB of publishing or distributing new or previous issues."

### Friend of Solzhenitsyn Expelled From Soviet Writers Union

Yefim Etkind, a professor of literature in Leningrad, was expelled from the Soviet Writers Union April 25 for having been in personal contact with writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and poet Josif Brodsky. Etkind has also been fired from his teaching post at the Herzen Institute in Leningrad, where he had given classes for twenty-three years. He was suspected of having furnished "material support" to both Solzhenitsyn and Brodsky.

### Nimeiry Accuses Qaddafi

Sudanese President Gaafar al-Nimeiry charged May 11 that his government had uncovered a Libyan plot to overthrow it. Nimeiry accused Libyan President Muammar el-Qaddafi of interfering "in our internal affairs." He added that Sudanese security units had been alerted to deal with the threat.

### Political Murders in Guatemala

The bodies of fifteen murder victims were discovered in different parts of Guatemala between April 27 and May 4. Agence France-Presse reported from Guatemala City May 7 that the murders had "undoubtedly been carried out for political reasons" and that at least four of the bodies "bore evident signs of torture." It is thought that the executions were carried out by the paramilitary organization known as the Death Squad.

### Dominican Police Kill 4 Protesters

Four persons were killed May 8 in the Dominican Republic when police attacked a demonstration protesting the internment of political prisoners, who are being held on the island of San Francisco de Macoris. One of the victims was a six-year-old child.

### Iraqi Air Force Napalms Villages

Voice of Kurdistan, the clandestine radio station of the Kurdish national liberation movement, charged May 5 that the Soviet-equipped Iraqi air force has carried out napalm raids on Kurdish villages in northern Iraq. The station issued an appeal to world public opinion to bring pressure on the Baghdad government to halt the napalm bombing.

### Colombian Police Shoot Unarmed Farm Workers

Several farm workers were wounded, four seriously, when Colombian police opened fire on unarmed families occupying a large estate in the province of Bolivar. A May 9 dispatch from Agence France-Presse reported that more than 260 families had their homes destroyed and were evacuated. Ninety-one arrests were made.

### French Army Cracks Down on Draftees

In a public meeting in Paris May 8, representatives of the Comite Antimilitariste reported that harsh measures of political repression have been taken against a number of young draftees. One case they cited was that of a soldier stationed at Reims who had been arrested and held incommunicado after officers discovered that he kept a notebook containing "anti-militarist thoughts." A number of others have been arrested for circulating anti-military publications produced by committees of soldiers and sailors.

### Zaire Nationalizes Japanese Firms

The government of Zaire has nationalized two Japanese auto manufacturing affiliates, Nissan Motors and Toyo Kogyo. According to a May 9 dispatch from Agence France-Presse, this is the first time a Japanese corporation in a foreign country has ever been nationalized. Discussions are under way in Kinshasa over terms of the nationalization.

### Sky's the Limit on Japanese Land

The Mitsui Bank reports that land in suburban Tokyo is currently selling at prices seventy to ninety times higher than in 1955.

### Millions Celebrated Workers Holiday

May 1, the international holiday of the working class, was celebrated by millions of workers in parades, marches, and demonstrations around the world this year. Although the day was frequently co-opted as an occasion for routine speechmaking, the celebrations in some parts of the world renewed and confirmed the holiday's militant tradition. This was particularly true in Portugal (see p. 611), Syria, and Quebec. The following is a roundup of some of the May Day events.

**ARGENTINA:** In a speech before 60,000 supporters, President Juan Peron drew a sharp line between the left and right wings of his movement. Although the audience was split almost evenly between the two groups, Peron referred to the leftists as "stupid" and "insolent" and singled out the rightists as the "backbone of our movement."

The general chastised the youth for not approving "everything we have done," a reference to the "twenty years of struggle" that he maintained the Peronist movement had waged. Then he warned these "beardless youth" that the coming days in Argentina would be dedicated to "national reconstruction and the liberation of the Argentine people." Mixing demagogic promises with threats, he spoke of "liberation not only from the colonialism that has afflicted the republic for so many years . . . but also from those infiltrators who work from within . . . the majority of whom are mercenaries in the service of foreign capital."

**CHILE:** General Pinochet announced a 62 percent wage increase to a handpicked gathering of trade unionists and also stated that union organizations would be permitted to function again in the country. He said nothing, however, about lifting the ban on the CUT (Central Unica de Trabajadores—United Federation of Workers), the main national union organization.

**DOMINICAN REPUBLIC:** At least three persons were wounded when the May Day demonstration organized by trade unions opposing the Balaguer regime erupted into a fight between police and demonstrators.

Several persons were arrested and an undercover police agent was beaten before the demonstration was over.

**FRANCE:** Some 30,000 persons marched in Paris, a much smaller number than in previous years. The Communist party, the Socialist party, and the major trade-union federations called off the traditional march so that no "incident" would mar SP candidate Francois Mitterrand's chances in the first-round vote May 5.

**JAPAN:** About 7 million persons took

part in demonstrations and parades held in cities throughout the country. Many of the banners and placards called for the downfall of the Tanaka regime.

**MOZAMBIQUE:** 544 political prisoners were released in Lourenco Marques.

**PUERTO RICO:** Thousands of members and sympathizers of the Puerto Rican Socialist party participated in a march and rally that focused on the questions of political repression and increased electric rates.

**QUEBEC:** Some 15,000 to 20,000 persons marched in Montreal and an equal number took part in demonstrations in other parts of Quebec. Trade unions reported that 36,000 workers walked off their jobs in protest of high prices and government attacks on the labor move-

ment.

**RUMANIA:** The Ceausescu regime suspended the holiday, becoming the first workers state to do so. Workers were given a Saturday off instead.

**SPAIN:** Police carried out at least fifty "preventive" arrests in the days preceding May 1. Twenty of those arrested were said to be members of a group called the Revolutionary Antifascist Front. Police patrolled the working-class districts of Madrid to prevent any demonstrations.

**SRI LANKA:** Several thousand persons attended a rally in Colombo denouncing the Bandaranaike regime. More than 6,000 police, backed by hundreds of armed troops, patrolled the downtown streets.

**SYRIA:** Two hundred thousand persons marched through the streets of Damascus, calling for continued struggle against the colonial settler-state of Israel.

**URUGUAY:** For the first time in thirty-five years, no demonstrations were permitted in this country. Nonetheless, some actions demanding an end to the dictatorship were reported. Numerous arrests followed. □

### Britain

### Report Recommends Easier Abortion

London

The Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC) held a rally of 30,000 here April 28, marking the seventh anniversary of the passage of the Abortion Act. A smaller rally was held in Glasgow. Both rallies were opposed by hundreds of supporters of women's right to abortion, who called for its availability to all women on the National Health Service (NHS).

The Abortion Act of 1967 enables women to obtain termination of pregnancy on medical and on social grounds at the discretion of two doctors, including a consultant gynecologist. Abortion in a private clinic may cost 50-200 pounds, but is free on NHS.

The report of the Lane Committee, which was set up by the government and which recently completed a three-year investigation of the working of the Abortion Act, found that there is a marked regional variation in the number of abortions performed by the NHS. If a woman is denied an abortion by doctors in the NHS, she may still be able to obtain one privately, but this can be very expensive.

The Lane committee recommended that the NHS perform most abortions, so that private clinics can no longer exploit women. Its report favours the establishment of outpatient abortion clinics on the NHS. Despite the findings of the Lane Committee, SPUC has gained the backing

of some right-wing leaders of the Labour party. William Price, parliamentary secretary at the Ministry of Overseas Development, was the major speaker at SPUC's London rally.

In the face of this attack, the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign (WACC), International Marxist Group (British section of the Fourth International), and other supporters of the right to abortion decided it was necessary to organise a counterdemonstration. For this purpose, ad hoc committees were set up throughout Britain to win the widest possible support.

The IMG explained the urgency of confronting groups like SPUC, which are growing throughout Europe. SPUC demagogically plays upon real social problems facing the working class, such as bad housing and inadequate family allowances.

The supporters of the right to abortion were not discouraged by the large turnout for the SPUC rally. Most of the demonstrators were nuns, old men and women, or young schoolgirls led by their local priest and brought in coaches to the demonstration after mass.

A better reflection of public opinion was provided by a recent National Opinion Poll, which showed that 48 percent support the 1967 act or want it liberalised, whereas only 35 percent, 11 percent fewer than in the last poll, thought that the law should be made more restrictive. □



# What Is Behind 'New Australian Nationalism'?

By Jim McIlroy

[The following article is reprinted from the April 27 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney.]

\* \* \*

ALP leaders are seeking to make the question of foreign ownership of Australian industry and "political manipulation" by multi-national corporations a major issue in the current election campaign. In a number of statements, Labor government ministers have made a big play of the political role of multi-national monopolies and their links with the Liberal-Country party election effort.

For instance, Fred Daly, the minister for property and services, referred in the House of Representatives recently to a full-page election advertisement in the *Australian*. According to a report in the *Age* of April 9, Daly alleged that BHP [Broken Hills Proprietary, a major mining corporation] and the oil companies were paying for pro-Country party advertisements so that the Country party could "sell Australia's assets." Daly said: "It is beyond doubt that money unlimited is pouring in from the multi-national companies to those people opposite."

Another example was the attack by the attorney general, Senator Murphy, on oil companies, particularly Shell, for "interference in Australia's internal political affairs." He was reported in the *Age* of April 10 as saying in the Senate that it was true that Shell and other companies had figured in a number of bitter industrial disputes (for instance, the recent struggle by petrol tanker drivers in NSW).

"It has been said—and I think truly said—that often they have not endeavored to solve those disputes but rather preferred to get what advantage could be gained from them, not only industrially, but also politically," Senator Murphy said. "I would hope that the international companies, and particularly the Shell Oil Company, in view of its long history of interference in our internal political affairs, would not choose in the present climate to continue such interference."

The statements are fairly typical of the approach by Labor leaders to the question of the role of big corporations in the political life of the country. The fact that Labor ministers are making these statements in the heat of the election period is significant. The whole matter of "foreign ownership and control of Australia's industry and resources" has become a central theme of Labor's strategy for gov-

ernment, and vital to the Whitlam government's plans for holding the support of the majority of Australian working people.

Harold Wilson has recently reappeared as Britain's Labour party prime minister, declaring as his aim the forging of a "new social contract" for social harmony (the old one having well and truly broken down). As a consequence of the present stage in the development of Australian capitalism in the world, as young and ex-



GOUGH WHITLAM

panding, rather than an old and declining imperialism like Britain, the most important aspect of forging a "social contract" in Australian conditions is the "new nationalism" we have heard so much about from the Whitlam leadership. The aim of Wilson and Whitlam, as reform-minded leaders of Labor party governments, is quite similar—to harness working people to the wheel of big capital by building a national unity that crosses class lines. The "new nationalism" in Australia is *not* in the interests of working people, either in this country or anywhere else.

Attacks by Labor leaders on the role of foreign monopolies are part of the

strategy. These attacks show some of the contradictions of Labor's position. On the one hand, the big multi-national corporations are undoubtedly throwing a lot of money into the L-CP campaign. They smell the sweet scent of cosy profits as the Liberals announce policies for the restoration of all mining bounties, tax concessions and other handouts which Labor had reduced somewhat during its term in office. Big business will always view the Liberal and Country parties as their direct political arm and their preferred instrument in government. The oil companies, and other giants, prefer a pliant and enthusiastic conservative administration, if possible. The return of an L-CP government would suit them down to the ground. At the same time it would be a bitter thing for Australian workers, who would face a direct assault on their working and living conditions and rights from a Liberal regime. Victory for the Liberals would be a severe setback for all working people and oppressed groups in this country.

On the other hand, profits are at all-time record levels at present. A Labor government has been anything but a disaster for big business. And Gough Whitlam and his ministers are keen to stress that business should not regard the Labor government as their enemy. In an address to the fifth national conference of the Institute of Directors in Australia, reported in the *Age* of March 15, Whitlam said: "There is nothing in our policies towards business that would be considered novel, impetuous or unprecedented in any other Western country."

He went on: "No other government, in planning its policies, has drawn so widely and rewardingly on the services of businessmen." Whitlam said his government had three basic objectives in its approach to business. "We want to ensure, first of all, that the private sector remains buoyant, prosperous and efficient.

"We want to ensure that, as far as possible, the ownership and control of Australian industries and resources remains in Australian hands.

"And we want to ensure that the affairs of Australian companies, and the securities industry itself, are subject to fair and reasonable laws, applied uniformly across the nation in the interests of investors, consumers, shareholders, businessmen and the community at large."

What could be fairer or clearer than that? Prosperity, Australian ownership and business run honestly in the interests of all. It's a pretty tempting offer. Labor

is proposing an efficient, fair modernising and above all, *patriotic* administration. The vexing question of whether the interests of employers and employees are compatible or whether superprofits might necessarily involve super-exploitation does not intrude into this picture of harmony.

## Support From Big Business

Significant sections of big business are prepared *still* to go along with Whitlam, temporarily at least. It is less than a year and a half since many important business interests opted for Labor in the 1972 elections. And overall, they have got their money's worth with interest. Labor's new initiative in opening up trade and other economic ties with China and with the countries of South-East Asia suit the more ambitious and expansionary sections of Australian capital very well. The hidebound and reactionary Liberal-Country party coalition had been incapable of readjusting its thinking to a new era of international detente. New opportunities for Australian capitalists to find their own imperialist outlets opened up, e.g., BHP and CSR in Indonesia, Malaysia, Burma, Fiji, even South Vietnam.

So, considerable sections of business are prepared to give Whitlam another go. Their views are expressed through the generally pro-Whitlam line adopted by some major newspapers—in particular the *Age* and the *Australian*. As they see it, the "new nationalism" must be given more time to develop under Labor auspices. The Liberals and Country party are divided among themselves; Snedden is a weak leader threatened by CP leader Anthony. A strong and united conservative coalition will be required at a later date. Right now it would be incapable of doing the job, either of conciliation or of confrontation with the working class and its allies.

Labor is not the "natural" government of the capitalist class. But at certain critical times, a Labor party government can do things a conservative administration cannot. Labor effectively mobilised the Australian working people for World War II under a nationalist banner. It also, under Ben Chifley, carried out the restructuring required for the new peacetime boom of the post-war years. But there are always dangers for the capitalist class with a Labor government that working people will begin to gain the confidence and militancy to challenge vital capitalist interests. Workers see Labor as their party and *expect* radical social change from a Labor government. And in the present period of radicalisation, the reelection of Labor can only give a tremendous boost to the demands of the working people and their allies. Overall, Australian business is buoyant, profits are booming, business confidence is high, the economy has strength and potential in inter-imperialist competition internationally. Why ditch Labor now? In the future,

things will no doubt be different, as the power and militancy of organised labor grows, and Labor is unable to turn back the tide of the radicalisation.

The fostering of a "new nationalism" corresponds to the basic interests of the Australian "national capitalist class". The leadership of the Labor and trade-union movement has a vital role to play in developing this new nationalism and helping to divert the anti-capitalist thrust of the current radicalisation of wide layers of the Australian population.

## What Is the 'New Nationalism'?

Nationalism, as far as the Australian Labor movement is concerned, is hardly a new idea. But the traditional nationalism of the Labor movement was one which extolled the culture of a white, European outpost of the British Empire, which feared and despised colored labor, and supported militarism and imperialism. An example of official Labor thinking on the subject was the first Labor premier of NSW, McGowen, who said: "While Britain is behind us, and while naval power is supreme, Australia will be what Australians want it—white, pure and industrially good." Even Maurice Blackburn, regarded as a member of the left wing of the ALP, said, in June 1916, that is, *after* the Easter Rebellion in Dublin, that he supported the British Empire because "loose voluntary unions of states with common institutions and language are a step towards internationalism."

Australian nationalism *is* and *was* the nationalism of an *oppressor* nation in the world. It grew up as the cultural expression of an imperialist outpost, a junior partner in the colonial exploitation of the Asian region. Australia was *never* a colony in the same sense as Indonesia or India or Vietnam. And so today, while Vietnamese nationalism is an expression of the anti-imperialist feelings of an historically oppressed people, and has mobilised the Vietnamese people in a tremendous struggle against the mightiest imperialist war machine in history, Australian nationalism is the very reverse. The demand for "Australian independence" means, essentially, the demand for a growing Australian imperialism to develop its *own* interests in the Asian region, with less direct dependence on a subordination to its "great and powerful friends," previously Britain and now the United States. Australian nationalism is the opposite of working-class internationalism. It is one of the most powerful ideological tools of the capitalist class in this country today. As such it must be fought right along the line by all socialists.

The "new nationalism" has a number of special characteristics. The blatant racism of the white Australia policy has gone, to be replaced by more subtle forms (e.g., the scandal of the "illegal" Fijian immigrants). In an expansionary period Australian business needs more skilled labor,

and is quite prepared to look anywhere, including the Philippines. But there is no question, at present, of Labor permitting equal numbers of Asian and European migrants to enter.

The "new nationalism" puts special stress on "self-reliance" and independence in defence policy. Labor's defence minister, Lance Barnard, put it this way: "The nation's security is the government's first responsibility. Labor policy calls for a strong and valid defence capability that will demonstrate beyond all doubt the nation's intention to defend itself and its vital interests." The Labor government has recently announced the purchase of new military equipment with this aim in mind.

Gough Whitlam's forays into Asia and elsewhere have stressed a new "independent" line in diplomacy, provoking responses like that from well-known journalist Rohan Rivett, who wrote in the *Age* that "Whitlam's Australia walks tall in Asia." Whitlam has been prepared to criticise U.S. policy over Indo-China and the Diego Garcia base, and to attempt to develop new links with China as well as the various dictatorships of Southeast Asia. The "new nationalism" means "independence," and peaceful coexistence, but *not* anti-imperialism. The Liberals, too, have recently been forced to adjust their policies in the direction of "partnership" with U.S. imperialism, rather than open subservience. For instance, they have now supported the Labor initiative for "joint control" of U.S. bases in Australia.

The "new nationalism" stresses Australian ownership and control of the country's industry and natural resources. This view has been trumpeted by government representatives at home and abroad. Recently, the secretary of the Foreign Affairs Department, Alan Renouf, spoke out during the General Assembly debate on raw-materials prices and development. He was quoted in the *Melbourne Herald* on April 23 as saying:

"Australian experience leads us to acknowledge the role that foreign investment can play in facilitating the development of natural resources.

"However, in company with many other nations, we have become concerned over the problems of foreign ownership and control.

"In my country there is a determination that we should achieve the highest possible level of Australian ownership and control of our resources, including minerals, and of our industry generally.

"In pursuing this objective, we aim to establish equity in the widest sense of that word and on terms which are fair and reasonable to all parties."

So the multi-nationals need have no fears, but they must expect to abide by terms which are "fair and reasonable" to Australian business interests.

The controversy over the Australian Industry Development Corporation (AIDC), which was set up by the Liberal-Country party coalition, but which Labor wants

to expand considerably, shows the real content of this new nationalism. In reply to an attack by the Institute of Public Affairs (IPA), a big-business lobby, which claimed that strengthening of AIDC would lead to de facto nationalisation, Dr. Jim Cairns, the minister for overseas trade, said: "Talk of massive nationalisation through the AIDC is pure humbug.

"Neither the IPA nor the Liberal party has any constructive proposal to satisfy the powerful desire of the overwhelming majority of Australians for greater Australian control over their own nation's destiny.

"Contrary to the propaganda of the IPA and the Liberal party, the alternative for Australia is not between private enterprise and nationalised industry. The real alternative is between Australian ownership and foreign ownership.

"Only a body with the powers and funds planned for AIDC under the present legislation will have the strength it needs to compete with the handful of financial juggernauts that dominate the national and international business scene."

The role of AIDC is to "buy back" shares from foreign-owned companies and sell them to Australian employers. AIDC will aid in the modernisation, centralisation and rationalisation of Australian industry. It is an instrument for the long-term strengthening of Australian capitalism.

## For Working-Class Internationalism

The outcry against "foreign monopolies" must be seen in this light. As a diversion from the real question of which class owns and controls. To blame foreign capital for the ills of Australian society turns attention away from the central question. In the final instance, it is the Australian capitalist class which is the greatest enemy of Australian workers: Their very existence as a class depends on maintaining the system in this country. They will use any methods to maintain their rule. They are not merely puppets of overseas capital, but a relatively strong and independent imperialist force in the Southeast Asian area.

The "new Australian nationalism" is a basically reactionary ideology, which is against the interests of working people in Australia and everywhere. It is part of the strategy of co-option of Australian working people into a cross-class alliance for "national interest," which represents merely the interests of national capital.

The social content of the "new nationalism" is exemplified by the hoo-haa over a new national anthem to replace God Save the Queen. Gough Whitlam, in announcing the survey which decided on Advance Australia Fair, said he remained firmly convinced that most Australians, "however great their historical links with Britain, however great their affection for the British people, however great their loyalty to the Queen of Australia, ardently

desire a national anthem of their own."

When Labor cabinet ministers denounce the role of the multi-national corporations for meddling in Australian politics, they are appealing to this "new nationalism." The very real feeling among Australian working people of opposition to the exploitation and super-profiteering of big

## India

# Toward a Regroupment of Political Parties?

By Sharad Jhaveri

Bombay

In a marked rightward shift, the Gandhi government has retreated on the question of state take-over of the wheat trade, has begun to license monopolies on a liberal scale, and has become increasingly authoritarian. It has also moved closer to U.S. imperialism.

Since this right-wing stance has been adopted by what the pro-Moscow Communist party (CPI) calls the "progressive wing" of the Indian bourgeoisie, the CPI finds itself in an embarrassing position.

In a paper submitted to a meeting of eight left parties held in Delhi April 4, the CPI pointed out the danger from the extreme right wing and asked all left and democratic forces—both inside and outside the ruling Congress party—to unite in a "national democratic front" in order to reverse this trend.

The eight left parties that sent representatives to the meeting were the Socialist party, the CPI, the CPI (Marxist), the Revolutionary Socialist party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India, the Workers party, the Forward Bloc (Marxist), and the Biplavi Bangla Congress. The representatives briefly reviewed the economic and political situation in India and issued a call for a nationwide mass protest action May 3. The form of action to be taken in each state was to be decided by the participating parties.

The meeting put forward a programme of minimum demands for the protest actions that clearly bears the imprint of current CPI thinking. It does not challenge the basis of the capitalist system, nor does it say that the only alternative to the present impasse is a socialist revolution under proletarian leadership.

To control spiraling prices it suggests immediate state take-over of the wholesale trade in food grains and strict action against hoarders and speculators in fertiliser, diesel, and seeds. It calls for demonetisation of hundred-rupee currency notes, a minimum wage based on need, and full compensation for the rising cost of living. It also demands radical land reforms and the scrapping of repressive

business is thus focussed on foreign control, as the source of the evil. The very dangerous role of the new nationalism in diverting radical and anti-capitalist sentiment is clearly exposed. Socialists must point this fact out, and work against the "new nationalism" and for a real working-class internationalism. □

measures.

To counter this meeting, eight political parties of the right met in the second week of April and decided to merge into a new party with a rightist orientation. The agreement was scheduled to be ratified May 5.

The key parties in this move are the Bharatiya Kranti Dal (Indian Revolutionary party—a landowners party in Uttar Pradesh), the Utkal Congress (Orissa Congress), the Samyukta Socialist party, and the archanticommunist Swatantra party.

The other parties are the Moslem Majlis, who have a following in northern India; the Bharatiya Khetihar Sangh (Small Landowners party); the Loktantrik Dal (Popular Republic party); and the Harijan Sangha-rsh Samiti.

The far-right Jan Sangh party, the best-organized party of the Indian bourgeoisie, has spurned an offer to join the new formation. So has the Congress party (O), the splinter from the old Congress party.

A major article in the April 16 issue of the *Times of India*, the leading bourgeois daily, remarks that only two or three of eight right-wing parties count for much in the political life of the country. Even these, however, have no more than a local base and thus are in no position to change the complexion of national politics.

A week after the May 5 ratification vote, the new party was scheduled to publish a programme and a detailed statement on economic and political issues. For the moment they have declared only that they want an efficient, "pragmatic" administration and that they stand for "nationalism, democracy, and secularism." Commenting on this statement, the *Times* editorial said the new party has in effect proclaimed that it has no fresh ideas at all for the urgent problems of inflation and unemployment.

It is still too early to say whether these developments presage a polarisation of the political parties in India. In view of the fast changing situation, however, the two meetings may be a pointer in that direction. □

## How the Far Left Met Mitterrand's Candidacy

By Dick Fidler

Elections in France are conducted in two rounds.

The first round is open to candidates who can meet certain minimum requirements set forth in the electoral law. Any political grouping with a modest implantation on a national scale can get on the ballot. There are obstacles, of course. The prospective candidate must obtain the signatures of several hundred elected officials from across the country. And the authorities take advantage of loopholes in the law to discriminate against minority candidates, particularly those on the far left.

Thus in the recent election, the Constitutional Council, which adjudicates candidates' status, ruled some nominees off the ballot, without even giving reasons for its decision. The National Control Commission, which regulates the formally democratic rules for allocating candidates' broadcast time on radio and television, arbitrarily ruled that Alain Krivine could not appear as the candidate of the organization sponsoring his campaign, the newly constituted Front Communiste Révolutionnaire. And the French Senate recently adopted further restrictions on candidacies that will go into effect after this election. But even with these restrictions, there were no fewer than eleven presidential candidates on the ballot May 5, two of them representing far-left organizations, and a third, the agronomist René Dumont, advocating radical solutions to the ecology crisis.

The second round takes the form of a runoff vote between the two candidates with the highest vote on the first round, so that the victor has a clear majority of the national vote. Consequently, all other forces in the political spectrum are inclined to line up behind one or the other of these two candidates, after having expressed their own programmatic views in the first round. The system is summed up in the common saying: "Vote according to your conscience in the first round; and vote 'practical' on the sec-

ond."

This cynical view holds true particularly among the bourgeois cliques. Revolutionary Marxists have no interest in intervening in these factional squabbles of the ruling class, and reject voting in the second round when there is no possibility of drawing class distinctions in it.

For the far left, the second round is of importance only if a candidate of a mass working-class party survives the first round. In that instance, the far left traditionally calls for support to the labor candidate *against the bourgeois candidate*. The main reason for this stance is to help draw a class line in the electoral arena.

Such a vote does not necessarily imply any political confidence in the labor candidate. To the contrary, its purpose can be to help expose the insufficiency or treacherous nature of the labor candidate's program by helping to put him in office precisely in order to subject his claims to the test of performance.

The second round can be a contest between two candidates of identical political complexion, or even of the same party. In the 1969 presidential election, for example, all the candidates of the left were eliminated on the first round, leaving Gaullist Georges Pompidou and interim president Alain Poher in the runoff. The Trotskyists of the Ligue Communiste, which had run Alain Krivine on the first round, therefore called for a boycott on the second round.

This year the situation is more complex. Facing Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing is François Mitterrand, a politician who has served the bourgeoisie in eleven postwar governments, holding, for example, the post of interior minister. Mitterrand was nominated by the Socialist party, which he joined in 1971, subsequently becoming its first secretary. And he is endorsed by a wide range of left-wing political parties and trade unions.

The main force behind his campaign

is the Union of the Left, a class-collaborationist electoral alliance initiated by the Communist party. Orienting toward establishment of a popular front placed at the service of the French bourgeoisie, the Communist party did not run a candidate of its own.

Up to now the Left Radicals, a small grouping that split from the Radical party, are the only bourgeois political formation to formally adhere to the Union of the Left. But Mitterrand's candidacy has served to broaden the attractiveness of the Union of the Left to other bourgeois currents. Even before the first-round voting, Mitterrand had picked up the support of some sections of the Radical party, and even small Gaullist groups. Now he and the CP leaders are escalating their appeals for Gaullist votes that went to Jacques Chaban-Delmas or Jean Royer on the first round.

Another important consideration in the analyses by some far-left groupings of the meaning of Mitterrand's candidacy is the nature of the party he represents. Is the French Socialist party a workers party, or a bourgeois party? The French far left is divided on this question.

At the outset of the campaign, the left Social-Democratic Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU—United Socialist party) decided to support Mitterrand even on the first round—although not without some serious internal wrangling. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 29, page 509.) That decision was widely interpreted as a prelude to the PSU's formally adhering to the Union of the Left, thus putting itself outside the "far left" in French politics.

For other currents to the left of the PSU, the decision on the Mitterrand candidacy, because it involved important questions of principle, was a difficult one. The result was a lively debate, in which every tendency was obliged to take a stand and explain its position.

The views of the major participants in that debate are outlined below.

# The OCI Plumps for Mitterrand on Both Rounds

Only one organization in the French far left called for a vote for Mitterrand in the first round. That was the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), whose main leader is Pierre Lambert. The OCI refused to participate in the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963, and today constitutes the main component of the international "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International."

For the OCI, the most important task facing the French workers in this election was to get rid of the Gaullist parties and the particular state institutions that were created under de Gaulle. This could be accomplished, the OCI argued, by supporting the candidacy of François Mitterrand and working to ensure his victory. Nothing must be allowed to stand in the way of this victory. Thus the OCI did not run a candidate of its own, and it opposed the candidates of other far-left organizations, calling them "candidates of diversion," and worse.

The OCI invoked a rather elaborate schema to justify this position on the election. Going back to de Gaulle's seizure of power in the 1958 coup, the OCI stressed the depth of a defeat that threw the French workers back for a whole decade to limited struggles in defense of minimal democratic demands. The Gaullist plans, an OCI statement of April 25 explained, were "to construct a corporatist state, to integrate the unions, to liquidate political parties, to do away with democratic freedoms, and to smash the working class."

The Gaullists did not succeed in their plans, however, as the events of May 1968 showed so clearly. But the rise of workers struggles of recent years has not yet liquidated the state institutions associated with de Gaulle's Bonapartist regime. "The first step that the working masses and the youth must accomplish," stated the April 18-24 issue of the OCI's weekly newspaper, *Informations Ouvrières*, "is to sweep away the institutions of the Fifth Republic, which constitute a supplementary obstacle to the class struggle."

That task cannot be accomplished by supporting any of the bourgeois candidates in the election. Despite its divisions the bourgeoisie, according

to *Informations Ouvrières*, "is striving above all to preserve the essential institutions established by de Gaulle between 1958 and 1962."

The key task before the workers, then, is clear: "to destroy [Gaullism's] reactionary reforms, to sweep away the antidemocratic measures, to liquidate the Gaullist institutions, and to throw their political personnel into the ashcan. The Fifth Republic must be defeated."

Concretely, that means: Vote for Mitterrand. The April 10-18 issue of *Informations Ouvrières* maintained: "The election of Mitterrand is a necessary stage in the course of the struggle against capitalism and the bourgeois state. . . . Mitterrand's victory would open a period in which Gaullism and institutions that Gaullism imposed on the bourgeois state would be liquidated."

The leaders of the OCI clearly felt the need to explain their position at some length. This they attempted to do in a "political resolution" dated April 7, published in a pamphlet entitled "Why the OCI Is Calling for a Vote for Mitterrand."

In 1965 the OCI had refused to support Mitterrand's candidacy, and it had previously denounced the Union of the Left, which is supporting Mitterrand, as a class-collaborationist alliance because it includes within it the Left Radicals, a small bourgeois formation.

"In 1974," the resolution says, "everything is different." In 1965 Mitterrand was a bourgeois candidate, running as the leader of "a small bourgeois organization, the 'Convention des Institutions Républicaines.'" But "this time Mitterrand is the first secretary of the Socialist party. . . ." And he is only "supported" by the Left Radicals. The Socialist party is "a workers party, more precisely, a bourgeois workers party just like the PCF [French Communist party], that is, a workers party linked to the bourgeoisie."

"For Mitterrand, the SP is an indispensable instrument if he is to be able to satisfy his political ambitions. But the SP remains a workers party and the workers recognize it as such. . . . Mitterrand is mainly defined today in his capacity as first secretary of the Socialist party."

The OCI's resolution argues that the mere fact that a candidate is a member of the SP or CP is sufficient to warrant supporting that candidate.

"We are unconditionally for the defeat of the candidates of the bourgeois parties by a candidate of a workers party in these elections as in any other. When we call for voting for a candidate of the SP or the CP in the legislative elections, we are not calling for a vote on the basis of his personality or his politics, but to express a class vote: workers parties against bourgeois parties."

The OCI states that its participation in the elections "is governed by the struggle for a United Front of workers organizations within the perspective of a workers and farmers government." Does the OCI, then, think that the alliance of parties supporting Mitterrand is a "workers united front"? Apparently not. "Allied to the Left Radicals, [Mitterrand] is certainly not the candidate of an accomplished Workers United Front," R. Clément specified in the April 18-24 *Informations Ouvrières*.

But in the same article, the author accused "the ultraleftists of *Rouge* and *Lutte Ouvrière*," who were running their own candidates for president, of "dividing the workers front on the first round."

If the leaders of the OCI seem unclear on this question, it is because for them the key consideration is apparently not the actual class characterization of Mitterrand's candidacy, but how the masses see it.

"Mitterrand will be the candidate of the 'Union of the Left.' He will be supported by the Left Radicals or perhaps worse. . . . The candidates of the SP and the CP during the legislative or other elections are also candidates of the 'Union of the Left' or other combinations, and very often they also benefit from the support of the Radicals and others. In general, they are ready, if circumstances demand or permit it, to enter a ministry with the support of representatives of the bourgeois parties—their 'Union of the Left' is not fenced off on the right.

"But what is the candidacy of François Mitterrand, first secretary of the SP, supported by the CP, going to signify for the working class? Al-

though the Left Radicals are calling for a vote for him, and despite the label 'Union of the Left,' in the eyes of the working class and the masses he will be the candidate of the workers organizations united against the bourgeois candidates. The masses will see in this candidacy the realization of the workers united front."

The leaders of the OCI added that if Mitterrand were running in the name of a bourgeois party like the Left Radicals, they would not support him, even if he were supported by the SP or CP. In that case, Mitterrand's candidacy would simply be a repeat of his 1965 operation.

The program of the Union of the Left, and Mitterrand's program, are "bourgeois in content," the OCI acknowledged. "Independently of its incoherent formal content, it is preparing a recourse to an eventual popular-front type of government if faced with a crisis of regime that gives rise to a revolutionary crisis." But voting for such a candidate does not mean endorsing his program. "To call for voting for the candidate of a workers party is not to endorse his politics or the political line of his party."

By way of example, they said, "Trotsky denounced the POUM [Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista — United Marxist Workers party, in Spain] for signing a popular-front agreement, but he was in perfect agreement with calling for voting for the candidates of the SP and the CP of Spain or of any workers organizations that had signed the popular-front agreement and that campaigned on that line."

It would be incorrect to place demands on Mitterrand, the OCI argued. "To say: 'We are ready to call for voting for Mitterrand if he takes his distance from the Common Program' [of the Union of the Left] would be asking him to adopt our program and our political line, which is not for us to do today and in this arena. One may as well issue a direct call not to vote for him. He will not adopt our policy and our program."

However, the OCI is apparently of the opinion that a Mitterrand government could be converted into a workers and peasants government. The resolution states:

"As president of the republic, what should Mitterrand do, and what can he do, if he is elected? Immediately give the power to an SP-CP govern-

ment without capitalist ministers, based on the masses. We say that the Common Program goes against this. What should an SP-CP government without capitalist ministers do? We develop the program of the workers and peasants government; we do not give any assurances that the SP-CP government will be a workers and peasants government, any more than we answer for Mitterrand's politics. This is a method for freeing the masses' aspirations from the mire of their illusions, by formulating those aspirations in close relation to concrete political reality."

Thus the OCI leaders appeared to believe that supporting Mitterrand, the "candidate of the SP, a workers party," was a step toward formation of a workers government. This conclusion, they said, flows not from the character or personality of Mitterrand, but from the nature of the crisis of the existing regime.

"Pompidou's death provided a powerful thrust to the current process. By hastening the political crisis of the bourgeoisie, it has hastened the development of the financial and economic crisis. The bourgeoisie is not a disciplined class. There will be a flight of capital, speculation against the franc will increase, inflation will accelerate still more, all of this pushing the working class and the exploited masses forward along the path of struggle they have already taken. The political crisis will open up breaches that the masses will be swept into. The mass movement will sharpen the political crisis, transforming it into a revolutionary crisis."

Hence the OCI's position of "unconditional" support for a Mitterrand victory. "Because, in itself, it is a defeat of the bourgeoisie."

And for that reason, the OCI concludes, neither the bourgeoisie, nor the reformist bureaucracies of the trade unions and the mass workers parties, desire a Mitterrand victory.

"Mitterrand's victory would be a defeat for the Union of the Left. That statement does not involve a paradox. The Union of the Left is aimed at paralyzing the working class and blocking it from any political perspective of government. Mitterrand's victory would put the question of an SP-CP government without capitalist ministers on the order of the day, in an immediate sense. It would make the demand to break with the bour-

geoisie an issue of burning relevance."

According to the OCI, popular frontism is simply the last desperate gamble of the bourgeoisie, in the face of a revolutionary upsurge of the masses. The French bourgeoisie is not yet ready for such a solution. Mitterrand's candidacy, the OCI leaders argue, is "one of the last cards the bourgeoisie holds. . . . It very likely hopes that it won't have to resort to Mitterrand. His victory would create a chaotic political situation, sharpening the crisis of bourgeois social relations. It would play an extraordinary role in mobilizing the masses; the worm-eaten edifice of the Fifth Republic would collapse without the prospect of any stable political form being found in the short run. It would be the signal for an intense class struggle. It must be repeated: Bonapartism is a regime of crisis, but solutions of the popular front type are crisis solutions reached at the explosion point, when the masses are seeking the unity of the workers organizations and taking action in the direction of establishing their own government. The popular front is a treacherous response designed to defend the bourgeois society and state against this united will of the masses, this demand for a government they can call their own. A popular front is the last resort of the bourgeoisie confronted with the revolutionary upsurge of the masses. At present only the OCI (and Mitterrand himself, out of personal ambition) favors a victory for Mitterrand, which would open up this road. The bourgeoisie and the apparatuses [of the workers organizations] will do all they can to prevent that from happening; that is what they are now doing."

The OCI even speculates that some elements in the bourgeoisie may try to prevent Mitterrand from taking office if elected. "In the event that [Mitterrand] is elected, we can't even exclude the possibility of an adventurist attempt at a coup d'état by a clique of the former majority."

Since a Mitterrand victory would allegedly open up such extraordinary revolutionary possibilities, it follows that anything and anyone standing in the way of this victory are nothing less than counterrevolutionary. The OCI is unsparing in its criticism of candidates to the left of Mitterrand. Alain Krivine of the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire and Arlette La-

guiller of *Lutte Ouvrière* are "unprincipled, and against the workers united front," the OCI charges.

Krivine's slogan of a constituent assembly based on "who-knows-what workers councils" is "confusionist and reactionary," analogous to the policy of the Social Democrats in 1918-1919, who were for subordinating workers councils to a constituent assembly. The real meaning of Krivine's candidacy is indicated by his proposal to run Charles Piaget, a "clerical, neocorporatist member of the PSU."<sup>1</sup> Krivine and Laguiller are "candidates of diversion," "discrediting Trotskyism and arrayed against the building of the revolutionary party."

If Mitterrand's election is to be facilitated in every possible way, other conclusions follow. One of these is that during the electoral period, other

forms of the class struggle must be subordinated to the electoral struggle. The OCI states flatly: "The union apparatuses are going to devote all their energies to imposing a policy of social peace on the workers, in the name of 'doing everything to ensure the victory of the candidate of the Union of the Left.' The OCI takes a stand in support of the workers united front. What counts is the mobilization of the working class; the elections are a means of political expression that must be used for the mobilization of the working class. Tactically we are not calling for strikes today; we are not even talking of strikes, or of any movement in the immediate future. But we state: The workers' demands must be met immediately."

The leaders of the OCI evidently hoped that their support of Mitterrand

would win them significantly broader support than they have enjoyed up to now. "Circumstances have often obliged us to remain isolated," their resolution concludes. "There was a time when 'the Trotskyists were exiles within their own class,' to recall a celebrated formula. This was necessary in order to maintain the tradition and the program. From now on, the OCI will be expressing the most immediate aspirations of the masses. Its politics are directly in line with the concerns of the workers and militants. In the course of this political struggle, we will be in a position to link up with many militants, especially of the CP. Our unambiguous position of support for Mitterrand's victory will help us in establishing contacts, and in presenting our positions to a wide audience."

## 'Lutte Ouvrière': From Indifference to Support

One of the two far-left organizations to run its own candidate on the first round was *Lutte Ouvrière* (Workers Struggle), a formation that goes by the name of its weekly newspaper. *Lutte Ouvrière* considers itself Trotskyist, claims to agree with the Transitional Program adopted at the Founding Conference of the Fourth International in 1938, but rejects the Fourth International as "degenerate" and says that the construction of an international must begin anew.

*Lutte Ouvrière* originated in a split in the French Trotskyist movement at the beginning of the second world war. Among its main differences with the Fourth International are its position on the Eastern European states (it does not characterize them as workers states, on the grounds that their regimes were established in a "cold" way, without mass revolutionary

upsurges by the workers); its fierce opposition to all nationalism, including the nationalism of oppressed nations; and its pronounced "workerism" — the view that "implantation" in the industrial working class and mobilization around economic demands should constitute the primary, if not the exclusive, orientation of a revolutionary organization.

*Lutte Ouvrière's* candidate was Arlette Laguiller, a 34-year-old bank employee and a leading militant in the recent nationwide strike of bank workers. Her campaign attracted considerable support, winning almost 600,000 votes or 2.5 percent in the first-round voting. Laguiller's campaign propaganda contained very few specific programmatic demands, but it emphasized that she was running as a woman and a worker (she stressed women's rights, including the right to abortion and contraception), and appealed for a vote for a "revolutionary workers candidate" in order both to reject the "candidates of the right" and to express the "workers' distrust of Mitterrand."

*Lutte Ouvrière* refused to participate in the attempt by some other far-left organizations to run a united far-left candidate in the election. In an April 5 letter addressed to *Rouge* and *Révolution!*, the national leadership of *Lutte Ouvrière* noted that the only name advanced as a possible candidate had been that of Charles Piaget, a leader

of the Lip workers and a leading member of the PSU. They commented: "This candidacy poses an obvious political problem. Piaget is undoubtedly an estimable worker militant, but he cannot help but appear, like it or not, as the representative of the PSU. The support of Piaget's candidacy by the revolutionary organizations can therefore have only one meaning: that the revolutionary movement is tailending the PSU at the very moment when the latter is tailending the Union of the Left." The effect of such a candidacy, *Lutte Ouvrière* said, would be to dissolve the revolutionary movement in the Union of the Left campaign.

Moreover, *Lutte Ouvrière* argued in another article, Piaget is a "Christian activist." By supporting him, the atheistic revolutionary left makes itself look ridiculous.

*Lutte Ouvrière* argued that the other far-left groups should support its candidate, Laguiller. Wasn't she an "exemplary worker militant," a working woman, and a revolutionist? In 1969, *Lutte Ouvrière* had supported Alain Krivine's candidacy, "since it was the best one possible at the time," although they had not been consulted in advance by the Ligue Communiste. Today, however, it was *Lutte Ouvrière's* turn. The April 5 letter added that "in presenting more than 170 candidates in the legislative election campaign of 1973, *Lutte Ouvrière* showed its

1. The reference is to a proposal advanced by *Rouge* at the beginning of the campaign that the far-left organizations present a common candidate, to speak in the name of all those in the left who were critical of Mitterrand's candidacy and who rejected the reformist program of the Union of the Left. Charles Piaget was proposed as the candidate, since the leader of the Lip watch-factory struggle seemed to many to represent an "exemplary worker militant." When Piaget declined to run, *Rouge* nominated Krivine. See *Intercontinental Press*, April 22, page 469.

capacity to conduct a nationwide political battle in this arena, more than any other revolutionary organization." 2

While proposing that the "various revolutionary organizations" support Laguiller, *Lutte Ouvrière* said it was willing to meet with *Rouge* and *Révolution!* to discuss their participation in common rallies and radio and television appearances. *Révolution!* agreed, according to *Lutte Ouvrière*, on condition that it be a common candidacy of the three organizations. But *Rouge* declined, saying the common candidate could not be Laguiller, since she was a "leader of an organization," and a candidate for *Lutte Ouvrière* in the 1973 legislative elections.

"The comrades of *Rouge*," replied the April 9-15 issue of *Lutte Ouvrière*, "if they are logical, serious, and responsible, can't be ready to go looking for a candidate in the ranks of the leadership of the PSU on the pretext that the candidate must be 'a worker militant representative of an exemplary struggle' and then turn around and hold to the candidacy of Krivine, a graduate in history, as opposed to that of Arlette Laguiller."

At the outset of the election campaign, *Lutte Ouvrière* did not express any support for the Mitterrand candidacy. An editorial in the April 9-15 issue of its weekly, entitled "No Social Truce in the Presidential Elections, No Truce in the Struggle Against Inflation!" seemed to be indifferent as to whether Mitterrand or one of the government candidates won the election. "Today, as yesterday," it said, "the task of the hour is to unify the many struggles that the workers are involved in . . . against the high cost of living. . . ."

"And we must compel the government and the bosses to grant the sliding scale of wages, whatever the result of the election. If the right wins, that is self-evident. But in all likelihood it will also be true if Mitterrand wins, because the whole experience of the labor movement teaches us that the left generally comes to

power only to carry out the policies of the right, and we would be wrong to place blind confidence in an individual, even one a thousand times more worthy of our confidence than Mitterrand.

"Workers, the presidential elections are only a minor incident, which shouldn't inconvenience us or turn us aside from the struggle for guaranteed jobs and the sliding scale of wages, the only way to force the bosses to pay the costs of the crisis of their system."

An article on Mitterrand in the same issue of *Lutte Ouvrière* emphasized that the Socialist party candidate, a "bourgeois politician," was in no way responsible to the workers organizations. "Mitterrand's main concern is to show that he enjoys complete autonomy with respect to his allies of the CP . . . above all to demonstrate to the bourgeoisie that he is running in this election as a real statesman, with a responsible attitude toward the bourgeoisie, but completely free of obligation with respect to any alliances that he might pull together through his electoral maneuvering. . . ."

"Whether he is the 'single' or the 'common' candidate of the [Union of the] Left, Mitterrand will in any case remain free in his movements, his statements, his initiatives—in a word, his politics."

When the PSU criticized *Lutte Ouvrière* for running its own candidate, a reply was published in the April 16-22 issue, warning that "in the coming crisis, Mitterrand will not take the necessary measures against capital, with the aid of the workers. At best, he will carry out the worst kind of right-wing policies, demoralizing the working class, alienating the middle classes by the image he will provide of the left, and leaving the workers morally disarmed by the lack of an alternative, and—what's more tragic—perhaps even physically disarmed in the face of reaction. It may be that he will prepare the way not for a de Gaulle, as in the past, but this time for a Pinochet."

However, *Lutte Ouvrière* was already beginning—no doubt as a result of the powerful pressure from the Mitterrand campaign as it gained momentum—to make nuanced adjustments in its opposition to Mitterrand. An editorial in the April 16-22 issue stated: "Because he [Mitterrand] is sup-

ported by parties and organizations that enjoy the confidence of the majority of the workers, we prefer his winning over Chaban or Giscard. We prefer him because we solidarize with what the mass of workers wants, and many of them are saying that even if he is no better than the others, he can't be worse. But, that being said, while we hope that Mitterrand defeats the right-wing candidate, because that corresponds to the desire of millions of workers, we do so without any illusions as to what a Mitterrand victory would bring for the working class."

The editorial emphasized that Laguiller's candidacy was not intended to provide "the least obstacle to the election of Mitterrand."

"Why the candidacy of Arlette Laguiller?" asked the center spread in the April 23-29 issue of *Lutte Ouvrière*. Among the reasons listed in this programmatic statement: "In the first place, as a warning to Mitterrand, to tell him that if he is borne to power by the workers' votes on the second round, they will not let him renege on his promises, and to tell him that they are ready if necessary to force him to abide by those promises, even if they are only the demands of the Common Program."

In a statement issued in the name of the organization on May 6, the day after the first-round voting, *Lutte Ouvrière* called on all those who had voted for its candidate to vote for Mitterrand on the second round.

"This is not because we think that he has changed between the two rounds, or because we have the least illusion about the man he has been, is, or will be once he is president of the Fifth Republic, but because we solidarize with the clearly expressed wish of millions of working women and men who hope to see Mitterrand elected against Giscard.

"We hope for Mitterrand's victory all the more because it is only then that he will be able to prove to all the laboring classes what he really is. That is why the members of *Lutte Ouvrière* and Arlette Laguiller herself will campaign for François Mitterrand during the next two weeks in order that none of the votes of the far left will be dropped on the second round."

*Lutte Ouvrière* apparently thought that Mitterrand had gained everything possible in the way of votes among

2. In the 1973 legislative elections, *Lutte Ouvrière* and the *Ligue Communiste* agreed that they would not contest the same electoral districts. In the first round, the 92 candidates of the *Ligue* received around 100,000 votes and the 167 candidates running on the *Lutte Ouvrière* label received about 200,000.



class-conscious workers and that he was now addressing bourgeois voters. It stated: "We should have no illusions: If Mitterrand wins, as we hope he does, he can do so on the second round

only by winning the votes of some of the electorate that voted for Chaban, or Royer. It is obvious that Mitterrand will increase his enticing statements directed toward this right-wing

electorate. The tragedy for the workers is that the concessions that Mitterrand is going to be able to make can only be concessions that the workers will be the first to pay for."

## Krivine's Assessment: The 'Allende of France'

"The revolutionists will support the candidate of the Common Program the way a rope supports a hanged man," Alain Krivine, presidential candidate of the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire (FCR — Revolutionary Communist Front), told an election rally in Caen on April 25.

Krivine had been nominated by supporters of *Rouge*, the Trotskyist weekly.

The FCR's approach to the election campaign was marked by complete rejection of the program of Mitterrand and his backers in the Union of the Left, from the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism. Every issue of *Rouge*, which began publishing as a daily during the campaign, and every speech by Krivine at meetings and in radio and television appearances, voiced sharp criticisms of the total inadequacy of the Socialist party candidate's proposed "alternative" to the present government.

But more than that: the Trotskyists attempted to concretize the anticapitalist alternative to the reformist candidacy. They initiated the proposal, taken up by other far-left organizations, to present a united candidate of the forces to the left of the Union of the Left. The proposal to run Charles Piaget of the Lip workers, the April 12 issue of *Rouge* explained, was designed to express "a vast anticapitalist current . . . a current that is also the framework for a massive outflanking of the capitulationist solutions of the reformist parties."

When Piaget declined to run without the support of his own party, the PSU, *Rouge* named Krivine as its candidate and devoted its columns to championing the demands of labor militants, the women's liberation movement, and the student movement, within the framework of the Trotskyist program.

Krivine and his supporters repeated over and over that Mitterrand could in no way be considered an ally of the working class. Mitterrand is leaning on the workers to get elected, Krivine

told a rally in Lyon on April 22, but already "he is winking at the bosses and the right wing."

Mitterrand can't base himself on both the bosses and the working class at the same time, Krivine told a mass rally of more than 5,000 at the Palais des Sports in Paris, April 29. "Anyone who tries to do so will only be using the support of the bosses against the workers. The existing institutions always serve the right wing and any socialist who accepts them is making himself a candidate for suicide and massacre. He is placing his own head on the block."

The Trotskyist candidate elaborated a theme that ran through all his statements during the campaign: The workers can rely only on themselves, on their own organizations, and not on the institutions of the state or on "saviors" like Mitterrand who promise to work within the bourgeois institutions. "He called on the workers to organize themselves," the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported, "by building rank-and-file committees in the neighborhoods and factories, and 'if the class struggle sharpens,' to prepare their self-defense by creating workers militias in the factories, as the first steps toward the formation of a people's army."

The Trotskyists frequently invoked the lessons of Chile in their propaganda. Mitterrand "wants to try Allende's experiment in France," Krivine told a rally in Nancy April 23. He "represents a dead end for the workers."

In a nationwide television address April 25, Krivine recalled Mitterrand's statement that he "didn't consider the capitalists as enemies"; he commented: "We, accordingly, will place no confidence either in the bosses or in Mister Mitterrand."

Many persons in the left wereswayed to support Mitterrand because of the broad support his candidacy received from labor unions and the Socialist and Communist parties, the mass workers parties adhering to the Union

of the Left. The Trotskyists emphasized the other side of Mitterrand's operation. The presence of the Left Radicals in the Union of the Left, the April 12 issue of *Rouge* explained, "is already an indication of the compromises that the reformist leaders are prepared to make."

The FCR explained that if it called for a vote for Mitterrand on the second round, after its own candidate had been eliminated from the ballot, it would only be because the Socialist party leader's candidacy could be considered that of a working-class formation. Krivine was quoted in the April 22 issue of *Le Quotidien Rouge* (the daily *Rouge*) as saying that the FCR would vote for Mitterrand on the second round "only if he has not concluded in the meantime any pact with significant sectors of the bourgeoisie."

These criticisms of the reformists' projects had an effect on many militants in the labor movement. On May 3 the leadership of the second-biggest labor federation, the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT), responded in a statement attacking "the campaign of denigration and calumny by the far-left groupings." In line with their own claim that Mitterrand's victory would advance the workers' interests, the CFDT bureaucrats charged that Krivine and the *Lutte Ouvrière* candidate, Arlette Laguiller, were "objectively contributing, by their behavior and their words, to keeping the right in power and thereby maintaining the present exploitation of the workers."

The FCR replied: "Our blows are directed against the right, and we are calling for a vote for François Mitterrand on the second round. But must we silence the debates within the workers movement about how to fight the bourgeoisie, and about the road to socialism, and the kind of socialism we are fighting for — all in the name of unity against the right? In the name of what principle must we muzzle our criticisms of Mr. Mitterrand when he says he will respect profits, develop

competition, remain in the Common Market and the Atlantic Alliance, and keep the Gaullist Constitution of 1958?"

The results of the May 5 vote gave Krivine 93,990 votes, or 0.36 percent of the total. That was considerably less than the quarter of a million votes for Krivine in 1969, and the difference may in part reflect the unpopularity of the FCR's harsh criticism of Mitterrand. In a postelection analysis of the results, *Le Quotidien Rouge* attributed the disparity of the votes for Krivine and Laguiller (she received 595,247) to the impact of her appeal as a working woman, and to the fact that her campaign had tended to play down her organizational affiliation.

After the first-round results had left only Mitterrand and Giscard d'Estaing on the second-round ballot, *Rouge*

stated: "we will mobilize to beat Giscard, candidate of the Versaillais [the Versaillais were the forces mobilized to crush the Paris Commune in 1871] on the basis of the campaign conducted by the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire.

"But the class character of the electoral campaign must be emphasized if it is to be successful. The workers must be made to feel they are involved in a worthwhile mobilization. They must weigh the stakes, and their determination must be stimulated by aiming their sights high."

Krivine explained in an interview in the April 22 issue of *Le Quotidien Rouge* that the FCR was calling for a vote for Mitterrand on the second round primarily because the workers saw such a vote as a "class vote." In addition, he said, the election of Mitterrand "would indicate that a

change has already taken place in the class relationship of forces." He also said that the bourgeoisie itself saw the vote for Mitterrand as a reflection of class alignments.

"Mitterrand's election is not sufficient," *Le Quotidien Rouge* wrote on the eve of the first round of voting, May 4. "It guarantees nothing. He has said that institutions are as good as the man in charge of them. He has said that he will retain the Constitution of 1958, that he alone will name his ministers the way de Gaulle and Pompidou did before him. He wants to cast himself in the mold of [de Gaulle's] Fifth Republic. An election victory can therefore result in the overthrow of the present reactionary regime only if the workers begin now to organize and prepare to force Mitterrand to go further, and if need be to turn him out when he resists!"

## 'Revolution!': Mitterrand Offers Some Hope But Not Much

The "Communist Organization Revolution," commonly called *Révolution!* after its weekly newspaper, originated principally in a 1971 split of a spontanéist minority tendency from the Ligue Communiste, then the French section of the Fourth International.

The minority had existed in the Ligue since the founding congress of the organization in April 1969, when it fought against the new formation adhering to the Fourth International.

*Révolution!* expresses an undefined support for Trotskyist ideas in general, flavored with Maoist rhetoric. "The members of *Révolution!* claim to base themselves on Trotskyism as the first manifestation of revolt against Stalinism, but they consider the analyses of the Fourth International 'outdated,'" the Paris daily *Le Monde* wrote at the time of the split.

*Révolution!* participated in the quest for a united far-left candidate with *Rouge* and other organizations. As leaders of the organization explained at an April 9 press conference, *Révolution!* favored a "workers candidate to oppose the bourgeois candidates, all those who have entered the election, including Mr. François Mitterrand."

When that project was unsuccessful, *Révolution!* launched a propaganda campaign around the theme "Against the strong state of the generals, the cops, and the bosses—Prepare the

people's offensive for workers power."

In the April 19 issue of their newspaper, *Révolution!* characterized the Mitterrand candidacy as follows:

"Today, Mitterrand is trying to convince the bourgeoisie that he is the man to resolve the social crisis. The Union of the Left has draped itself in the tricolor [the French flag], and proposes the broadest kind of unity. And tomorrow, if Mitterrand wins, he will do everything he can to limit social conflicts in the interests of managing the system. His policy turns its back on socialism, like Léon Blum's before it. It prepares the way for the workers' defeat."

The statement emphasized the need for working people to rely only on their own forces and organization, and to build independent struggles with the ultimate aim of smashing the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state.

The April 26 issue of *Révolution!* maintained this characterization of Mitterrand and added that in its view the Socialist party is a "bourgeois party with a popular following." But it called for a vote for Mitterrand on the second round. Apparently it was impressed with the wide support Mitterrand was winning among the workers.

"As a result of the agreements between the SP and CP in the framework of the Union of the Left and

the unions' support to Mitterrand's candidacy, this candidacy has gathered behind it in fact the whole of the people's camp, that is, it has assembled social forces independently of the political content of the operation. At the same time, no significant faction of the bourgeoisie is ready yet to pay the price that Mitterrand would want to make them pay to purchase social peace.

"What's more, today we are faced with a shattering of the majority confronted with the crisis of a regime that has seen its popular base disappear, with the resulting disarray of the bourgeoisie. As for the workers, they hate this regime, which declared war on the working class—this regime of the Messmers, the Chabans, and the Giscards. But there is also a great combativity—a will to resist, to fight back, to go on the counter-offensive against the bosses, the bourgeoisie, and their regime.

"That will was demonstrated in the broad, resolute struggles we have seen, from Lip to the bank employees. But, necessarily, it is also demonstrated today in the presidential contest, and in that framework it has crystallized around the vote for Mitterrand. This crystallization is obviously the product of massive electoralist and reformist illusions, which we must fight and demystify. But it is also the expression, albeit misdirected and distorted,

of the will to fight back and the need to go on the counteroffensive against the bourgeoisie and its regime.

"In these conditions . . . the Mitterrand vote can improve the relationship of forces in favor of the working class and the popular masses—something that the revolutionists, while combatting electoralist and reformist illusions, should not ignore."

*Révolution!* emphasized that in its view a Mitterrand victory could con-

tribute to improving the objective situation of the workers:

"And what's more, if Mitterrand wins, his success, while only electoral, will open up more important opportunities for the mobilizations of workers and other layers, based not on reformist initiatives, but on struggles in the factories."

While arguing that the workers could fight the bourgeoisie by voting for the "bourgeois candidate" Mitterrand of

the "bourgeois" SP, *Révolution!* also called for "voting revolutionary on the first round, without choosing any particular organization." It denounced both *Rouge* and *Lutte Ouvrière* as "sectarian" for having each run candidates and thereby "forced the members of other organizations and worker militants to choose one or the other candidate." However, it concluded, "what counts is that each of these candidates is today voicing the general ideas of the revolutionists."

## Maoists Reject Him in Both Rounds as Stooze for Moscow

Some Maoist currents did not call for a vote for Mitterrand on either the first or the second rounds. However, their reasons for taking this position differed.

*L'Humanité Rouge*, a weekly that describes itself as a "Communist newspaper for the application in France of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung Thought," headlined a special May Day supplement: "Reject the Ballot Boxes of the Bourgeoisie! Develop Revolutionary Action for National Independence and for the Proletarian Revolution."

The paper argued that bourgeois elections change nothing for the people. It criticized the "godfathers" of the "Union of the Left" for backing Mitterrand, "a reactionary old nag" who had "already drawn capitalism's cart" in the past.

*L'Humanité Rouge* attacked the class-collaborationist program of the Union of the Left. "What society do Marchais, Mitterrand, and Fabre propose?" it asked, referring to the leaders of the CP, SP, and Left Radicals respectively. "A society where the workers will have to roll up their sleeves to rescue capitalist France from the crisis."

The worst thing about the Union of the Left, in the opinion of the editors of *L'Humanité Rouge*, is that it would install in France a regime "like that in Poland, where the army and police drowned in blood some strikes against the high cost of living in 1970," or "a society like that in the USSR," which the Maoist paper characterized as a "fascist regime."

"The Union of the Left aims not only to maintain and reinforce the exploitation and oppression of the peoples of France and the colonies,

but also to crush our country under the heel of the social-imperialism of the USSR." And *L'Humanité Rouge* reminded its readers that "socialism will never come out of the ballot boxes; the people will conquer it by armed revolution under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist Communist party."

A special target of *L'Humanité Rouge* was "the Trotskyist little brothers" of the Union of the Left. Inscribed on the paper's masthead was the slogan: "Workers, Demonstrate in the streets on May 1 your rejection of bourgeois electoralism, your opposition to the maneuvers of the revisionist clique of Marchais and his Trotskyist allies, who want to divert the proletarian and popular struggles from a necessary violent revolution!"

Another Maoist grouping, the Parti Communiste Révolutionnaire (Marxist-Leninist) attempted to run a candidate of its own, André Roustan, but he was ruled off the ballot by the Constitutional Council. The Central Committee of the PCR(M-L) published a statement on the presidential election in its organ, *Front Rouge*.

The statement urged workers not to vote for Mitterrand. "You cannot accord the least confidence to this hangman of the Algerian people. . . .

"Working people, what confidence can you have in this 'Union of the Left' when its candidate Mitterrand has even refused to commit himself to uphold and apply the Common Program, thus providing himself with all the means he needs, in the event he wins, to show his ally, the French 'Communist' party, to the door, once the bourgeoisie no longer needs it?"

"Worker unionists of the CFTD [French Democratic Confederation of

Labor], demand that the leadership of your confederation account for why it committed your union to support Mitterrand, and why it is trying to make this candidate benefit from all the potential of the hard struggles you have fought. . . ."

The PCR(M-L) likewise attacked "the Trotskyists" for calling for a vote for Mitterrand. "You cannot vote for the Trotskyist candidates. Behind their pseudorevolutionary phrases, they do not hide the fact that their objective is to get people to vote for Mitterrand on the second round, and to bring those of you who reject the 'Common Program' back to the 'Union of the Left' fold."

The PCR(M-L) and *Front Rouge* called for "denouncing the electoral circus." But they did express some interest in "differences" between the various candidates of the former government majority on "issues that are decisive for the solution of problems like energy supplies and defense."

Giscard d'Estaing, they said, favors a reassertion of France's links with U.S. imperialism, "even if this leads to increased dependence on the United States." The Gaullist Chaban-Delmas and his supporters, on the other hand, "are emphasizing the themes of national independence and the need for a certain firmness toward the United States."

However, they urged workers not to vote for "the candidates of the former presidential majority."

Another Maoist current, Cause du Peuple, participated in the far-left negotiations around the proposed Piaget candidacy. CdP leader Alain Geismar was among those who traveled to Besançon to try to convince Piaget to run.

## Pablo: Interests of PSU Come First

One of the groups that participated in the attempt to run a united far-left candidate, and later swung over to campaigning for Mitterrand, was the Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire (AMR—Revolutionary Marxist Alliance). This grouping, which originated in a 1965 split from the Fourth International, publishes an irregular theoretical journal, *Sous le Drapeau du Socialisme* (Under the Banner of Socialism), and *L'Internationale*, normally a fortnightly newspaper, which appeared during the election campaign as a "Communist weekly for self-management."

The AMR's leader is Michel Raptis, who under the pen name of M. Pablo was a central leader of the Fourth International in the post-World War II period and a leader of one of the factions during the ten-year split in the International. Pablo participated in the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963, but he had developed differences with the majority of the world movement over the evaluation of the Sino-Soviet split (he favored a position of critical support to Khrushchev) and other questions.

In 1965 he and his self-styled "African Commission" split from the ranks of the world Trotskyist movement. He gave up calling his current "Trotskyist," saying that the term no longer had any precise meaning.

The Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire defines itself in its fortnightly as a "communist organization fighting for self-management socialism. It seeks to contribute through its action to the building of a revolutionary party. . . ." The AMR is currently negotiating an entry into the PSU.

The development of the AMR's political line around the presidential election has been marked by improvisation.

On April 2, the day Pompidou died, the AMR issued a press release: "Now is the time to launch a vast united mobilization to bring the CP and SP to power. Following the example that led to the victory of the Chilean UP [Popular Unity], united committees for an anticapitalist government of the CP and the SP, supported by the labor unions, must be formed everywhere."

By April 4, however, the AMR was participating with other far-left groups in the attempt to get Piaget to run.

A press release issued that day reflected this new situation. "The AMR denounces the capitulationist attitude of the workers leaderships, who, to obtain access to the office of the president, are beginning to emasculate their own reformist Common Program. This retreat from their own orientation, far from helping them win over the majority, may instead demoralize the ranks of the working class.

"The AMR declares its support for the candidacy of Charles Piaget. It is prepared to support him as the candidate of the PSU, representing the current for workers control, socialism, and self-management counterposed to the capitulationist, reformist orientation."

However, the AMR seems to have had a conception of the Piaget candidacy that was somewhat different from that of the other participating groups. On April 5 it issued another press release, denying that it favored Piaget running as the "single candidate of the revolutionists," and "confirming its support to a candidacy of the PSU . . . which Charles Piaget would best embody." The statement denounced "the unacceptable maneuvers of the *Rouge* editorial board, who, in the confusion [around whether or not Piaget will run], are advancing Krivine's candidacy, contrary to their commitment to support Charles Piaget as the candidate of the PSU."

The AMR then set out to win the PSU over to supporting the Piaget candidacy. On April 6 it sent a letter to the National Political Leadership (the Central Committee) of the PSU, urging it to support a "united front of the self-management forces of the left" around a "self-management candidacy of the PSU on the first round."

The letter to the PSU leadership broached this proposal in the framework of critical support for Mitterrand on the second round. It noted that "the [Union of the] Left is publicly abandoning its program, which you and we have already characterized as state-capitalist in its essence and reformist in its strategy, in order to barter it against a vague declaration of intention similar to the 'options' of the Mitterrand candidacy in 1965." The letter called on the PSU to "show in practice that the PSU and the other forces of the workers and people's movement could 'march separately

and strike together.'" It urged the PSU to join with the AMR in "mobilizing for a transitional workers political solution, including the idea that we have supported for several months, as you know, of an SP-CP government supported and controlled by rank-and-file unity committees and based on an anticapitalist program."

In a resolution adopted unanimously by its Central Committee on April 7, the AMR was more explicit on how it saw the Mitterrand candidacy in terms of this "transitional workers political solution."

Mitterrand's victory, it argued, "would open a new period of increasing class polarization, in which the question of outflanking [the traditional workers leaderships] would be placed on the order of the day in practical terms and in which a historic confrontation would take shape."

The issue of whether or not the PSU should run its own candidate on the first round, the resolution said, had polarized the PSU between the supporters of the majority leadership headed by Michel Rocard, who were out to "break up the PSU in order to go over to the SP," and, on the other hand, "those who want to build the regroupment of the revolutionary supporters of self-management." The AMR classified itself among those who wanted to preserve the PSU's independent identity—not to counterpose it to the Mitterrand candidacy as such, but in order to give that candidacy a left flavor. As the resolution stated:

"[The AMR] hopes that the PSU will make Charles Piaget its candidate in order to ensure the presence of revolutionary supporters of self-management in the campaign. As a supporter of a strategy of outflanking the Union of the Left, the AMR considers that an autonomous campaign of the revolutionists for self-management organized around a network of rank-and-file committees in the factories, the neighborhoods, and the schools, will make its weight felt in the face of the successive capitulations of the supporters of the Common Program. On the second round, the AMR will support the workers candidate who is in the best position to form an SP-CP government." (Emphasis in original.)

The last sentence of the above quotation was given its odd phrasing not

because the AMR thought Alain Krivine or Arlette Laguiller might face Mitterrand in the second-round runoff election, but because the AMR still felt the need, given the distrust of Mitterrand in the far left and wide circles of the PSU membership, to keep its distance from the Socialist party leader. A brief statement issued at the conclusion of its Central Committee meeting that day, April 7, emphasized that Mitterrand "is not presenting himself as the candidate of the Socialist party, or even as the candidate of the Common Program. Without having yet defined his program, he is placing himself like a Bonapartist candidate above the coalition of the left parties."

When the PSU National Council voted April 15 by a substantial majority to endorse its central leadership's support of Mitterrand and rejection of the Piaget candidacy, the supporters of the AMR did not join the PSU's left faction, the Groupe Ouvrier et Paysan, in splitting from the party. Instead, its Central Committee issued a statement calling on all who had supported the Piaget candidacy to form "May 20 Committees for Workers Control and Self-Management,"<sup>3</sup> to campaign as a "left" current in support of a vote for Mitterrand on the second round. The resolution defined the AMR's policy as a "united front" policy.

"Our united front policy," the resolution stated, "is based today on a combined process: the interaction between the new social movements expressing the self-management aspirations that the reformists cannot easily 'absorb,' and, on the other hand, some central sectors of the working class still organized by the CP and the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor]. The Piaget self-management candidacy guaranteed the link between an alternative political strategy and the social movements that would be called on to concretize that strategy in the event of Mitterrand's victory. Now that Piaget is not running, it will not be easy to forge this link. But to 'fall back' on the Mitterrand candidacy by invoking this difficulty would be to deny the correctness of the struggle for the Piaget can-

3. The name of the committees refers to the day after the second round of voting takes place. It is supposed to put the question of what the left and workers movements are to do after the election.

didacy. It would result in an opportunist application of the united front."

All the efforts of the AMR from here on were devoted to attempting to save the PSU as an authentic "self-management current" within the left and to convert the popular-front type coalition around Mitterrand's candidacy into an anticapitalist front. A representative of the "Marxist Self-Management Current," which reflects the views of the AMR within the PSU, told the PSU National Council that the party's moves toward "integration into the Union of the Left" contradicted "the whole orientation of the PSU, its very reasons to exist." The PSU, he argued, "is more indispensable than ever."

Gilbert Marquis, an editor of *l'Internationale*, the AMR's weekly paper, wrote in the April 18 issue: "To 'outflank' the popular front coalition, or go beyond it toward an anticapitalist front . . . requires permanent propaganda and agitation. The PSU had the means for it. That is why we were fighting at its side. By not doing such work, by crudely directing their fire against 'the Trotskyist groups and their little maneuvers' in order to opt for Mitterrand, [PSU National Secretary Robert] Chapuis and the PSU leadership became responsible for drowning the self-management current in confusion, and reducing it to a support grouping for the Union of the Left."

By its April 25 issue, *L'Internationale* was campaigning hard for Mitterrand, with a "left" line, of course. A "common program," and a "common candidate"? Fine, Marquis wrote, but why not also a "common campaign," involving the workers in Mitterrand's drive toward power? The way to do this was to build rank-and-file committees in the factories and neighborhoods. These committees could at the very least "pressure Mitterrand so that he doesn't abandon the most radical parts of the Common Program."

The same issue reported that "May 20 Committees for Socialist Self-Management" had been organized in several factories in the Paris area. These committees, *l'Internationale* reported, were endorsed by the National Council of the PSU.

A special May Day issue of *Vingt Mai* (May Twentieth), the newspaper of these committees, contended that "the victory of the [Union of the] Left is possible. Yet it must appear to the

workers as their victory, and they must see the present battle as their battle!" The newspaper carried an interview with Charles Piaget in which he called for a "mobilization for the victory" of the Mitterrand candidacy.

"Victory is at hand," the AMR proclaimed in a "special first round" issue of *l'Internationale*. "What couldn't be achieved in May '68 today appears possible: to get rid of the regime established by the coup of 1958."

The statement called for "a CP-SP government without bourgeois ministers, based on the unions and rank-and-file committees, and applying forthwith a socialist program, beginning with the anticapitalist measures of the Common Program currently being bargained off by its supporters."

The AMR had earlier denounced *Rouge* for announcing Krivine's candidacy the same day he was in Besançon trying to persuade Piaget to run. It had characterized both Krivine and Laguiller of *Lutte Ouvrière* as "candidates of despair, who can only confirm the incapacity of these groups to orient themselves in line with the fundamental tendencies of the masses." However, "in order that the working class not be disarmed by a capitulation in the face of reformism," the AMR called for "voting revolutionary" on the first round, for either Krivine or Laguiller, as a "political witness."

*L'Internationale* dissociated itself from Krivine's campaign, however. "To make a speech on 'workers self-defense' or the question of the militia, based on the Chilean experience, is abstractly correct, but completely outside the real experiences of the workers." The candidate of the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire should have referred instead to the self-defense struggles already engaged in by the French workers and appealed to the trade unions and political organizations of the working class to organize self-defense.

As for Laguiller, she had limited herself to presenting a populist or "Poujadist" version of "Trotskyism," based on a simple approach to voters as a trade-union militant. And her organization was only a "sect."

As for the second round, *l'Internationale* told its readers that "a defeat for Mitterrand will not only be a defeat for the apparatuses, but also, to a large degree, a defeat for the working class itself." □

## Franz Marek on East European Opposition

[The following speech was given November 14, 1973, at a teach-in supporting the antibureaucratic opposition in the Stalinist workers states that was held in Hamburg, Germany.]

[Franz Marek was one of the leaders of the wing of the Austrian Communist party that defended the Prague Spring and opposed the Soviet invasion and the subsequent "normalization" of Czechoslovakia. As a result, he was purged, along with many others, by the pro-Kremlin loyalist wing.]

[The text of other speeches and reports presented at this teach-in can be obtained from the Committee to Oppose Repression in Czechoslovakia and the East European Countries, c/o Angelika Brandt, 2 Hamburg 39, Grossheidestrasse 1, West Germany.]

[We have translated Marek's speech from the February issue of *Informacny Materialy*, a magazine published by Czechoslovak revolutionary socialists in Berlin. Copies can be obtained for DM 1.50 (approximately US\$0.60), from ISP-Verlag (Infomat), Postfach 214, 1 Berlin 10 (West). Subscriptions cost DM 10 (US\$4.00) and DM 14 (US\$5.60) by airmail.]

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Comrades:

I have only a brief comment to make on the main argument we are going to run up against when we talk about the need for solidarity with the oppositionist groups in the Eastern European countries, especially Czechoslovakia.

The argument raised is a legitimate one: that there is a danger that we will get caught up in anti-Communist propaganda and find ourselves in close association with Springer [reactionary gutter] press. It doesn't matter, it is said, whether you criticize a country for being socialist or too socialist, or for not being socialist or not being socialist enough. In my opinion this is an outdated argument, the expression of a bloc mentality that today only blocks thinking.

At a certain time this "either-or," or "for or against," was completely legitimate and correct. I am still convinced of this today. At the time of the struggle against fascism, it was understandable for Manuel, the hero of Malraux's novel on the Spanish Civil War, to say: "We don't recognize any nuances or any absolute truth. A revolutionist must be a born Manichaeon." This attitude may have been correct in the period of the cold war. In

a masterly way, Stalin turned this "either-or" into prejudice against any opposition.

But are we in the same situation today? Does this famous "socialist camp" represent a monolithic whole? When are we anti-Communists? When we criticize the Communist party of China, or when we criticize the Communist party of the USSR? One of the two groups definitely has to be anti-Communist.

When Brandt was in Prague, they let almost all the correspondents come. There was only one that they arrested and sent home. He was not the correspondent of a paper like *Die Welt* or *Das Bild* [Springer papers], he was the correspondent of *l'Unita*, the organ of the Communist party of Italy! Who was anti-Communist then? And what sense is there to this Manichaeon bloc mentality at a time when a branch of Rockefeller's bank has been set up at No. 1 Marx Street in Moscow, and when its management has arranged with the Moscow authorities for running a golf course so that the bank executives can feel at home? How can anyone carry on this bloc mentality today? Anyone who tries to simply has an out-of-date, blocked mind.

There is another, stronger argument. "With whom are we solidarizing in fact? Let's take Russia. Do you want to solidarize with Sakharov and his hostile position? Do you want to solidarize with Solzhenitsyn and the nonsense he supports?" No, we don't.

Obviously, it is easier for us to solidarize with General Grigorenko, who has remained faithful to Lenin's program on the national question and supported the Crimean Tatars' right to return to their homeland. It was precisely because he based himself on Lenin in fact that they committed him to a mental institution. Obviously, it is easier to solidarize ourselves with Medvedev, despite his illusions that a reduction of tension will in itself automatically lead to democratization.

But why do we have to reconcile ourselves to condemning Sakharov or Solzhenitsyn because they often uphold bad or ignorant positions? Must not an honest Communist, an honest Marxist, ask: "How is it possible that honest, devoted people who have never lived anywhere else but in the country of the great real revolution come to such views?" Shouldn't we first raise the question of how this happened and whether we ourselves bear some responsibility?

A few years ago Sakharov called himself a socialist. Solzhenitsyn described himself as an ethical socialist. Today he is at

best a Christian moralist. How did this evolution come about? Can we entirely divorce this from the development of their country? Mustn't we ask whether a genuine revolution really leads in this way to genuine socialism? Shouldn't we realize that these people live in a country where—and this is the honest truth, as anyone who knows Russia can tell—only one question has really interested people in recent months? It was not the war in the Middle East, nor the well-known scandal in the Wild West, which has hardly been reported in their press. It was, I swear to God, the increase in the price of vodka. This was the only question that really interested the masses. And this explains how such people as Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn, and the others could arrive at such views.

Is the West German left free of all responsibility for this evolution? The fact is that in the opposition movement in the Eastern European countries there are confused nationalist and religious tendencies. But don't we bear some responsibility for that? Let's remember that in the 1960s when one of the oppositionist socialists wanted to inform world public opinion, he turned to a Communist correspondent. Today he might still look for such a correspondent but he will not find one so easily. This had led to the development for which we bear some responsibility.

So, I think that solidarity with the socialist opposition in the Eastern European countries, especially Czechoslovakia, is necessary for two reasons. It is important for us to revive the sense of justice that plays a vital role in the workers movement. The workers simply can't be so apolitical as not to see when the principle of justice applies equally, when justice is indivisible, and on the other hand when this principle has been subordinated to the interests of the state, that is, to what the rulers of the state regard as beneficial.

The workers understand this. You can't fight prejudice against radicals in your own country and remain silent about the anathematization of radicals in a country that swears by Marx and Lenin, and where today hundreds of socialists are being condemned out of hand as counter-revolutionists—honest socialists who everybody knows have spent years in concentration camps and devoted their entire lives to their country.

I would like to say something to Communist party members. I was one myself for thirty-six years. Anyone who thinks that such people can become counterrevolutionists is sowing distrust in his own party. Because people can say: "What guarantee do we have that one of you is not going to turn into a counterrevolutionary?"

This is one argument, because otherwise we get into the kind of two-faced morality the old philosopher Pascal was talking about when he said: "What's wrong on the other side of the Pyrenees is right on our side." In that case, people will say: "What's on the other side of the border

is right and what's on this side is wrong." That is a two-faced morality; that is incompatible with the revolutionary workers movement.

A second argument flows from what I have already said. If we really want

to have an effect on the evolution in those countries, if we really want to oppose the disturbing nationalist and rightist tendencies in those countries, we must show our solidarity, we must make an effort and not hold ourselves back. I think

Brecht said something like this: "Away with your weakness, it's not enough solidarity." And so, solidarity with the oppositionist circles and with the revolutionary socialists is a revolutionary task and a task for revolutionists. □

## Brittany Conference Issues Anti-Imperialist Call

[The following document was adopted February 3 at a conference in Brittany sponsored by representatives of the Union Démocratique de Bretagne (UDB—Democratic Union of Brittany), the Union do Pobo Galego (Union of the Galician People), and the Official Irish Republican Movement. Over the past decade and a half, nationalist circles in the small West European ethnic groupings have inclined more and more in the direction of socialism. This has been most evident, for example, in the case of the Basque nationalists of the ETA (Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna — Basque Nation and Liberty).

[The document below is somewhat unusual in that it represents an attempt by a number of these groups, operating in four different countries to arrive at a general common program. We have taken the text from the April issue of *Eolas*, the Official Irish Republican international bulletin.]

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The signatory parties from Ireland, Galicia and Brittany, having met in a conference on the 3rd of February 1974, and being aware of the world character of imperialism and of the extreme seriousness of the situation which has been created in their respective countries by the continuation of the colonial system which flows from this, solemnly declare the necessity of uniting all the oppressed peoples of Europe. To this end we propose the following analyses and positions:

### The Imperialist Situation in Europe

#### (a) Imperialism — A World System:

Concerning its economic position, modern imperialism basically finds itself at the monopoly stage of capitalism. It is a world system which draws

super-profits in the colonial countries at the same time as it exploits the working class of the imperialist countries. Because imperialism is a world system, several peoples, in different degrees and in particular historical contexts, suffer colonial oppression or neo-colonial domination.

Europe has not escaped this rule, which explains why there still exists today on the periphery of the European imperialist system a certain number of peoples who endure this super-exploitation directed by the different monopoly groups. This domination exists at the same time —

— under the form of a direct super-exploitation in the structure of the state's monopoly capitalism;

— under the form of the European monopolies who, bit by bit, are bypassing the overly narrow structures of the old European states, to the pace and the measure of capitalist integration in the structure of the Common Market;

— under the form finally of multinational companies whose strategy is to seek to adapt themselves to the actual crisis of world capitalism which is faced with monetary difficulties.

#### (b) The Effects of Imperialism:

Imperialism therefore has the effect of installing a colonial system which affects a certain number of peoples under different forms and various degrees.

Colonialism shows itself in three interdependent principal characteristics: these aspects are economic, political and socio-cultural. The economic aspect is by far the most important, for the political and socio-cultural aspects stem from the needs of monopoly capitalism. Political domination has no other purpose but to facilitate capital penetration, sometimes even going as far as military intervention.

The destruction of the culture of the different peoples is a consequence of this political and economic intervention. But once this destruction has

been accomplished, the introduction of the dominant culture facilitates all social oppressions, at the first rank of which there stands, evidently, capitalist exploitation.

In this context it is apparent today — that the Irish people suffer directly the effects of colonialism in the North and of neo-colonialism in the South (yet this situation is tending towards a colonial integration of the South, pure and simple);

— that the people of Galicia suffer the oppression of Fascism which is the guarantee of the domination of the monopoly groups of the Spanish state;

— that the people of Brittany suffer directly colonial domination in the structure of political centralism, the best support of the monopoly capitalism of the French state.

### The National Question and Socialism

At the stage of Imperialism, the colonial situation in which our peoples find themselves makes it impossible to develop according to the models of the so-called developed countries of today. In effect, the native middle classes are unable to accumulate the capital necessary for their expansion; because of this the economic surplus which is created in our countries is drained towards the metropolitan centres through the workings of the banking system. In consequence, the existence of a "true" national bourgeoisie becomes totally impossible. The middle classes of our countries are therefore resolved to play the role of "comprador bourgeoisie"; they are agents through whom Imperialism exercises its domination over our peoples. Even if there could exist some residue or pieces of the middle class with a more or less national character, they could only play a marginal role.

From these facts flows the impossibility of the so-called national bour-

geoisie playing a leading role in the movement for national liberation. We believe therefore that the struggle against imperialism cannot be separated from the struggle against its local agents, "the comprador bourgeoisie."

The struggle for national liberation is not a struggle distinct from the struggle for socialism. One cannot even say that the struggle for national emancipation ought to be tied with the struggle for Social emancipation; it is the one struggle. The struggle for national liberation is only the particular aspect which the class struggle takes in the oppressed countries which are subject to colonial exploitation, and the struggle for socialism takes the form for our peoples of a struggle of national liberation.

At this point we wish to denounce the opportunists of the Right and "Left." On the Right, those who say: "Let us win national freedom first and then we will establish socialism." The state is always an instrument of the domination of the class in power. A state above social classes, a state without a class character, cannot exist. This state "without a class character" which the opportunists of the Right want to impose on us cannot be anything else than the continuation, more or less disguised, of the domination of Imperialism through the means of its local agents, with a purely formal independence as is the case with the South of Ireland. On the "Left" those who say: "Establish socialism and then socialism will free the oppressed peoples." Socialism is not something abstract, it must be adapted to the specific conditions of each country. History shows us that the path to socialism has not been realised in the same way in the different countries which are today socialist (USSR, China, Vietnam, Cuba, etc.). Those who deny the national structure of the path to socialism affirm most often the actual structure of the imperialist states.

Working class internationalism does not mean the denial of the existence of different peoples, but equality and brotherhood of all the peoples of the world.

In the conditions which exist in the colonised countries of Western Europe where the weakness of the national middle class results in the inseparability of the social and national struggles, it is only by mobilising the entire people in a mass movement of

resistance, led by the working class, building on those issues that affect the working people most directly and that divide the Imperialists and their allies most effectively, that national freedom can be won.

It is the major task of the revolutionary vanguard in the colonised countries of Western Europe to work for this essential unity of the people. While giving leadership to the mass struggle, the revolutionary movement must never allow itself to become cut off or isolated from its popular base. Those who seek to substitute elitist isolated militarism for the mass struggle, and the ultraleft who seek to bypass the different stages of the struggle by adventurist rhetoric, must equally be resisted.

The colonial situation is, however, a violent one. Emigration, unemployment, poverty, exploitation of natural resources and the condition of repression are the backcloth against which Imperialism always has recourse to open violence to maintain and justify its domination. No people has ever won its freedom except by a mass struggle answering the violence of Imperialism.

The three signatory parties absolutely affirm the right of a colonised people to answer counter revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. But it can never be forgotten that revolutionary violence is the response of an oppressed people, organised in mass for resistance; it is not the reflex of individuals who cannot endure the hardship of prolonged political struggle. The history of all purely military, non-political movements in national liberation struggles is that of defeat or a change in the superstructure of Imperialist domination which does not affect the underlying reality of exploitation in the colonial situation.

### Final Declaration

On the basis of the preceding analysis of the situation in Europe, and on the basis of the revolutionary response which we propose in the sense of the national liberation of our peoples and the construction of socialism, our three organisations propose the following theses as a theoretical base for revolutionary practice in the fight for a socialist Europe founded on the equality of the peoples who make it up:

1. We reaffirm the inalienable right of national self-determination;

2. We fight for the defence and the affirmation of the national character of our peoples in economic, social, political and cultural terms;

3. We fight for the official establishment for our peoples of their national languages and cultures, on popular and scientific bases, which we consider an integral part of the building of socialism in our countries.

4. We declare ourselves in favour of the need for each people oppressed to give themselves their own revolutionary organisation in its national structure as an indispensable means of bringing to fruition the national-revolutionary struggle.

5. We condemn all forms and structures which perpetuate alienation, exploitation and the degradation of the human person, in particular—fascism, racism and [religious] sectarianism.

6. We declare ourselves in favour of the establishment in our countries of a democratic and popular regime in which the working classes will assume power.

7. We reaffirm the necessity of destroying all capitalist and imperialist structures, and fight for the expropriation by the people of all means of production, distribution and exchange.

8. We declare ourselves in favour of the establishment of a planned socialist economy, serving the working people and under their democratic and popular control.

9. We declare our solidarity with the struggles of all the oppressed peoples of the world against Colonialism and Imperialism, for the establishment of national freedom and the building of socialism.

10. We appeal for the revolutionary solidarity of all oppressed peoples and all progressives in the world for the struggles which we are waging against the common enemy—world imperialism in its various aspects and forms.

11. We declare ourselves in favour of the establishment of a socialist Europe of the peoples who make it up on the basis of equality and reciprocal respect and recognition.

On the basis of the preceding points and analysis and in the name of our three peoples, we call on all revolutionary organisations of the oppressed peoples of Europe to join us in the fight for the destruction of Imperialism and the establishment of a socialist peoples' Europe. □