

Argentina

Thousands Attend Funeral Of Murdered Trotskyists



Portugal

Soldiers, African Students Demand End to Colonial War

Kim Dae Jung Brought to Trial

Ten months after Kim Dae Jung was kidnapped by agents of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) from his hotel room in Tokyo and forcibly returned to Seoul, the dictatorship of President Park Chung Hee brought him to trial June 5 for election-law violations allegedly committed in 1967 and 1971.

Kim Dae Jung, a leader of the New Democratic party, was elected to the South Korean National Assembly in 1967, and ran for president in 1971 against Park Chung Hee, losing by a small margin. When Park placed the country under martial law in October 1972, Kim went into exile in Japan, speaking out publicly against Park's repressive moves and attempting to rally the 600,000 Koreans in Japan against Park. On August 8, 1973, he was kidnapped, beaten, and taken to Seoul. The regime put him under house arrest until a face-saving agreement was reached in November between Seoul and Tokyo, in which the South Korean regime "apologized" for the kidnapping and promised that Kim would be allowed to leave South Korea.

According to the June 6 *Christian Science Monitor*, Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira told a press conference in Tokyo that the November agreement had also included the understanding that Kim would not be arrested in connection with any other case.

On the opening day of the trial, about 500 persons, many of them supporters of Kim Dae Jung, packed the courtroom. Kim was accused of asserting during his 1971 election campaign that Park intended to make himself president for life. Kim replied that his prediction had come true.

The presiding judge of the Seoul district criminal court, Park Choong Soon, said after the June 5 sessions that Kim "tended to acknowledge the accusations." If convicted, Kim could receive up to seven and a half years in prison. □

Let a Hundred People Bloom?

"Woman College Graduate Takes Root in North China Countryside"—Hsinhua headline, May 31.

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Thousands Attend Funeral of Slain Trotskyists

By Judy White

Between 4,000 and 5,000 persons assembled in front of the national headquarters of the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) in Buenos Aires on June 1. They came to attend the funeral of three PST members kidnapped and slain two days earlier by right-wing goons. (See *Intercontinental Press*, June 10, p. 707.)

This is how the funeral was described in the Argentine bourgeois press:

"Banners and placards from political groups—Federación Juvenil Comunista [Communist Youth Federation], Acción Comunista [Communist Action], Juventud Socialista de Avanzada [Vanguard Socialist Youth], Política Obrera [Workers Politics]—were carried by groups made up mainly of young persons," reported *Mayoria*.

Clarín noted the presence of delegations from the printers union, from metalworkers locals in several iron and steel plants, and from shipyards in La Plata and Ensenada.

Funeral wreaths had been sent from, among others, the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers party), Juventud Peronista Regional I (Peronist Youth, Region I), the Montoneros, the Communist party, and "la organización subversiva declarada ilegal por el Gobierno" (the subversive organization declared illegal by the government—a reference to the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo [Revolutionary Army of the People]).

Speakers at the rally included PST leaders Nahuel Moreno and Juan Carlos Coral, workers from several plants that have recently been involved in struggles for union democracy, federal parliamentary deputies Héctor Sandler and Rodolfo Ortega Peña, and representatives from a wide range of center and left political groups.

Dozens more labor, student, and political organizations from all over Ar-

gentina had sent declarations of solidarity and support to the PST by the time of the funeral, as had groups from Canada, the United States, Venezuela, Spain, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Mexico.

A growing list of leading intellectuals and public figures have also protested the assassinations.

Who Were the Victims?

In addition to being activists in the PST, Oscar Dalmacio Meza, Antonio Moses, and Mario Zidda were known in the Pacheco district of Buenos Aires for their participation in labor struggles.

Meza, 27, was born in Corrientes province. He was a metalworker at the ASTARSA shipyards, where he functioned as a delegate for the boiler section, a member of his Comisión Interna (plant committee), and a member of the job safety committee.

The June 1 *Noticias*, in describing the background of the victims, pointed out that Meza had played a leading role in an occupation at ASTARSA over the question of safety conditions on the job only last year. The action was taken after a co-worker died in an industrial accident there.

Meza had also been a candidate on the same opposition slate in the last UOM (Unión Obrera Metalúrgica—Metalworkers Union) elections, as had Inosencio Fernández, the PST member slain earlier in May in the Pacheco district.

Moses, 24, worked in the Wobron Clutch Factory. He was born in Buenos Aires province and had studied physical science before joining the PST and getting involved in working-class struggles.

Zidda was a 22-year-old native of Italy who had lived in Argentina since he was four years of age. In Buenos Aires, he enrolled at the National School of Technical Education, Number 1, where he played a leading role in the 1972 student mobilizations. Shortly before that struggle he had

joined the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada. At the time of his death he was working at the ABEA Textile Company and playing a leadership role in the JSA.

Who Is Responsible?

Accounts in the Argentine bourgeois press following the killings provided the following interpretations of the events:

Cronista Comercial June 1 quoted a PST press statement: "The assassinations of 'Indio' Fernández, Moses, Meza, and Zidda bear the same trademark as the massacre at Ezeiza [scores were killed and several hundred were wounded last May while awaiting Perón's return from exile], the assassinations of the Communist worker Rojas in Córdoba, the Peronist potter Bacci, JP [Juventud Peronista—Peronist Youth] compañera Lilliana Ivanoff, newspaperman Fumaro-la, and the attempt against Senator Solari Irigoyen, former defense attorney for political prisoners."

Noticias quoted PST leader Juan Carlos Coral as stating at a press conference the same day that terrorism in the recent period had been used as "an instrument to enforce the Social Pact,"—the Peronist government's antilabor program. He blamed the government for not having taken the necessary steps to prevent assassinations like the ones in Pacheco, and accused the union bureaucracy of carrying out such crimes in response to the "combative activism" of the workers. This bureaucracy must bear responsibility for the escalation of violence Argentina has been experiencing, he was quoted as saying.

The Juventud Trabajadora Peronista (Peronist Worker Youth) warned that the assassinations and jailings of workers "threaten to result in a real civil war, if the course taken by the government is not redirected and if the Peronist movement continues to be prevented from carrying out its

role as backbone of the liberation front."

Speaking for the federal Senate, UCR (Unión Cívica Radical—Radical Civic Union) legislator Carlos Perette was quoted as demanding "an immediate investigation of the tremendous increase in assassinations, which is costing the lives of men of all persuasions. The nation knows the identity of the victims, but not of the perpetrators. These deeds cannot go unpunished. We must condemn them as we do all forms of violence." (*Crónica*, June 1.)

At the funeral itself, Ortega Peña of the Bloque de Base (a left Peronist formation) was reported by *Noticias* to have "attacked the government harshly," saying that repression is "linked to the names of functionaries of the executive branch of the government."

Even the CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confeder-

ation of Labor) and the leading body of the UOM division in which Meza and Moses were members felt obliged to make public statements: The CGT declared, "We put aside politics and call for reflection and prudence," and the UOM bureaucracy published an ad in several Buenos Aires dailies insisting on their "total and categorical repudiation of the unspeakable and inhuman action" that the murders represented. The ad made it clear, however, that the bureaucrats considered such actions "aberrant" attempts to "stop the process of reconstruction and national liberation that the whole country is pledged to, under the direction of our only Leader, Lieutenant General Juan Domingo Perón."

PST Makes Its Demands

A twofold response from the PST to the murders and other terrorist attacks

has been reported.

The party has called "all workers and people's organizations, and all political parties and their youth groups who are for the defense of democratic rights to unite in action" to demand an investigation and punishment of those responsible for the killings at Pacheco and elsewhere.

Coral also announced that the party has demanded that the government grant it the right to have heavy arms in its headquarters for self-defense.

Following a May 31 meeting between Coral and Minister of the Interior Benito Llambí, at which this demand was made, Coral reported to the press that Llambí had at one time said that the Argentine federal police were the best in the world. If that is so, demanded Coral, "Why haven't they found a single one of those responsible for the hundreds of attacks against the working class?" □

Asisten entre 4 y 5 mil Personas

Funeral de los Trotskistas Asesinados en Argentina

Por Judy White

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "Thousands Attend Funeral of Murdered Trotskyists", que aparece en la página 755 de este mismo número de *Intercontinental Press*].

* * *

Entre 4 y 5 mil personas se reunieron frente a la oficina nacional del PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional), en Buenos Aires, el 1 de junio, para asistir al funeral de los tres miembros del PST que habían sido secuestrados y asesinados dos días antes por matones derechistas. (Ver *Intercontinental Press*, 10 de junio, p. 707.)

La prensa burguesa argentina describió el funeral en los siguientes términos:

"Banderas y cartelones de agrupaciones políticas—Federación Juvenil Comunista, Acción Comunista, Juventud Socialista de Avanzada, Política

Obrera—eran enarbolados por grupos compuestos en su mayoría por elementos juveniles", informó *Mayoría*.

Clarín destacó la presencia de delegaciones del sindicato de trabajadores gráficos, de trabajadores metalúrgicos de diferentes fábricas y de trabajadores de los astilleros de La Plata y Ensenada.

Había muchas coronas de flores, que habían sido enviadas, entre otros, por el Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, Juventud Peronista Regional I, los Montoneros, el Partido Comunista y "la organización subversiva declarada ilegal por el Gobierno"—esto es, el Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo.

Entre los oradores estuvieron Nahué Moreno y Juan Carlos Coral—dirigentes del PST—, trabajadores de varias fábricas que han tenido recientemente luchas por la democracia sindical, los Diputados Federales Héctor Sandler y Rodolfo Ortega Peña y re-

presentantes de diferentes grupos liberales y de izquierda.

Muchas otras organizaciones obreras, estudiantiles y políticas de toda Argentina enviaron al PST declaraciones de solidaridad y apoyo para que fueran leídas en el funeral. Lo mismo hicieron grupos de Canadá, los Estados Unidos, Venezuela, España, Paraguay, Uruguay y México.

Muchos intelectuales y otras personalidades públicas también protestaron por los asesinatos.

LAS VICTIMAS

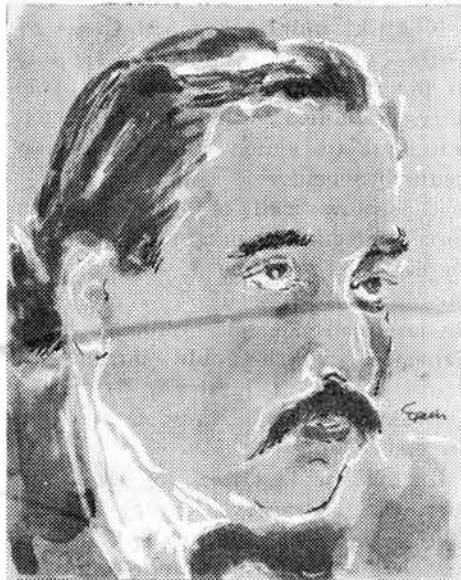
Además de ser miembros del PST, Oscar Dalmacio Meza, Antonio Moses y Mario Zidda eran conocidos en el distrito de Pacheco, Buenos Aires, por su participación en las luchas obreras.

Meza, de 27 años, nació en la provincia de Corrientes. Era obrero metalúrgico del astillero ASTARSA, donde actuaba como delegado de la

sección Calderería, miembro de la comisión gremial interna y del comité de seguridad del trabajo.

El diario *Noticias*, al describir en su edición del 1 de junio la actividad que habían realizado las víctimas, señalaba que Meza había jugado un papel dirigente en la ocupación de ASTARSA por el problema de las condiciones de seguridad en el trabajo, el año pasado. Esa acción se llevó a cabo después de que un obrero había muerto a causa de un accidente de trabajo.

Meza también había sido candidato de una lista de oposición en las últimas elecciones de la UOM (Unión Obrera Metalúrgica), al igual que Ino-



JUAN CARLOS CORAL

sencio Fernández, el otro miembro del PST que fue asesinado en mayo en el distrito de Pacheco.

Moses, de 24 años, trabajaba en la fábrica de embragues Wobron. Había nacido en la provincia de Buenos Aires y estudiado ciencias exactas antes de unirse al PST y comprometerse con las luchas de la clase obrera.

Zidda era un italiano de 22 años que había vivido en Argentina desde los cuatro. En Buenos Aires ingresó a la Escuela Nacional de Educación Técnica número 1, donde jugó un papel dirigente en las movilizaciones estudiantiles de 1972. Poco antes de que comenzara esa lucha, se había unido a la Juventud Socialista de Avanzada. Cuando murió trabajaba en la empresa textil ABEA y era di-

rigente de la JSA.

LOS CULPABLES

Los informes que aparecieron en la prensa burguesa después del secuestro, dan la siguiente interpretación de los hechos:

El 1 de junio, *Cronista Comercial* citaba un comunicado de prensa del PST: "Los asesinatos del 'Indio' Fernández, de Moses, de Meza y de Zidda tienen la misma marca de fábrica que la matanza de Ezeiza [donde murieron varias personas y muchas otras resultaron heridas mientras esperaban a Perón, cuando éste regresó de su largo exilio, en mayo de 1973], que el asesinato del obrero comunista Rojas de Córdoba, que el asesinato del ceramista peronista Bacci, que el de la compañera de la JP Liliana Ivanoff, que el del trabajador de prensa Fumarola, que el del atentado al senador Solari Irigoyen, ex defensor de presos políticos".

Noticias citó la declaración que hizo el dirigente del PST Juan Carlos Coral, en una conferencia de prensa que tuvo lugar ese mismo día, de que el terrorismo en los últimos tiempos era "un instrumento para imponer el Pacto Social"—el programa antiobrero del gobierno peronista. Dijo que el gobierno era responsable por no haber tomado las medidas necesarias para impedir que ocurrieran asesinatos como los de Pacheco y acusó a la burocracia sindical de cometer estos crímenes en respuesta al "activismo combativo" de los trabajadores. Esta burocracia es culpable de la escalada de violencia que hay actualmente en Argentina, decía la cita.

La Juventud Trabajadora Peronista advirtió que el asesinato y encarcelamiento de trabajadores "amenazan con desembocar en una verdadera guerra civil, si no se reencauza el rumbo asumido por el gobierno y si el Movimiento Peronista sigue impedido de cumplir su papel de columna vertebral del frente de liberación".

Hablando a nombre del Senado de la Nación, el legislador Carlos Perette, de la UCR (Unión Cívica Radical), reclamó "la inmediata investigación de estos asesinatos que señalan una tremenda escalada que cuesta la vida de hombres de todas las ideas". Agregó el senador que "el país conoce el rostro de las víctimas, pero ignora el rostro de los victimarios y

estos hechos no pueden quedar impunes, como condenamos todas las formas de la violencia". (*Crónica*, 1 de junio.)

Noticias informó que, en el funeral, Ortega Peña, del Bloque de Base (formación peronista de izquierda), "atacó duramente al gobierno", diciendo que la represión está ligada "a los nombres de funcionarios del Poder Ejecutivo".

Incluso la CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo) y el organismo dirigente de la seccional de la UOM a la que pertenecían Moses y Meza, se vieron obligadas a hacer declaraciones públicas. La CGT declaró que "más allá de las posiciones políticas" llamaba "a la reflexión y a la cordura". La burocracia de la UOM publicó una declaración en varios diarios de Buenos Aires insistiendo en su "total y categórico repudio por la in calificable e inhumana acción". La declaración hacía claro, sin embargo, que los burócratas consideran que tales acciones son "aberrantes atentados" para "detener el proceso de reconstrucción y liberación nacional en que se encuentra empeñado el país todo, bajo la dirección de nuestro único Líder, el Teniente General Juan Domingo Perón".

LAS EXIGENCIAS DEL PST

La respuesta que el PST ha dado a los asesinatos y otros atentados terroristas, tiene dos aspectos.

El partido ha llamado a todas las organizaciones obreras y populares, a todos los partidos y juventudes políticas que están a favor de la defensa de la democracia, a la unidad de acción para exigir la investigación y el castigo de los culpables de los asesinatos de Pacheco y otras partes.

Coral también anunció que el partido había exigido al gobierno que le diera el derecho de tener armas de grueso calibre en sus locales, para defenderse. Después de la reunión que tuvo Coral con el Ministro del Interior Benito Llambí, el 31 de mayo, en donde presentó esa exigencia, Coral informó a la prensa que Llambí dijo en una ocasión que la Policía Federal argentina era la mejor del mundo. Si esto es cierto, preguntó Coral, "¿cómo no han encontrado a uno solo de los responsables de centenares de ataques a la clase trabajadora?" □

Report Describes Brutal Tortures in Chilean Prisons

"It has now become known that among the worst victims of the junta's repression are a group of women being held at two detention camps in Chile—El Buen Pastor jail in Santiago and the Tejas Verdes concentration camp."

These were the introductory remarks made by Mirta Vidal, national staff member of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), at a press conference held in New York June 5 to make public a document recently received from Chile.

The document included the names of thirty-six women being held in El Buen Pastor, followed by a description of what they and others have experienced.

Since September 11, the document began, ninety to ninety-five women have been held there as political prisoners. Most of them have never been charged, questioned, or assigned judges (military), not to speak of lawyers. Three have already been sentenced. One of these—Viola Muñoz, a brilliant sociologist and specialist in preschool education—had no political affiliation, nor were any real charges brought against her. She was sentenced to twenty years.

Once sentenced, the women are transferred to cells with common prisoners. They practically cease to exist officially, no longer appearing on the lists of political prisoners.

Three or four young women were brought in from Tejas Verdes prison, renowned as one of the most refined torture camps, the document continued. The prisoners there are so badly tortured that the sadists have a "recuperation camp" to which prisoners are taken if they are to be handed over to a more permanent (public) jail, or if there are plans to bring them back to be freshly tortured.

Those brought from Tejas Verdes had horrible vaginal infections, and at least three of them were pregnant. Since they had been raped innumerable times, they naturally did not know who had impregnated them. In desperation, they demanded the right to abortion, but when they requested

a doctor, an ear specialist was sent. He told them that "they should be proud of what they bore in their bellies."

The women were described by the document as being mainly intellectuals or writers (Lucy Lorscht, Ines Figueroa), teachers (Viola Muñoz, Monica Hermosilla), actresses (Elsa Rudolphi and others), and women labor leaders (Amanda Altamirano and others).

The document also related the treatment experienced by the women before arriving at Buen Pastor: Several had had live mice introduced into their vaginas. In Tejas Verdes in the "Buin Regiment," one girl reported having been "thrown" at the young conscripts to be raped, whether the soldiers were willing or not. In another torture camp, they had been blindfolded and tortured *en masse*, so they did not know what was happening—who was being tortured or raped, or whose turn came next.

Women reaching Buen Pastor from these places had had their hair pulled out by the handfuls, their nipples blown off or burnt, and their genitals destroyed by electricity.

The document pointed out that there are more than 200 such torture and detention camps all over Chile. Tejas Verdes is one of the worst, according to the testimony of hundreds of prisoners and sympathetic soldiers, nurses, and neighbors. This camp has also been reported to enjoy the presence of Uruguayan, Brazilian, and Argentine "instructors" in torture.

The authors of the document concluded, "We hereby make a most urgent and desperate call to all the human-rights organizations, to lawyers' and doctors' organizations all over the world, to women's organizations, to defend the integrity, dignity, and liberty and lives of these women. There are thousands of men and women subjected to barbarity in Chile."

USLA is demanding that the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States investigate the charges in this report during its fact-finding trip to Chile in July.

In view of such new revelations of

the junta's barbarity, it came as no surprise to learn that the International Red Cross had been barred from inspecting Chile's jails.

The IRC has often been used as a cover for denials of human rights by imperialism and its puppets. However, in a Santiago dispatch of June 4 to the *Washington Post*, Joseph Novitski credited the IRC's detailed reports on prisoner treatment as being at the root of the junta's decision to discontinue Red Cross visits to detention sites.

Novitski opined that Red Cross reports—which are made available only to the government concerned—probably contained accounts of torture, "an issue on which the junta is particularly sensitive."

The show trial of sixty-seven air force and civilian personnel went into its final stages June 7, according to the June 8 *New York Times*, with the completion of the public hearings. Sentences, which could include the death penalty (requested in six cases), are expected to be handed down at the end of June.

During the last week of May, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Danish legislator Ole Espersen, and Argentine former judge Salvador María Losada, all voiced agreement with earlier reports of confessions obtained by torture and of restrictions on lawyers conducting the defense in this and other trials. All three had been in Chile as legal observers and had their remarks published in the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*.

In addition, Espersen and Losada reported that on the third day of their Chilean stay, Espersen received notification that his permission to attend the trials had been canceled. This appeared to be part of a campaign being waged publicly by the pro-junta daily *El Mercurio* against the presence of international lawyers in Chile.

Espersen and Losada also condemned the fact that neither of them had been allowed to speak with any of the accused. They pointed out, moreover, that sentences are lightest in Santiago, where the trials have received international attention. □

Meeting Discusses Future of Portuguese Revolution

By Gerry Foley

Lisbon

On May 19, Ernest Mandel, representing the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and the Portuguese Trotskyist organization, spoke to 4,000 persons who had gathered in the Voz do Operário hall in Lisbon for a united-front meeting of the far-left organizations. Mandel's speech, as well as those of the other participants, was broadcast over the Portuguese radio and television network. It was also reported in some detail in most of the daily press in the Portuguese capital.

Four organizations formally sponsored the meeting in Voz do Operário: the Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado (PRP—Revolutionary party of the Proletariat), the Comissões de Base Socialistas (CBS—Rank-and-File Socialist Committees), the Unidade Revolucionária Marxista-Leninista (URML—Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Unity), and the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League). In the course of the event, a speaker appeared representing a guerrilla organization, Liga de Unidade e Ação Revolucionária (LUAR—League for Revolutionary Unity and Action).

The hall was packed. Perhaps a third of the audience stood in the aisles and around the sides of the hall during the three-hour-long session.

The speakers were received enthusiastically, with the most militant statements drawing the loudest applause. They were often interrupted by prolonged chanting of slogans such as "long live the socialist revolution," "long live proletarian internationalism," and other revolutionary expressions. Many stood up and raised their left fists at these moments. The television cameras panned over the crowd, presenting what must have been a completely new spectacle for most Portuguese.

All of the sponsoring groups were little-known clandestine groups before the April 25 coup, and the speakers included two representatives of groups that had engaged in military attacks

on the Salazarist regime, semimythical groups like the LUAR and the Brigadas Revolucionárias.

Isabel do Carmo spoke for both the Brigadas Revolucionárias and the PRP. She began her speech by explaining that the nonrevolutionary nature of the junta was shown by the fact that it had failed to honor two of her comrades who were killed in military actions against the fascist regime. She gave a rather detailed history of the PRP in its course from a split from the Communist party and the establishment of a national liberation front in Algiers. The group seemed reminiscent of Castroist young left formations in Latin America. Apparently there have been friendly relations between this young grouping and the LUAR, which has ties with the Iberian anarchist tradition. The PRP representative embraced the LUAR spokesperson as he left the stage.

The representative of the LUAR, Luís Guerra, may have expressed the views of a current closer to Marxism inside the guerrilla organization. He stressed that he was remaining in clandestinity and asserted that a socialist revolution could only be carried out in a violent way. But in particular, his speech centered around the concept that a socialist revolution in one country alone was impossible.

His statements thus ran directly counter to declarations by a prominent representative of the LUAR, Palma Ignacio, who saluted the junta, saying that it was results that mattered and he would wait to see what the new government did before making any judgment about it. At the same time, the older guerrilla leader voiced his appreciation of the patriotism of the Armed Forces Movement. Commenting on Guerra's speech to the Voz do Operário meeting, the daily *República* said:

"Luís Guerra was strongly applauded, possibly because what he said seemed to reflect the victory of a clearly Marxist current inside the LUAR."

The representative of the Maoist

URML devoted most of his time to reading two rather long documents of his group that he said the press had refused to publish. They explained the group's history and its general principles, such as adherence to Mao Tsetung Thought.

The speaker, Joaquim Luciano, also noted that his group had participated in the revolutionary contingent in the May 1 march along with some of the other groups represented on the platform and protested the fact that the Communist party and the Democratic Movement had prevented some far-left spokespersons from speaking to the crowd.

On the present situation in Portugal, Luciano said that the new regime was only a repeat of the prewar republic and that it could not satisfy the demands of the workers any more than the last bourgeois-democratic set-up had. There was no "union of all honest Portuguese," he said, but rather a class war. He called for continuing the struggle to cut the workweek, to end regimentation on the job, to combat piecework schemes, and to expel fascist directors.

A call for united action committees in the neighborhoods, enterprises, and factories was launched by Miguel Oliveira da Silva, the representative of the CBS. His organization, he explained, was not a party but a means of organizing unity in action by the far left. But he did not limit himself to proposing forms of united action but rather devoted the greater part of his speech to a political analysis, which was summed up this way in the May 20 *República*:

"He [da Silva] said that although the liberation movements had started out as small groups of guerrillas, they had finally been transformed into the true expression of the oppressed African peoples and would prove capable of making their struggle not only a fight against colonialism but also against capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination. He reaffirmed that there should be solidarity between

the struggle of the Portuguese workers and the workers in the colonies. He maintained that it was incorrect to claim that the liberation movements should cease their armed struggle before being granted an immediate and unconditional cease-fire and unconditional independence.

"As for the struggle against capitalist exploitation, he said that the situation of the capitalists had not changed, that they were the same bosses as before when they showed no scruples in calling out the cops and the riot police against the workers. What happened was that some sections of the capitalist class understood that they had to change the political situation in Portugal in order to continue to exploit the working class and the oppressed peoples of the colonies. But he also stressed that it would be impossible for Portuguese capitalism to reconcile the continuation of its system with a high level of demands by the workers."

The Portuguese Trotskyists turned over the twenty minutes allotted to them as one of the sponsoring organizations to Ernest Mandel, who was introduced as a member of the Executive Committee of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Mandel was the last speaker and received by far the most enthusiastic response from the audience. His talk was also given the most attention in the big press. In general, he appeared as the keynote speaker of the evening, and was the only one to offer a rounded political analysis combined with some concrete guidelines. He was also the only speaker who tried to place the events in Portugal in their wider international context. The LCI was the only one of the sponsoring groups that could appear as a part of a real international movement, and it was evident that this focused most of the attention at the meeting on them.

Republica, for example, chose Mandel's quote from Saint-Just—"Revolutionists who make revolution only half way only dig their own graves"—for its headline and stressed the challenge he raised to the Communist and Socialist parties. The *Diário de Lisboa* stressed Mandel's statement that it was a joy for a European of his generation to be able to speak in Lisbon after the fall of fascism.

On the other hand, the LCI representative who spoke in the question period touched off the sharpest controversy at the meeting by raising

the question of Stalinism. This seemed to upset a number of very vocal persons, apparently Maoists. Some shouted, "Long live Stalin!" They became quite disruptive, and for a moment the order of the meeting seemed threatened.

The organizers of the meeting announced another such rally the following Friday to prepare for a demonstration to demand an end to the colonial war. It was clear from the attendance at this meeting that this demonstration will draw at least 4,000 - 5,000 young radicals, and in the intense political atmosphere in Portugal, especially given the ambiguity of the junta's position on the colonies, it will certainly arouse attention.

The question that remains to be answered is twofold: Can this reservoir of young radicals (1) be mobilized around a concrete program of action that can overcome the sectarian features that were not entirely absent from this meeting, and (2) reach out to the millions of Portuguese who are celebrating the end of the colonial war at the very time lists of casualties continue to appear almost daily in the papers and troops are still being dispatched to the "overseas territories"? □

Asistieron 4,000 Personas

Acto para Discutir el Futuro de Portugal

Por Gerry Foley

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "Meeting Discusses Future of Portuguese Revolution", que aparece en este mismo número de *Intercontinental Press*].

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El 9 de mayo, Ernest Mandel habló ante 4,000 personas que se habían reunido en la sala Voz do Operário, en Lisboa, en un acto conjunto de las organizaciones de extrema izquierda. Mandel iba en representación del Secretariado Unificado de la Cuarta Internacional y de la organización trotskista portuguesa. El discurso de Mandel, así como los de los otros participantes, fue transmitido por la

radio y la televisión portuguesas. La mayor parte de los diarios también informaron de él con cierto detalle.

Formalmente fueron cuatro las organizaciones que convocaron el acto: el Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado (PRP—Partido Revolucionario del Proletariado), las Comissões de Base Socialistas (CBS—Comisiones de Base Socialistas), el grupo Unidade Revolucionária Marxista-Leninista (URML—Unidad Revolucionaria Marxista-leninista) y la Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI). Cuando ya había comenzado el acto, se presentó un orador que representaba a una organización guerrillera, la Liga de Unidade e Acção Revolucionária (LUAR—Liga de Unidad y Acción

Revolucionaria).

La sala estaba llena. Aproximadamente la tercera parte de los asistentes estaban sentados en los pasillos del auditorio. Los oradores fueron recibidos con entusiasmo y las declaraciones más militantes recibían fuertes aplausos. Frecuentemente se interrumpía a los oradores para corear consignas como "¡Viva la revolución socialista!", "¡Viva el internacionalismo proletario!" y otras manifestaciones revolucionarias. En esos momentos mucha gente se ponía de pie con el puño alto. Las cámaras de televisión que estaban colocadas por encima de la multitud, transmitían lo que para muchos portugueses debe haber sido un espectáculo totalmente nuevo. Los

grupos que convocaron al acto eran pequeños grupos clandestinos desconocidos antes del golpe del 25 de abril. Entre los oradores se encontraban representantes de grupos que habían llevado a cabo acciones armadas contra el régimen de Salazar; grupos rodeados de misticismo, como la LUAR y las Brigadas Revolucionarias.

Isabel do Carmo habló a nombre de las Brigadas Revolucionarias y del PRP. Comenzó su discurso diciendo que el carácter no-revolucionario de la Junta se demostraba por el hecho de que no había rendido homenaje a dos camaradas suyos que habían sido asesinados cuando realizaban una acción armada contra el régimen fascista. Dió una historia bastante detallada del PRP y de su evolución desde su escisión del Partido Comunista y la creación del frente de liberación nacional en Argelia. Este grupo me recordaba las formaciones castristas de América Latina. Al parecer, había unas relaciones muy fraternales entre este joven grupo y la LUAR, que está vinculada a la tradición anarquista española. La representante del PRP abrazó al vocero de LUAR cuando éste bajó del escenario.

El representante de LUAR, Luís Guevara, expresó el punto de vista de una tendencia que funciona dentro de esa organización guerrillera y que está más cercana al marxismo. Enfatizó que permanecería en la clandestinidad y declaró que una revolución socialista sólo se logrará por medio de la violencia. Pero su discurso se centró, muy en particular, en torno a la concepción de que es imposible realizar una revolución socialista en un solo país.

Sus declaraciones contradecían directamente lo que dijo un destacado representante de LUAR, Palma Ignacio, que felicitó a la Junta, diciendo que lo que importaba eran los resultados y que esperaba a ver qué hacía el nuevo gobierno antes de juzgarlo. Al mismo tiempo, otro viejo dirigente guerrillero manifestó su admiración por el patriotismo del Movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas.

Comentando el discurso de Guevara en la reunión de Voz do Operário, el diario *República* dijo lo siguiente:

"Luís Guevara recibió un fuerte aplauso, posiblemente debido a que lo que dijo parecía reflejar la victoria de una corriente claramente marxista en el seno de LUAR".

El representante de la URML, maoísta, dedicó la mayor parte de su tiempo a leer dos documentos de su grupo, que eran bastante largos, y dijo que la prensa se había negado a publicarlos. Explicó la historia del grupo y sus principios generales, como su adhesión al Pensamiento Mao Tsetung.

El orador, Joaquim Luciano, también destacó el hecho de que su organización había formado parte del contingente revolucionario el Primero de Mayo, junto con otros de los grupos que estaban presentes, y protestó porque el Partido Comunista y el Movimiento Democrático impidieron que hablaran los oradores de la extrema izquierda.

Sobre la actual situación de Portugal, Luciano dijo que el nuevo régimen era sólo la repetición de la república de antes de la guerra, y que no podía solucionar las necesidades de los trabajadores, como no las había solucionado el anterior gobierno democrático-burgués. No existía la llamada "unión de todos los portugueses honestos", dijo, sino una guerra de clases. Llamó a seguir la lucha por la reducción de la jornada de trabajo, contra la organización estricta en los trabajos, a luchar contra el trabajo a destajo y a expulsar a los directores fascistas.

Miguel Liveria da Silva, representante de las CBS, llamó a crear comités de acción en los barrios y en las fábricas. Su organización, explicó, no es un partido, sino un medio para organizar acciones unidas de la extrema izquierda. Sin embargo, no se limitó a proponer formas de trabajos conjuntos, sino que dedicó gran parte de su tiempo al análisis político, que fue resumido por *República* (20 de mayo) en los siguientes términos:

"Dijo [da Silva] que a pesar de que los movimientos de liberación habían comenzado como pequeños grupos guerrilleros, finalmente se habían transformado en verdaderas expresiones de los pueblos africanos oprimidos y que demostrarán que pueden luchar no sólo contra el colonialismo, sino también contra la explotación capitalista y la dominación imperialista. Reafirmó que debía haber una estrecha solidaridad entre la lucha de los obreros portugueses y la de los obreros de las colonias. Dijo que era incorrecto pedir a los movimientos de

liberación que dejaran de luchar antes de que se les hubiera garantizado un alto al fuego incondicional y la independencia inmediata.

"En cuanto a la lucha contra la explotación capitalista, dijo que la situación de los capitalistas no ha cambiado, que seguían siendo los mismos patrones de antes, cuando no tenían escrúpulos para lanzar la policía contra los trabajadores. Lo que pasó fue que algunos sectores de la clase capitalista comprendieron que tenían que hacer cambios en la situación política de Portugal para poder seguir explotando a la clase obrera y a los pueblos oprimidos de las colonias. Pero también destacó que el capitalismo portugués no puede conciliar la continuación de su sistema con las exigencias de los trabajadores".

Los trotskistas portugueses cedieron a Ernest Mandel los veinte minutos que les correspondían como co-organizadores del acto, Mandel fue presentado como miembro del Comité Ejecutivo del Secretariado Unificado de la Cuarta Internacional. Fue el último orador y recibió la respuesta más entusiasta. También fue su discurso el que más llamó la atención en la prensa. En general, parecía que él era el orador central del acto y fue el único que presentó un análisis político redondeado, combinado con algunas directrices concretas. También fue él el único orador que trató de situar los acontecimientos de Portugal dentro de su contexto internacional. La LCI fue la única organización que demostró formar parte de un verdadero movimiento internacional, y esto hizo que la atención de los presentes se centrara en ella.

República, por ejemplo, tomó para su titular la cita de Saint-Just que hizo Mandel ("Los revolucionarios que hacen revoluciones a medias no hacen más que cabar sus propias tumbas") y enfatizó el reto que planteó a los partidos Comunista y Socialista. El *Diário de Lisboa* destacó la declaración de Mandel de que era una gran alegría para un europeo de su generación poder hablar en Lisboa después de la caída del fascismo.

Por otro lado, el otro representante de la LCI, que intervino en el período de preguntas, tocó el tema más controvertido al plantear el problema del stalinismo. Esto pareció molestar

a varias personas muy gritonas, al parecer maoístas. Alguien gritó "¡Viva Stalin!" Comenzaron a armar un gran escándalo, y por un momento pareció que el acto corría peligro.

Los organizadores anunciaron que realizarán otro acto el próximo viernes, para preparar una manifestación para exigir el fin de la guerra colonial. Por la cantidad de personas que asistieron a este acto, es probable que esa manifestación atraiga a 4 ó 5 mil jóvenes radicales y, dada la atmósfera política que hay en estos momentos en Portugal, especialmente por lo ambigua que es la posición de la

Junta sobre las colonias, es de esperarse que atraiga mucha atención.

La pregunta que queda por contestar tiene dos aspectos: 1) ¿Se puede movilizar a este contingente de jóvenes radicales en torno a un programa de acción concreto que supere las características sectarias que no estuvieron ausentes del todo en este acto? y 2) ¿Podrán llegar estos jóvenes a los millones de portugueses que están celebrando el fin de la guerra colonial al mismo tiempo que los periódicos continúan publicando casi diariamente listas de bajas y cuando las tropas siguen saliendo para los "territorios de ultramar"? □

colonialist forces in Mozambique were put on a general alert, apparently in anticipation of actions by the African nationalist forces after the breakdown of the negotiations. The calling of the alert followed an army crackdown on public meetings and political rallies.

Despite Soares's rhetoric about wanting to end the fighting for "human" reasons—a rhetoric designed to blame Frelimo for the continuation of the war—the junta has no intention whatsoever of pulling out of Mozambique. Unlike mainland Guinea-Bissau, which has little real economic or strategic importance in Lisbon's empire, Mozambique is an actual and potential source of great wealth to Portuguese capitalism.

Mozambique's industrial potential will increase significantly after completion of the huge Cabora Bassa hydroelectric dam on the Zambezi River, which is now being built by a consortium dominated by French and German capital. In addition, Mozambique is the world's leading exporter of cashew nuts, and produces cotton, sugar, copra, and tea. It has coal deposits and possibly offshore oil. Angola also has considerable natural wealth that the Portuguese imperialists intend to continue exploiting.

In addition to Mozambique's economic importance to Lisbon, it plays a strategic role in southern Africa as a whole. An independent Mozambique led by African nationalists would inspire the African masses in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and South Africa, thus posing a threat to these white-settler states. Mozambique's ports are also vital trade links for both of the white regimes.

The importance of both Angola and Mozambique in the junta's schemes was evident in the June 4 announcement by Minister for Overseas Territories António de Almeida Santos that General António de Spínola would visit those two colonies soon. Santos also announced that Lisbon would grant the colonial administrations in Angola and Mozambique greater "autonomy" over their internal affairs. "Official sources," according to a report by *Washington Post* correspondent Miguel Acoca in the June 5 issue, presented the meaningless "autonomy" move as a measure that would ease negotiations with Frelimo.

Writing from Lisbon in the June 5 *New York Times*, Richard Eder indi-

Mozambique

Frelimo Rejects Cease-Fire Proposal

By Ernest Harsch

Lisbon's second attempt in less than two weeks to impose a cease-fire agreement on the African liberation groups failed June 6, when the talks in Lusaka, Zambia, between representatives of the Portuguese junta and leaders of the guerrilla front in Mozambique were adjourned until July. The first session of the negotiations between Lisbon and the guerrillas in Guinea-Bissau had ended the week before, after 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) rejected Lisbon's plan to partition the country.

The opening of negotiations between Lisbon and Frelimo (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique—Mozambique Liberation Front) was announced by Frelimo President Samora Machel June 2 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. At the press conference Machel described Frelimo's approach to the talks: "We are not going to discuss independence with the Portuguese. That is our inalienable right. Our position on this is clear. The Portuguese must negotiate with Frelimo to study the mechanism of transmitting power to the Mozambican people and the leadership of Frelimo."

"Peace in Mozambique," he added, "is inseparable from independence."

Mario Soares, Portuguese foreign minister and head of the Portuguese Socialist party, who headed the Lisbon delegation to the talks (which began in Lusaka June 5), made no such assumptions about the Mozambicans' right to independence. According to a June 5 dispatch from Lusaka by *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm, Soares declared—after the five-hour closed-door session with the Frelimo delegation—that "the problem of winding up nearly 500 years of rule by Portugal over her East African possession was complex."

Although Soares added that the talks were preliminary and only exploratory in nature, his remarks after the adjournment of the negotiations indicated that Lisbon wanted to press for much more than an "exploration" of Frelimo's position. "The Portuguese government was prepared to negotiate a cease-fire," he said June 6 before boarding a plane back to Lisbon. "But we understand that the Frelimo delegation makes a cease-fire conditional on a general political agreement. "In our point of view, the most important action is an immediate stop to the sacrifice of human lives on one side or the other."

The junta's concern over the "sacrifice of human lives" was accurately dramatized two days later, when the

cated one of the reasons for Spínola's planned tour of Angola and Mozambique: "General Spínola's visit appears intended to shore up the confidence of white settlers in these African territories. . . ."

The confidence of the Portuguese set-

ters in Lisbon's abilities to hold on to Mozambique had indeed been quite low since the April 25 coup. Airline officials said that all flights from Lourenço Marques, Mozambique's capital, were fully booked well into August and there were long waiting

lists. Many white settlers have also been fleeing the country by ship.

During the past weeks, despite the junta's pleas for a cease-fire, Frelimo has been stepping up its military operations in its efforts to win complete independence for Mozambique. □

Pierden los Palestinos con los Acuerdos entre Siria e Israel

Qué Logró Kissinger en Damasco y Tel Aviv

Por Michael Baumann

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "Palestinians Lose in Syria-Israeli Accords", publicado en la edición de *Intercontinental Press* del 10 de junio].

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El 22 de mayo, nueve días antes de que Siria e Israel firgaran en Ginebra el acuerdo sobre el repliegue de fuerzas, el Canciller israelí Abba Eban aseguró al Knesset que éste "no pone en peligro la seguridad de Israel en general, ni la de nuestras posiciones en las alturas de Golán, en particular".

Los tres documentos públicos firmados el 31 de mayo por generales sirios e israelíes parecían confirmar su predicción. Los términos del acuerdo que pone fin a la guerra dejan a Israel en control de casi todo el territorio que la había quitado a Siria en 1967; sólo devolverá la ciudad de El Kuneitra. Además, el acuerdo establece una frontera relativamente segura, bajo la protección de las Naciones Unidas a todo lo largo de las cincuenta millas de terreno montañoso que separan a Siria de los territorios ocupados por Israel en las alturas de Golán.

"El primero de los tres documentos que se firmaron hoy", informó el *New York Times* el 31 de mayo, "es el acuerdo central para el repliegue de fuerzas, con la creación de una zona de separación de fuerzas bajo control de las Naciones Unidas, a cada lado de la cual habrá una zona igual de fuerzas y armamentos limitados. Este acuerdo también compromete a ambas partes a poner fin a todo acto bélico."

"El segundo documento es un pro-

ocolo en el que se definen el tamaño (1,250 hombres) y el papel que jugará la fuerza neutral. . . .

"El tercer documento es un mapa en el que se muestran las líneas de separación de fuerzas que señala la zona controlada por las Naciones Uni-



ABBA EBAN

das, pero sin delimitar las zonas donde se ubicarán las fuerzas de cada lado".

Un grupo militar de trabajo compuesto por sirios, egipcios e israelíes, además de los "observadores" norteamericanos y soviéticos, elaborará un proyecto de mapa más detallado y decidirá cuántas tropas y armas pueden permanecer en las zonas iguales

de fuerzas y armamentos limitados. Según el acuerdo, este proyecto deberá estar listo para el 5 de junio.

"El acuerdo", escribió Jim Hoagland en el *Washington Post* del 30 de mayo, "significa que Israel abandonará todos los territorios que ganó en 1973, y Assad [presidente sirio] ha establecido el importante precedente de que Israel se retire de algunos de los territorios que había ocupado en 1967. Ahora podrá hacer que regresen a su tierra 60,000 refugiados que habían sido una carga económica para Siria."

"Pero los sirios cedieron en dos puntos estratégicos que hubieran querido incluir en el acuerdo:

● Garantizar que el repliegue es sólo el primer paso hacia el retiro total de Israel de los territorios que ocupó en 1967.

"En realidad, Assad se ha contentado con lo que Sadat [presidente egipcio] había ya obtenido de Kissinger: una vaga promesa de que el repliegue es un primer paso hacia 'una paz justa y duradera' en el Medio Oriente.

● Que se mencionara específicamente el problema de Palestina como parte de un arreglo general. En este acuerdo no se menciona a los palestinos".

Desde luego, esto es en el acuerdo público. En las negociaciones a puerta cerrada, que son la especialidad de Kissinger, hubo mucha discusión sobre el movimiento de resistencia palestino.

ARREGLOS SECRETOS

"El Presidente sirio", escribió el 31 de mayo Flora Lewis, corresponsal del *New York Times*, "garantizó secretamente a Israel, por medio del Secretario de Estado Kissinger, que las

guerrillas palestinas no penetrarán a Israel a través de la frontera siria. . .

"Se dice que esta promesa, que representa un gran cambio en la política siria, la expresó oralmente el presidente Hafez al-Assad, pero de tal forma que los israelíes la consideraron responsable.

"Su promesa fue considerada vital para que se llegara al acuerdo sobre el repliegue de fuerzas el miércoles (29 de mayo) y para que fuera firmado hoy. . ."

Este no fue el único compromiso secreto con Israel. El 30 de mayo, durante el debate del Knesset sobre el acuerdo de repliegue de fuerzas, la Primera Ministra Golda Meir contestó las acusaciones que le lanzaba el ala ultraderechista de que "se había rendido", señalándoles otras dos promesas secretas que le habían hecho—ambas por parte de Washington.

La más importante era la promesa de Nixon de respaldar políticamente a Israel en los bombardeos que lleve a cabo contra los campamentos de refugiados palestinos. Washington, dijo Meir, declaró por escrito en un acuerdo secreto "que no considerará que estas acciones violen el alto al fuego y que las apoyará políticamente".

"Con esto", informó la corresponsal del *Times*, "los Estados Unidos quieren decir que, si llega a ser necesario, utilizarán su derecho de veto en el Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas para que no se sancione a Israel" por tales acciones.

Meir también sugirió que se le había prometido considerable ayuda militar. La "consistente ayuda de los Estados Unidos a Israel ha sido garantizada por el Presidente de los Estados Unidos", dijo.

Pronto se reveló que Washington también había prometido realizar vuelos de reconocimiento sobre la zona controlada por las Naciones Unidas en las alturas de Golán. Esos vuelos tendrán como objeto asegurarse de que se cumplan los términos del acuerdo, especialmente la promesa de Damasco de parar las operaciones guerrilleras a través de la frontera siria.

TRAICION A LOS PALESTINOS

Estos acuerdos y compromisos secretos pusieron fin a la lucha en el frente sirio gracias a la traición a la lucha de las masas árabes contra Israel. A cambio del alto al fuego

y de la promesa de ayuda norteamericana, Assad reconoció *de facto* la legitimidad del estado israelí y malvestió la lucha de tres millones de palestinos que han sido despojados de su tierra.

La carta fuerte de Assad en las negociaciones con Kissinger, fue su capacidad para obstaculizar, al menos temporalmente, la lucha de los palestinos, cortándoles la ayuda financiera y el apoyo político sirio y restringiendo la libertad de movimiento de los comandos. Esta es precisamente la "concesión" que guardó para el final, a fin de asegurarse un mejor arreglo diplomático con Israel.

Todavía el 27 de mayo, sólo cuatro días antes de que fueran hechos públicos el acuerdo y los compromisos secretos, Damasco seguía negando que fuera a aceptar un acuerdo que restringiera la lucha de los palestinos. Se decía en un comunicado oficial de la agencia noticiosa SANA: "Los que quieren discutir sobre los fedayines deben resolver el problema del pueblo palestino por medio de discusiones con los mismos dirigentes palestinos".

Al día siguiente, informaba desde Damasco Juan Onís, corresponsal del *New York Times*, se seguía garantizando a los dirigentes palestinos que tendrían completa libertad de movimiento después de que se firmara el acuerdo sobre el repliegue de tropas.

"Yasir Arafat, el principal dirigente guerrillero, presidente de la Organización para la Liberación de Palestina, tuvo esta mañana una reunión de dos horas con el presidente Hafez al-Assad y posteriormente se entrevistó durante hora y media con Andrei A. Gromyko [Canciller soviético]", informó Onís.

"Fuentes palestinas dijeron que tanto sirios como soviéticos habían garantizado al Sr. Arafat que en las pláticas sobre el repliegue de fuerzas Siria no se comprometería a frenar los ataques guerrilleros". Hacían esta promesa al mismo tiempo que Assad se dedicaba a comerciar con la ayuda al movimiento de resistencia.

El movimiento palestino está presionado, además, por el hecho de que el siguiente punto de trabajo parece ser una segunda etapa del acuerdo entre Israel y Egipto.

"La estrategia a largo plazo de Kissinger, según personas cercanas a él", escribió Terence Smith en el *New York Times* del 2 de junio, "es

tratar de neutralizar a Egipto como factor en la fórmula del Medio Oriente. Si se puede unir a Egipto e Israel en un acuerdo, o en una serie de acuerdos que les resulten mutuamente beneficiosos, dice la teoría de Kissinger, se puede desechar virtualmente una guerra total en el Medio Oriente, ya que ningún estado árabe atacaría a Israel sin asistencia egipcia".

Ahora el movimiento de resistencia debe escoger entre desafiar a los más poderosos estados árabes—curso para el que está poco preparado por la dependencia de sus direcciones hacia estos regímenes burgueses—u orientarse hacia un acuerdo negociado, en el que tendría que reconocer la existencia de Israel a cambio del compromiso de que se respetara la "autoridad nacional" palestina en el banco occidental del estrecho de Gaza. Cuando mucho podrían aspirar a tener un ministado, un Bantustán palestino, en el territorio que Israel tuviera a bien disponer.

Moscú está impulsando el segundo curso, respetando fielmente los términos del acuerdo general al que ha llegado con Washington. Parece que también están de acuerdo los dirigentes de las más poderosas organizaciones de resistencia que están presentes en el Congreso Nacional Palestino, que comenzó a reunirse en El Cairo el 1 de junio.

Israel, por su parte, no tardó en demostrar que va a aprovechar al máximo el acuerdo sobre el repliegue de fuerzas. El 31 de mayo, el mismo día que se firmó el acuerdo, la fuerza aérea israelí bombardeó nuevamente los campamentos de refugiados palestinos de la región de Arquob, al sudeste de Líbano. □

Or People?

The U.S. Senate took time out June 4 to approve, 76 to 12, a measure banning poison-gas experiments on beagle puppies. The vote, which came on the second day of debate on the \$20,600 million military spending bill, was apparently influenced by a stirring plea from Senator Hubert Humphrey. His speech may have taken some of his colleagues by surprise, for the former vice-president had not made his concern for the victims of poison gas widely known during the Vietnam war.

Dogs have a special place in people's affections, Senator Humphrey said, and it is wrong for the Army to be "advertising for 450 beagles to be used to test poison gases" when "there are plenty of other animals they can use, called rats and mice."

Israeli Embassy Slanders Political Prisoner

[In December 1972 the Israeli regime arrested some thirty Arabs and Jews on charges of "espionage" and "sabotage." Most were accused of belonging to a Syrian intelligence network. All received long sentences, ranging from seven to seventeen years.

[One of those arrested was Rami Livneh, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance, a group that split from the Israeli Socialist Organization. The specific charges against Livneh were that he had met with a "foreign agent" (supposedly a member of the Palestinian resistance movement) and that he was found in possession of two copies, each three years old, of the Arab weekly *el-Hurriyah*.

[The regime's lack of concern for facts in such matters is documented by the following letter from Israeli attorney Felicia Langer, published in the June 6 *Le Monde*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In passing through Paris, I read in your newspaper (*Le Monde*, May 28) a press release from the Israeli Embassy that stated Rami Livneh had been "sentenced to jail for attempted sabotage in Israel, under Syrian auspices." I would like to clarify the following points:

1. I am Rami Livneh's attorney, and I defended him at his trial in the Haifa court.

2. The assertion about my client in the statement from the Israeli Embassy is a pure slander.

3. Livneh was not sentenced for, or even accused of, any crime involving a connection of any sort with Syria, nor of any attempt at sabotage, nor of anything even approaching attempted sabotage.

4. Furthermore, Livneh had nothing to do with the so-called spy network that was on trial before the Haifa court at the same time he was. This point was not contested by the prosecution.

5. Livneh was tried and sentenced to ten years in prison for having been

in contact, about two years before his arrest, with a foreign agent—a Palestinian who had come to Israel on a summer visit and who was thought to be a member of Fatah; for not having informed the authorities about this; and for having in his possession

Pose Need for Action by Working Class

Inflation, Unemployment Rise in Hong Kong

By Wu Shun-sin

Hong Kong

In the past two years, the Hong Kong economy has been in a downturn. According to conservative estimates, the cost of living has risen 49 percent, while wages have stagnated.

Large amounts of foreign capital have been transferred from Hong Kong to Taiwan and South Korea in search of cheaper labor, producing mass unemployment in Hong Kong. Even some officials of the colonial administration put the number of unemployed as high as 100,000.

It is not surprising that the colonial government's economic policies are blamed by broad layers of society. The government has made the crisis worse by imposing higher taxes; tolerating rising prices of public services such as electricity, telephones, gasoline, etc.; tolerating speculation; doing nothing about unemployment.

Except for a tiny company-union, the only organized force in the working class is led by the Maoists. But according to Peking's general line, this is a time for peaceful coexistence, even at the expense of defensive struggles by the working class. Therefore the Maoist-dominated unions have so far done nothing.

In the resolution of the twentieth congress of the Hong Kong Federation of Unions, the economic crisis and its effects on the working class are neglected. The document only boasts that China's improving trade relations with other countries will improve the situation of the working class in Hong Kong. Notably, for the first time the Maoists attacked the "ultraleft" tendency in the workers' movement. This obviously refers to the radical rank and file in the leftist unions, the radical young workers, and members of revolutionary youth organizations.

During the past two years, there have

the newspaper of a banned organization [the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine].

6. Livneh pleaded not guilty at his trial, and his appeal will be heard before the Supreme Court of Jerusalem on June 12 and 13.

I consider the Israeli Embassy statement a defamation of my client and prejudicial to him, since his case is currently before the courts.

Pending any judicial action I may take, I request that you publish this correction without delay. □

been hundreds of spontaneous strikes. Young workers played a prominent role. Nevertheless, the unions are unable to recruit them—in part because the unions either completely abstained from the struggles or intervened only to compromise them in the end.

Continued defeats of such struggles—caused largely by their isolation—can be very harmful to the workers' movement. The radical youth groups are aware of this problem and are seeking for ways to reach the radicalized workers.

The youth groups are divided on a number of political and organizational issues.

The "Workers Education Committee," which publishes *Exposure*, claims to adhere to Marxism-Leninism but has a strong tendency toward syndicalism. They avoid taking a precise position on China.

The 70's *Biweekly* group, which has experienced two splits, still retains its new-left-type organization. Politically it has been called "semi-anarchist and semi-Trotskyist." Its worker commission is still quite active, but without a guiding strategy or clear perspective.

One of the groups that split from the 70's *Biweekly* last September, the *Student Express*, was founded on a basically revolutionary Marxist program. This group directs itself to the high schools, where there is no tradition of radicalism.

The other group that split from the 70's *Biweekly* is the Revolutionary Internationalist League (RIL), which puts out the *Daily Combat Bulletin* and *Action*. It adheres to revolutionary Marxism. The RIL and the *Student Express* group now jointly edit a theoretical monthly journal, *October Review*.

Last October, the RIL successfully intervened in the struggle at Arvin electronics factory, preparing and organiz-

ing a strike together with the workers and politically defeating the Maoist union. This was the first time that a youth group was able to win political leadership in a workers' struggle. Some of the most militant workers were attracted to the group. It is now attempting to help establish an electronics workers' union.

The spontaneist Maoists, mostly young students, are completely outside the workers' movement and do not attempt to intervene. However, the growing discontent among workers has repercussions on them. In regard to the question of whether to advance the class struggle in Hong Kong, the young Maoists are divided into two camps, neither of which does anything in practice.

On March 17, an open forum on the problem of unemployment was organized by the Christian Industry Committee, a vaguely reformist group that for three years published the not very successful *Workers Weekly*. The forum was attended by about 500 workers, who directed their anger not only at unemployment but at the whole economic and political structure. This was sharpened by the intervention of members of the two revolutionary Marxist groups.

Another open forum was organized by the Hong Kong Federation of Students. About 200 students and an equal number of workers attended.

The two forums attracted the attention of the working class, which is looking for leadership in the struggle to improve its situation.

The student federation has planned a campaign on inflation. In a special issue of their paper published in April, they listed these demands:

1. Strict government control of prices, especially of rice and electricity.
2. Government action to end speculation.
3. Withdrawal by the government of at least one-fourth of the stocks invested in London.
4. An end to high house rents, high land rents, and high taxation, and the imposition of a graduated tax.

However, the federation has a sectarian attitude toward the radical groups and will not cooperate with them in a joint struggle.

Another committee to fight inflation was organized by the 70's *Biweekly* group. Their central demands are government-paid unemployment funds and a price freeze.

A third committee was created by the *Student Express* and the *Daily Combat Bulletin*. Its three main demands are an immediate price freeze, a minimum wage and automatic wage adjustments to compensate for inflation, and immediate establishment of unemployment funds.

The colonial government and the bourgeoisie face a deepening economic and social crisis that they are unable to resolve. In this situation, the anti-inflation movement is an opportunity for the working class to carry out a united struggle.

It is clear that concessions can be won. Even the reformists recognize this and are willing to take the initiative whenever they feel they have a mass base and broad support. However, they will not go beyond the minimal economic demands.

The revolutionary movement is divided into different areas between which there is little connection. The anti-inflation movement is seen only as an economic struggle and not in its transitional character. As long as the radicals refrain from analyzing the objective situation—and particularly the nature of the Maoist unions—they can urge the workers to unite around one issue or action but cannot help them to organize on a consistently militant line.

In the view of revolutionary Marxists, the present workers' struggles can be a springboard for an anticolonial and anti-capitalist mass movement. And the more the movement develops, the more it will expose the Maoist line. This means that the mass movement will be a threat to the Chinese bureaucracy. The situation presents a historic opportunity for revolutionary Marxists to engage in joint action with the radicalized workers, to appeal to the whole working class, and to recruit the most politicized workers and help them to organize. In those sectors

where the Maoists are weak, as among the electronics workers, efforts to build mass unions are the central task. In sectors dominated by the Maoists, the most militant and political elements should be recruited and used to build groups inside and outside the Maoist unions.

With regard to these unions, the revolutionary Marxists should demonstrate the correctness of their analysis in practice. Furthermore, they should present clear answers to the problems of Hong Kong and of China. The goal is to win over these workers politically.

The differentiation among the spontaneist Maoists also offers opportunities. It must be explained to the disillusioned young Maoists that the compromising policy of the Hong Kong Maoists is not accidental.

Also, the large numbers in the high schools cannot be neglected. They are the workers of tomorrow.

All the social forces that can be reached by the revolutionary Marxists should be combined in the present anti-inflation struggle, which will be a source of political education based on concrete examples. The anti-inflation movement will leap to a higher level only when the revolutionaries are able to give it direction and organization. □

India

Divided Leadership Weakened Rail Strike

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar

The recent twenty-day rail strike was the longest and most costly in the history of the Indian rail system. The companies lost 500 million rupees [US\$1 equals approximately 7.75 rupees], and the economy as a whole is estimated to have lost some 1,000 million rupees.

The strike was called off unilaterally May 28 by the National Coordination Committee of Railwaymen's Struggle (NCCRS) in the wake of the Gandhi government's success in causing a split in the leadership. The NCCRS represents more than 1.6 million railway workers in some 160 different unions.

Irreconcilable differences among the leadership, at times involving members of the same party, appeared in the last three days of the strike. S. A. Dange, chairman of the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI) and

general secretary of the CPI-dominated All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was, for example, clearly in favor of calling off the strike. His suggestion was to resolve the issues on a zonal or group basis rather than with a countrywide settlement.

S. M. Bannerji, a prominent leader of the AITUC, openly criticised Dange's proposal. "It is really surprising," Bannerji said, "that at a time when the entire government machinery is being used to suppress and crush the striking railway employees, a suggestion should have been made to the workers to take [what should be a] collective decision group by group or zone by zone. The central trade unions that supported the strike unconditionally should have stood by the side of railway employees and intensified their struggle by industrial action."

Bannerji said that the Gandhi government's repression was reminiscent

of the fascist actions against working people in the period between World War I and World War II. He called



DANGE: Accused of cooperating with government to break strike.

on the trade-union federations and members of parliament to protest the government's effort to "crush the trade-union movement."

Dange's stand was also criticised by the NCCRS, which termed his suggestion a "disruptionist" move aimed at helping the government destroy the trade-union movement.

P. Ramamurti, general secretary of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions, the union federation led by the CPI (Marxist), blamed the collapse of the strike on the disruptive position taken by the AITUC. He said it was crystal clear that the CPI's coalition with the ruling Congress party in Kerala and its policy of overall support to the Congress government had put it in a pitiable predicament.

"I leave it to the working class," Ramamurti said, "to draw their own conclusions and decide at whose bidding the AITUC leaders had at last resorted to this line of naked disruption." He predicted that a large number of workers in the AITUC would reject the policy of the CPI.

Priya Gupta, general secretary of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, also criticised the unilateral termi-

nation of the strike. He pointed out that this removed pressure on the government regarding such questions as the victimisation and jailing of militant unionists. No concession was extracted from the government over the fate of the 50,000 railwaymen who have been arrested or the nearly 10,000 who have been dismissed.

The government did meet six of the strikers' eight demands, totaling about 800 million rupees. But it refused to make any commitment on the two most important demands—the payment of a bonus and wage parity with other workers in the public sector.

It is obvious that the strike leaders no longer have any power to back up the workers' demands. Railway Minister L. N. Mishra confirmed this May 28, when he declared that the strikers would not be paid for the days they did not work and that they would lose their seniority rights.

Although the leadership described the strike as an "industrial action," it obviously had broad political im-

plications. It was a general strike involving a direct confrontation between workers and their rulers, and as such it could not be waged simply on the economic front. The whole movement should have been politicised from the very beginning, with more vigorous action from the various left parties and the trade-union federations they lead.

Greater unity on the part of the left leadership was necessary in the face of the government's determination to break the strike at any cost. As it was, however, no effort was made even to fraternise with the rank and file of the army.

The government obviously intended to teach the country's organised working-class movement a lesson, a strategy that reflects the pronounced rightward drift of the Gandhi administration.

For the moment, the workers have lost the initiative. Nevertheless, the strike represented a high point in the recent actions mounted by the urban proletariat of India. □

Two Demonstrators, Two Officials Killed

Pnompenh Police Attack Student Protest

Student demonstrations in Pnompenh, which had been continuing for three weeks, erupted into clashes with riot police June 4, leaving two students and two education ministry officials dead. Eight other students were wounded and, according to the June 6 *New York Times*, seventy-two arrested.

The students were protesting against a new draft law, skyrocketing inflation, corruption in the puppet government, and the arrest of students and teachers during previous protests.

The confrontation on June 4 began when 300 students held a peaceful demonstration. The crowd quickly swelled to 1,000. Students seized the education minister, Keo Sangkin, and his chief assistant, Thach Chea, and marched them through the streets of Pnompenh to a high school. The students said they planned to detain the officials until fifteen students and four teachers under arrest were released. They demanded that the education minister write to Premier Long Boret asking that the students and teachers

be released.

Specially trained riot police moved into the school grounds, but were repulsed by the students. The police then cordoned off a four-block section around the school and attacked the protesters with rifle fire. Premier Long Boret charged that the students killed the education minister and his assistant and that a "Communist element" was involved in their deaths. A newsman at the scene, however, said that the two officials had been used as shields by the students and that they were killed when the military police attacked. A later account, by a U.S. teacher at the school, said that a "lone gunman" shot the two officials.

In a dispatch from Pnompenh, *Washington Post* correspondent Phillip A. McCombs wrote in the June 6 issue: "Having committed itself to an exceedingly shaky government, the United States is now in the position of having to sit and watch its broadest interests affected by a couple of thousand

students in Phnom Penh who, by the actions in the past two weeks, are tilting the scales in favor of the other side [the Khmer Rouge]."

But the students are not the only ones discontented with Washington's

puppet regime. "Signs of unrest in Phnom Penh are growing," McCombs continued. "Not just students and teachers are affected by the inflation (123 per cent during the first four months of this year), but everyone." □

Shah's Police Keep Charges Secret

Five Prominent Iranian Writers Jailed

[The following information was released by the U.S.-based Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) on June 7.]

* * *

Less than three months after the executions of two dissident intellectuals, Khosrow Golsorkhi and Karamat Daneshian (see *Intercontinental Press*, March 4, p. 239), reports from Iran have disclosed that the shah has imprisoned five prominent Iranian writers: Dr. Ali Shariatti, Nemat Mirzazadeh (M. Azarm), Fereydoon Tonkaboni, Hooshang Golshiri, and Fereydoon Tavalloli.

The arrests were carried out by SAVAK, the shah's secret police, without any legal proceedings and under a cover of complete official silence.

CAIFI has demanded that the Iranian government make public the charges against the five, release them from jail, and stop the victimization of Iranian intellectuals and artists.

The committee appealed to those concerned about intellectual freedom to send letters of protest to the Iranian Embassy in their country.

Mohammad B. Falsafi, a spokesperson for the committee, commented in issuing the statement: "The arrests of these five are part of a continuing chain of repression against artists and intellectuals by the shah. As the cover article in the June 2 *Sunday New York Times Magazine* observed, 'trials, executions and mysterious disappearances seem to continue. At least 75 people have been executed for [so-called] subversive activities in the past 18 months alone.' The same article put the number of political prisoners at between 25,000 and 45,000."

Ali Shariatti, a doctor of philosophy and university professor, is the best

known of the five. He has been in jail more than nine months. He taught sociology, the history of theology, and Islamic philosophy at Ferdosi University in Mashhad. Shariatti is the author of more than twenty books, including *Humanity and Islam*, *Martyrdom*, and *Fatima*. He is especially renowned for his theological studies at Hossinieh Ershad, a theological

Paper Exposes SAVAK Agent in London

A London newspaper has exposed a small corner of the spying operations abroad by SAVAK, the Iranian secret political police. In its May 12 issue, the *Sunday Times* described the efforts of a SAVAK agent, operating out of the Iranian consulate in London, to recruit an Iranian-born British citizen to spy on Iranian students in Britain.

The agent is Abdol Ali Jahanbin, a first secretary in the consulate. His would-be recruit was Eli Povey, whose husband, Terry Povey, is a member of the executive of the National Union of Students (NUS).

Until recently Eli Povey worked in the London office of the National Iranian Oil Company. Last December, she was told that the main office in Teheran wanted to talk with her about a possible promotion. The company paid all the expenses of her flight there.

Once in Teheran, Povey was instead interviewed several times by the shah's political police.

"The first interview was over quickly," reported the *Sunday Times*, "but just before it had ended the SAVAK agent asked about a holiday the Poveys had taken in Iran that sum-

mer. As Mrs Povey began to name

school in Tehran. Nemat Mirzazadeh (M. Azarm) is a poet from Mashhad, whose works include *Sahorri*, a collection of contemporary poetry. He was arrested once before, in 1971.

Fereydoon Tonkaboni, a contemporary writer and high-school teacher, is author of *Man in a Cage*, *Prisoner of the Soil*, *A Chess Pawn*, *Stars of a Dark Night*, and *Notes of a Turbulent City*. He was imprisoned in 1970 for publishing the last of these in violation of censorship rules.

Hooshang Golshiri, from Isfahan and imprisoned there, is author of *As Always* and *Shazdeh Ehtejaab*. Fereydoon Tavalloli, the most recently arrested of the five, is a very well known poet. The apparent reason for his arrest is a poem he wrote on the occasion of the execution of Khosrow Golsorkhi in February of this year. □

mer. As Mrs Povey began to name a few places they had visited, the agent interrupted. 'You also went to Kermanshah,' he said, 'to stay with your cousins and you went to the Caspian Sea with your father. You also visited Shiraz and stayed with your uncle.' This was disconcerting: the Poveys had dropped in on the uncle without any warning. SAVAK, it seemed, had been keeping a very close watch."

The agents concluded their last interview with Povey with an unobtrusive reminder that they could easily retaliate against her family if she failed to cooperate. "Are you afraid of me?" one agent asked her. "What about SAVAK, aren't you afraid of SAVAK . . . haven't you heard that SAVAK tortures, imprisons, kills people?"

After her return to London, Povey was contacted and told to meet a man, who turned out to be Jahanbin, in a pub on May 2. Povey carried a hidden tape recorder to the meeting, and photographers of the *Sunday Times* photographed it, unknown to Jahanbin.

Jahanbin introduced himself, using the pseudonym Ali Bahrami. He assured Povey she would be well rewarded if she agreed to go on

SAVAK's payroll: "I am a very powerful man, in a good position to help you. . . . If you work for me, I'll pay you myself."

"'Ali' then outlined what he wanted from Mrs Povey," the *Sunday Times* reported. "He was particularly interested in the Confederation of Iranian Students. . . . Membership of the Confederation is an offence in Iran, bringing three to 10 years in jail.

"The diplomat knew that members of the Confederation sometimes visited the Povey's home. . . .

"'Ali' asked her to collect information about 'the students' discussions, their plans, the time and place of their plans. . . .' The previous day, he pointed out, had been May Day. 'If you could tell me which students attended demonstrations, then if I say, for instance, Mr [name deleted] was there, he can never deny it.'"

Jahanbin said he was particularly interested in one student activist, Ahmad Ghotbi: "If Ghotbi ever comes to your home and talks about politics, you come and tell me." □

bourgeois newspapers and magazines was tightened, after a brief relaxation. (Censorship of the left press, however, had never been relaxed.) *Veja*, *O Estado de São Paulo*, *Jornal da Tarde*, and *Opinião* have had censors added to their editorial boards to ensure pre-publication cutting of objectionable material, reported the May 21 Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*.

On the list of forbidden topics, the article continued, quoting the Brazilian federal police, are any "news, commentaries, notes, statistics (even hypothetical ones), or reports on economic recession or on domestic political and student movements. Any sort of criticism of the political economy, and above all, publication of comparative data on inflation, the cost of living, and wage adjustments are still forbidden."

As an example of the extremes to which the Brazilian regime carries its censorship policy, *La Opinión* pointed out that the same list forbids the publication of "any news whatsoever about Geisel's daughter." □

Brazil

Geisel Tightens Up on Critics

Brazilian lawyers have asked the newly elected Geisel regime to produce information on the whereabouts of five political prisoners who have disappeared. According to the May 30 *New York Times*, the five persons are Fernando Augusto de Santa Cruz Oliveira, a civil servant; Eduardo Collier, Jr., a former law student; Luz Ignacio Maranhão, a lawyer and former member of the Rio Grande do Norte state assembly; David Capistrano, a Communist journalist; and the latter's friend, José Roman.

This story followed by one day an account in the *Times* of the April arrests in São Paulo of "more than 50 students and intellectuals . . . for no apparent reason."

A formal protest of ill-treatment was lodged in the case of attorney Wellington Rocha Cantal. The São Paulo Lawyers Association claimed he had been beaten and subjected to various tortures after being arrested in April.

Estimates of the number detained in the wave of arrests since Geisel was inaugurated are from fifty to 100 persons. In addition to students and intellectuals, trade unionists and individuals linked to programs of the São Paulo Archdiocese have been victimized.

This crackdown on dissidents has even extended to members of the Brazilian legislature. *La Razón* of Buenos Aires reported on May 31 that Deputy Francisco Pinto will be brought to trial by the federal supreme

court for having criticized the head of the Chilean military junta, General Augusto Pinochet, when the latter was visiting Brazil.

In mid-May censorship of major

'Unofficial' One to Be Used Instead

Nixon Abolishes Official 'Subversive' List

U.S. Attorney General William Saxbe announced June 4 that the Nixon administration had abolished the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations.

Later in the same news conference, however, another government spokesman revealed that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had compiled a new, secret list of fifty-two organizations that are under investigation for possible "subversive" activities.

When asked if this did not amount to an updated version of the old list, Assistant Attorney General Kevin Maroney replied that the new list was not really a list at all, because it was not written down.

The original list, an official compilation of some 300 political organizations that dated back to 1947, had lost much of its usefulness. A successful court challenge in 1951 won a ruling that no new organization could be added without a hearing—a right that had been denied to the Social-

ist Workers party, Communist party, and other groups placed on the list when it was first drawn up.

In addition, the SWP and some other groups on the list have been waging a vigorous battle to have it abolished. A challenge to its constitutionality is a major element in the suit filed by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance to force a halt to government surveillance, harassment, and attempted intimidation of socialists and other opponents of government policy.

The U.S. revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant* said in its June 14 issue that the fact the government had been forced to abandon the "official" list represented a genuine victory for civil liberties. At the same time, however, the paper pointed out that "far from abandoning the goals and methods of the witch-hunters, Nixon and Saxbe are merely engaging in a maneuver, trying to come up with an updated list that would not be subject to challenge."

In a statement released June 5, the Socialist Workers party 1974 Campaign Committee warned of the dangers inherent in the new list. "'FBI investigation," the committee said, "means that 52 organizations, including the SWP, will remain the victims of wiretaps, burglary, spying, job harassment, and sabotage. It means that a government 'subversive' list in fact

still exists, only this time it is secret. "Because of this, the Socialist Workers Party will continue to mobilize opposition to these government policies and press forward with our civil liberties suit demanding a complete halt to all forms of harassment against our party, its supporters, and other opponents of the Nixon administration." □

Kissinger Caught Lying at Wrong Time

Colson's Guilty Plea Shakes Nixon Gang

By Allen Myers

When U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on June 6 held his first press conference since the signing of the Syrian-Israeli disengagement accord, his meeting with reporters was not the triumphant occasion he had apparently expected. The journalists showed considerably less interest in Kissinger's diplomatic activities than in his involvement in the Watergate scandal.

At one point, Kissinger reminded the reporters that "this is a press conference and not a cross-examination." That did not stop one newsman from asking him "whether or not you have consulted with any counsel in preparation for a defense against a possible perjury indictment."

The question arose because of accumulating evidence that Kissinger lied when he told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last September that he had no major involvement in the Nixon administration's wiretapping of government personnel and reporters in 1969-71. Members of the House Judiciary Committee looking into the taps as part of the impeachment investigation have told reporters that Kissinger initiated some of the taps and that he received numerous logs of their results.

It is, of course, highly unlikely that Kissinger will ever be indicted for lying to the Senate committee. (In fact, the Senate would hardly be inclined to confirm the nomination of a diplomat who did *not* display the ability to lie convincingly.) But it is symptomatic of Nixon's decline that even Kissinger, the White House gang's one

remaining "hero," has now been compromised by Watergate.

On the other hand, if Kissinger should end up in prison, he is at least likely to find himself among old friends, possibly even Nixon himself.

On June 6, the same day that Kissinger was defending himself at the press conference, Nixon's top lawyer, James St. Clair, confirmed press reports that the grand jury that last March 1 indicted seven persons in the Watergate cover-up conspiracy had named Nixon as an unindicted co-conspirator in the case. The jury reportedly wanted to indict Nixon but was persuaded by special prosecutor Leon Jaworski that an incumbent president could not legally be indicted.

Writing in the June 7 *New York Times*, Lesley Oelsner explained some of the implications of the grand jury's action:

"It probably means that Mr. Nixon cannot escape his present problems by resigning unless he first makes a deal with the prosecution, such as the deal Vice President Agnew made.

"It may also mean that Mr. Nixon's case in resisting prosecution subpoenas, a case considered weak by some, may become even weaker."

More importantly, it also makes it more difficult for the House of Representatives not to impeach Nixon without being seen as engaging in a white-wash.

But the grand jury report is only one of a growing number of threats to Nixon's survival as president. On June 4, a panel of technical experts confirmed its earlier report to Judge

John Sirica that an 18.5-minute gap on a crucial White House tape was caused by five to nine separate erasures. After the experts made their initial report in January, the White House hired another expert to conduct separate research and hopefully come up with a different explanation for the buzzing sound that obliterated a June 20, 1972, conversation between Nixon and his then chief of the White House staff, H. R. Haldeman. But even the White House's expert stated that he was in "general agreement" with the court panel's conclusions.

Most of the suspicion as to the identity of the person who erased the tape has focused on Rose Mary Woods, Nixon's personal secretary.

Another high-level Nixon aide, former White House special counsel Charles Colson, pleaded guilty to a felony charge June 3 in connection with the September 1971 burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychia-



EHRlichman: A few chinks in his stone wall around Nixon?

trist. Colson admitted that he participated in a scheme to spread "defamatory and derogatory allegations" about Ellsberg and his attorneys in order to prevent him from receiving a fair trial in the Pentagon Papers case.

As part of a deal with the special prosecutor's office, charges against

Colson in the Watergate cover-up were dropped when he pleaded guilty to the other charge. The deal requires Colson to testify "in any and all cases with respect to which he may have relevant information."

Colson, who directed what was known as the "office of dirty tricks" for the Nixon gang, is thought to possess considerable relevant information. As a "veteran Washington observer" quoted by Robert P. Hey in the *Christian Science Monitor* put it, "Chuck Colson knows where the bodies are buried because he buried half of them."

John Ehrlichman, Nixon's former domestic adviser, who is also a defendant in the Ellsberg case (and in the Watergate cover-up), is perhaps the person most immediately threatened by Colson's plea. As conservative columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak pointed out June 5, "his plea demolishes the badly tattered national security argument used as a defense in the Ellsberg case by John D. Ehrlichman. It, therefore, provides Special Prosecutor Jaworski with new leverage to begin plea bargaining with Ehrlichman."

"Should Ehrlichman plead guilty in the Ellsberg case," the columnists added, "Mr. Nixon's own reasons for failing to report the break-in when he first heard of it would be undercut. But the greater danger to the President would stem from what Ehrlichman would have to say to get off with a one-count plea."

"Jaworski would expect a great deal more from him than from Colson. To get rid of a grand total of two conspiracy, one obstruction of justice, and seven perjury indictments, Ehrlichman would have to talk long and hard. At the White House, the unlikely prospect of a broken Ehrlichman stonewall has always been considered the point of maximum peril for the President."

In a rather obvious attempt to plaster over any holes in Ehrlichman's stonewall, Nixon has put himself in the position of risking a citation for contempt of court. Prior to Colson's guilty plea, St. Clair had promised Judge Gerhard A. Gesell, who will be the judge in the Ellsberg burglary trial, that the White House would allow Ehrlichman and his lawyers access to Ehrlichman's files, which he claims he needs for his defense.

But on June 7, St. Clair told Gesell that Nixon had vetoed his promise. If Ehrlichman is denied use of his files, he can argue for dismissal of the charges on the ground that the government is withholding evidence. Nixon's action, Gesell said in court, "borders on obstruction of justice." This was generous: Nixon's plain intention was to ensure his aide's continued loyalty by preventing a trial.

Gesell, however, immediately began hearings that are a formal prerequisite for citing someone for contempt of court. If he decides to cite Nixon, his order could not, of course, be enforced, but Nixon's contempt would almost certainly become an article in the eventual bill of impeachment.

Another skeleton in the White House closet about which Colson should be able to provide considerable relevant information is the 1971 payoff from dairy cooperatives in exchange for a Nixon decision raising federal milk-price supports. According to a report by the staff of the Senate Watergate committee, the announcement of Nixon's decision was postponed for two days while White House aides extracted a renewal of an earlier promise by the cooperatives to contribute \$2 million to Nixon's reelection cam-

paign. Colson is thought to have been involved in the negotiations between the dairies and the White House.

"The real issue," the *Washington Post* commented in a June 4 editorial, "is whether the present evidence suffices for prosecution of those involved. The answer to that question was affirmative even before the Senate Committee staff's report appeared. Now it has become doubly necessary and urgent to prosecute. With respect to the involvement of the President, this prosecution will follow the constitutional procedure of impeachment."

The dairy payoff to Nixon could prove to be something of an embarrassment to the House Judiciary Committee, however. On June 4, the Associated Press reported that at least sixteen members of the committee had themselves received 1972 campaign contributions from the cooperatives, ranging in amount from \$100 to \$11,000. Peter Rodino, the committee chairman, raked in \$4,100.

The disclosure should be reassuring to the capitalist sectors who are concerned about Watergate's effects on the U.S. political system: Even if Nixon is impeached for accepting bribes, most politicians in Washington will continue doing business as usual. □

Senate Votes to End Shelling of Culebra

The U.S. Senate has voted to cut off funds for the navy's program of target practice on the Puerto Rican offshore island of Culebra.

The measure, which was passed June 5 by a vote of eighty-two to zero, will go into effect December 31, 1975, if approved by the House of Representatives and signed by Nixon.

The navy has been using one-third of Culebra's territory as a gunnery range since 1936, endangering the island's 800-900 inhabitants. In recent years there has been growing opposition by pro-independence groups to the continued naval presence. They have demonstrated their opposition both in Puerto Rico and in Washington.

The Senate vote appears to be a new step in what has been an ongoing dispute between the U.S. Congress and the Pentagon on how to handle this issue. The dispute has been marked by a series of policy re-

versals on whether or not to withdraw the navy from Culebra.

Most recently, on May 8, Deputy Secretary of Defense William Clements, Jr., ordered the navy to break off negotiations with colonial authorities on the question. The reason given was that the proposed new target-practice site, Mono Island, was located in an international seaway and that having the navy operate there could cause the United States problems with other countries that use this strait.

Complicating the Culebra decision is the proposal to use Mono Island also as the site for a superport and petroleum refinery complex that U.S. business interests want to build in Puerto Rico. Pro-independence groups have opposed the project because of the grave ecological threat it poses. There is also widespread doubt about the practicability of carrying out the two activities in the same limited area. □

Huelga Derechista Derriba a Faulkner

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "Right-Wing Strike Overthrows Faulkner Executive", que apareció en la edición de *Intercontinental Press* del 10 de junio].

* * *

El gobierno de coalición de Irlanda del Norte, encabezado por Brian Faulkner, se derrumbó el 28 de mayo ante los golpes de la huelga dirigida por los extremistas protestantes, que paralizó la industria y el transporte durante dos semanas y redujo el abastecimiento de energéticos a un tercio de su producción normal.

La huelga había sido organizada por el Ulster Workers Council (Consejo Obrero de Ulster) y grupos paramilitares como el Ulster Defense Association (Asociación de Defensa de Ulster) y el Ulster Volunteer Force (Fuerza de Voluntarios de Ulster), para protestar contra las medidas que daban a la comunidad católica minoritaria representación en la Asamblea provincial y en el gobierno.

Poco después de la renuncia del gobierno, el 29 de mayo, el Consejo Obrero de Ulster llamó a "un regreso al trabajo por etapas". Unas pocas horas después, Irlanda del Norte volvía a estar bajo control directo de Inglaterra, cuando el Secretario de Estado de Irlanda del Norte, el británico Merlyn Rees, anunció que la Asamblea provincial no funcionaría durante cuatro meses.

La caída de la administración de Faulkner fue un duro golpe para los esfuerzos del gobierno británico por ganarse la colaboración de un sector de la población católica para gobernar el norte, con el fin de aislar y reprimir al ala izquierda del movimiento nacionalista.

Conforme se iba fortaleciendo la línea dura de los fanáticos pro-Inglaterra, la población católica se encontraba en un peligro cada vez mayor.

El 30 de mayo, Rees se reunió con tres dirigentes del ala dura de los protestantes: William Craig, el reverendo Ian Paisley y Harry West, y aceptó reunirse más tarde con el

Consejo Obrero de Ulster. Era la primera vez, desde que comenzó la huelga, que el gobierno aceptaba negociar con estos elementos.

El blanco inmediato de la huelga de los obreros protestantes era el acuerdo de Sunningdale, firmado en diciembre de 1973, que daba a la población católica una participación en el auto-gobierno local a través de la creación de la Asamblea de Irlanda del Norte, elegida por representación proporcional, y de un Ejecutivo provincial, donde estaría representada la comunidad católica. Los militantes nacionalistas del movimiento republicano denunciaron el acuerdo de Sunningdale como una maniobra más para mantener la dominación británica en Irlanda. Pero el Social-Democratic and Labor Party (SDLP—Partido Socialdemócrata y Laboral) asistió a las negociaciones de Sunningdale y aceptó participar en la Asamblea y en el Ejecutivo.

En parte, el SDLP tomó esa decisión impulsado por las promesas británicas de que establecería un "Council of Ireland" (Consejo de Irlanda). Aunque en realidad no se definieron las funciones de este Consejo, el gobierno de Dublin y los parlamentarios católicos del norte saludaron la idea como un primer paso hacia la reunificación de Irlanda. Estaría compuesto por catorce miembros, siete por parte del gobierno de Eire y siete por el de Irlanda del Norte, y todas sus decisiones tendrían que ser unánimes para que se llevaran a la práctica. Pero los sindicalistas protestantes consideraron que esta medida iba en contra su posición privilegiada.

En las elecciones generales de febrero en Gran Bretaña, los protestantes derechistas que se oponen al acuerdo de Sunningdale ganaron once de los doce puestos que corresponden a Irlanda del Norte en la Casa de los Comunes.

Esto hizo que los sindicalistas protestantes se decidieran a exigir nuevas elecciones para la Asamblea provincial, esperando que en esta elección obtendrían una mayoría absoluta.

El 14 de mayo, la Asamblea aprobó la formación del Consejo de Irlanda.

Al día siguiente comenzó la huelga derechista. Sus principales exigencias eran que se eliminara el Consejo de Irlanda y que se convocara a nuevas elecciones para la Asamblea.

En un discurso por televisión el 25 de mayo, el Primer Ministro Harold Wilson calificó a los huelguistas protestantes de "golpeadores y valentones", describió a los grupos protestantes de línea dura como "elegidos por nadie, personas autodesignadas que se dedican a romper la ley sistemáticamente y a intimidar al pueblo de Irlanda del Norte", y los acusó de tratar de "hacer pedazos a Irlanda".

Pero no anunció que se fuera a tomar alguna medida para enfrentar este peligro. Anteriormente, los ingleses habían amenazado con utilizar los 16,500 soldados que tienen en Irlanda para romper la huelga. Pero en realidad no tenían ni la mínima intención de enfrentarse a los extremistas protestantes. Como declaró al *New York Times* un oficial inglés: utilizar a las tropas "crearía hostilidad y generaría apoyo para la huelga" entre protestantes que "tradicionalmente han sido nuestros amigos".

El 28 de mayo cayó el gobierno de Faulkner, acorralado entre la creciente presión de dirigentes protestantes moderados que cedían a los huelguistas, y la continuada negativa de los representantes católicos en el gobierno a entablar negociaciones directas con los dirigentes de la huelga.

Para los comentaristas de la prensa burguesa, las principales víctimas de la huelga eran los dirigentes "moderados" de ambos lados que habían favorecido la participación en el acuerdo de Sunningdale. Pero, en realidad, los que salieron perdiendo fueron los católicos oprimidos del norte, que ahora se encuentran ante la perspectiva de que el gobierno laborista británico dé todavía mayores concesiones a los reaccionarios protestantes.

Es claro que poderosas fuerzas de Gran Bretaña han optado por tomar una política más dura contra la minoría católica. El 29 de mayo, un grupo de hombres de negocios encabezado por el dirigente de la Confederation of British Industry (Confederación de la Industria Británica), Campbell Adamson, se reunió con Wilson para exigirle que el gobierno negociase con los extremistas protestantes. El *Times* de Londres, que acusó al gobierno de "confusión, indecisión y falta de expe-

riencia" para tratar la situación de Irlanda del Norte, se ha hecho eco de la exigencia de los protestantes de que se convoque a nuevas elecciones para la Asamblea. □

Italy

Police Uncover Right-Wing Terrorist Plot

Price Sisters End Hunger Strike

Marion and Dolours Price, Irish republican prisoners serving a life term in London's Brixton jail, ended their hunger strike June 7. Three other Irish political prisoners in British jails ended their fasts the following day.

"The abandonment of the hunger strikes was widely approved by Irish Republican Army spokesmen in Dublin and Belfast," reported a dispatch from London in the June 9 *New York Times*. "Their move will make it easier for the British government to accede to the prisoners' demand to be moved to jails nearer their homes in Northern Ireland. . . ."

Despite the *Times'* face-saving explanation, it is clear that broad public support for the Price sisters' demand and fear of their imminent death are the real factors forcing the Wilson government to reconsider its refusal to transfer them.

The two sisters had been on a hunger strike since last November, when they were convicted on charges connected with a London bombing. Prison authorities subjected them to the extremely painful procedure of force-feeding from December 3 to May 18, when prison doctors refused to continue the measure. From May 18 to June 7, the two sisters accepted nothing but water.

One Irish republican hunger-striker has already died in a British jail. Michael Gaughan, a prisoner in Parkhurst on the Isle of Wight, died June 3 after refusing food for sixty-five days. □

Bible Leads Mao, 8 to 1

Lenin is the world's most translated author, according to figures recently released by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. A total of 42,970 works were translated last year, with Lenin accounting for 381, the Bible 215, and Enid Blyton, a British children's writer, 165. Mao Tsetung's writings, by comparison, accounted for twenty-five translations.

More than a million persons marched through the streets of Brescia on May 31 in the funeral procession for the victims of a fascist bomb attack.

The death toll from the bombing has now risen to seven. Over ninety persons were wounded, many of them seriously, by the explosion of the bomb at an antifascist rally May 28.

The rally had been called by the trade unions to protest a wave of bombing incidents in the region by extreme right-wing groups. Since the beginning of this year, the authorities have recorded a dozen similar bomb attacks at Brescia and twenty-five at Milan, some fifty miles to the west. The bombings have transformed Brescia and the surrounding province into a center of the "Black Terrorism" practiced by Italy's fascist groupings.

The Brescia attack, one of the worst fascist atrocities in Italy in the post-Mussolini era, provoked massive protests throughout the country. The three major labor federations held a four-hour general strike May 29 to protest the murders. Huge rallies were held in Milan (200,000), Rome and Turin (100,000 each), and other cities and towns.

Faced with this public reaction, Italian authorities have been displaying unusual energy in the search for the perpetrators. Massive police forces have been deployed, and on May 31 the government announced the formation of a special "antiterrorist unit." Interior Minister Taviani, speaking in Brescia May 31, said that his department would "independently" conduct its inquiry "to the very end."

The police have been widely criticized for their failure to track down and apprehend those responsible for right-wing violence. (The same reluctance has not been shown in the hunt for alleged left-wing "terrorists." For example, Pietro Valpreda, an anarchist, has been held for over three years on charges of complicity in a 1969 bombing in Milan in which sixty people were killed — an action now

widely believed to have been the work of fascists, as the left has said all along.)

On May 30, a police raid on a neo-fascist training camp at Rieti, north-east of Rome, turned up extensive quantities of weapons, explosives, and forged identity cards. Police report they also found the lire equivalent of about \$650,000 at the camp, which allegedly belonged to the Mussolini Action Squad (SAM).

In other raids, police say they have captured dozens of documents and maps indicating that the bombing in Brescia was part of a major terrorist offensive projected by the fascists. A Reuters dispatch from Rome in the June 3 *Washington Post*, citing "informed sources," said the plans "included a scheme to machine-gun a labor demonstration in Milan, occupy a barracks of the paramilitary carabinieri police for two hours, blow up roads, bridges and rail lines, and assassinate prominent politicians."

Reuters reported that "the objective was to shake the foundations of Italian society so that the army would be forced to intervene in a Greek-style take-over."

The documents found in the Rieti raid reveal an extensive network of links among the various fascist groupings. Among other things, they indicate that the Mussolini Action Squad was linked with the Red Brigades, a group held to be responsible for the kidnapping in April of a state prosecutor, and which the press had presented as a left-wing organization.

Similar evidence of a far-right conspiracy to discredit the left has been uncovered before. (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 11, 1974, p. 270.) According to Giorgio Zicari, a journalist with the Milan daily *Corriere della Sera*, the general outlines of such a conspiracy were already known by the army's counterintelligence service (SID) in 1970. Zicari says he is willing to present evidence of this to the courts. Other investigations have indicated that the SID works closely with many of the neo-fascist groups. □

AROUND THE WORLD



Cohn-Bendit Asks Right to Return to France

Daniel Cohn-Bendit, one of the leaders of the French student revolt in May 1968, has written an open letter to newly elected President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, urging him to allow Cohn-Bendit and other political exiles to return to France.

The leader of the March 22nd Movement, whose parents were of German origin, was banned from France by ministerial order on May 24, 1968. During the student struggle and general strike, the bourgeoisie attacked Cohn-Bendit as a "German Jew," while Stalinist trade-union bureaucrat Georges Seguy attempted to dismiss him ("Cohn-Bendit, who is he?")—prompting demonstrators' chants of "We are all German Jews," and "Seguy, Who's He?"

In his letter to Giscard d'Estaing, Cohn-Bendit notes that he was exiled for his ideas, and points to the article in the Treaty of Rome, the founding document of the European Common Market, that supposedly "guarantees free circulation of persons" in all member countries, including France.

Referring to campaign statements in which Giscard claimed to be "a defender of freedom," Cohn-Bendit says, "It would be somewhat incomprehensible if . . . you were now to decide to forbid me access to the country where I was born."

Polemic Against Trotskyism Published in Moscow

A book entitled *The Communist Struggle Against Trotskyist Ideology* has been published in the Soviet Union. It was written collectively by Boris Ponomarev, an alternate member of the Politburo and the secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party; Albert Coninck, secretary of the Central Committee of the Belgian CP; Norman Freed, secretary of the Central Committee of the Canadian CP; and Leo Figueres, member of the Central Committee of the French CP.

ERP to Donate Funds

The Argentine Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—People's Revolutionary Army) has announced that it will donate US\$6 million to opposition movements in Bolivia, Chile, and Uruguay, according to a United Press International dispatch datelined Buenos Aires. The release, which was printed in the June 5 New

York daily *El Diario*, cited the ERP's publication, *Estrella Roja*, as the source of its information. Reportedly, a major part of the \$6 million came from ransom collected by the ERP in the series of kidnappings it has carried out in recent years.

Uruguayan Police Seize Books

Hundreds of tons of Marxist literature were confiscated in Uruguay the first week of June. The action followed government passage of a new measure banning the publication of such material. Sources reporting the confiscation stated that all shops carrying Marxist books and pamphlets had been affected by the measure.

1954 Bomb Still Claiming Victims

A hydrogen bomb exploded by the United States at Bikini Atoll on March 1, 1954, continues to claim its victims. In early June, two more natives of Rongelap Island, 125 miles downwind of the blast, were operated on for thyroid abnormalities. One was in his mother's womb at the time of the test explosion.

Of the eighty-nine persons on the island when the radioactive debris fell, twenty-five have undergone such treatment during the intervening 20 years, and one has died of leukemia. Of the seventeen who were less than 10 years old at the time, all but two have developed nodules or tumors of the thyroid gland; in two cases the thyroid failed to function entirely and the growth of the children was stunted.

This information is contained in a report issued by the Friends of Micronesia, an organization based in Berkeley, California.

Giscard Orders New Bomb Tests

France announced June 8 that it will conduct a new series of atmospheric nuclear tests in the South Pacific.

The French have set off thirty-five nuclear explosions so far in the Pacific area. Testing was transferred there following strong protests from African countries against an earlier series of tests in the Sahara.

France ignored an appeal from the International Court of Justice in the Hague last summer to stop its Pacific tests. The appeal followed protests by Australia and New Zealand.

A spokesman for President Giscard d'Es-

taing said that this would be the last series of atmospheric tests but that France would continue atomic blasts underground.

Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, minister of reform in the newly appointed government, who had traveled to Mururoa last year to participate in demonstrations against a previous series of tests, held a news conference to denounce the current series. He was promptly fired by Giscard.

Balaguer to Legalize CP?

A law legalizing the Communist party is expected to be passed soon in the Dominican Republic, following President Joaquin Balaguer's virtually unopposed victory in the May 16 election. Balaguer himself presented the bill to the legislature last February in the midst of his election campaign.

According to a June 4 Reuters dispatch from Santo Domingo, the decision to legalize the CP is "largely motivated by the growing strength of a radical left-wing group, the Dominican Popular Movement (MPD)." Balaguer has announced no plans to legalize any other banned groups apart from the CP.

Bolivian Coup Attempt Fails

Arrests and deportations have followed the crushing of an attempted coup in Bolivia June 4. Government troops surrounded San Andres University in La Paz June 7, arresting about 100 students and professors. At Sucre thirty-six students were arrested. A prominent lawyer, Manuel Morales Davila, was deported.

The Banzer regime charged that Morales and the students, who had been boycotting classes since May 21 to back demands for democratization of the university system, were linked with the coup attempt.

Although details are not clear owing to strict censorship, it appears that the coup attempt involved two regiments of the Bolivian army. The insurgents briefly seized the presidential palace, using a tank to smash down the doors. But they withdrew to their barracks and surrendered after presidential guards gave them one hour to leave. Twenty-four officers were later dismissed.

A rebel communique said the revolt was "strictly military," but Ciro Humboldt

Barrero, leader of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR), was also reported to have sought asylum in the Brazilian embassy with the two officers who led the coup, Lieutenant Colonel Raul Lopez Leyton and Major Gary Prado Salmon. In a television speech June 5, Banzer denounced Humboldt and another former MNR minister, Carlos Valverde, as being the main instigators of the coup attempt.

The MNR recently withdrew its support from Banzer's government, and former MNR president Paz Estenssoro is living in exile in Argentina with other leading opponents of the regime. Many of them are former supporters and members of the Banzer government, which was itself established in a bloody coup in 1971.

Strikes Continue in Ethiopia

Ethiopian police and army troops occupied all the telecommunications facilities in Addis Ababa after workers continued to strike for higher pay, according to the June 2-3 *Le Monde*. The strikers were also demanding that twenty-four technicians arrested at the beginning of the strike be released.

In the provinces, workers totally shut down some plantations. One important cotton processing plant in the suburbs of Addis Ababa, employing 1,700 workers, was also paralyzed.

U. S. Supreme Court Upholds Equal Pay for Women

By a vote of five to three, the U. S. Supreme Court on June 3 upheld, for the first time, the ten-year-old federal law requiring equal pay for women. Immediately affected are the women employees of the Corning Glass Works, a manufacturing company that will be required to pay at least \$600,000 in back wages in compensation for its discriminatory pay scales. The decision is also expected to have a major impact on the wages of women employed in retail stores and in hospitals, two areas where women have suffered particular discrimination.

Smallpox Epidemic in India

Officials of the World Health Organization (WHO) said June 5 that about 30,000 persons have died in India since January in what was described as one of the worst smallpox epidemics in recent years. Virtually every village in Bihar state, and parts of Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, has been hit by the epidemic. Many of the survivors have been permanently blinded and scarred by the disease.

A WHO report issued earlier this year stated: "Delayed and incomplete reporting and inadequate containment measures permitted limited outbreaks to develop into large-scale epidemics involving most

districts in the afflicted states, including many of the major cities and towns." Despite the criticisms by the WHO officials, the epidemic has received little publicity in India.

Burmese Strikers Attacked

The Burmese government admitted June 9 that twenty-two persons were killed and seventy-three injured in clashes between strikers and police. The strike began June 3 at a state-run railway workshop and spread to forty-two other state-run factories during the week. The workers protested high prices and demanded job security.

On June 6 a broadcast over the government radio announced that all demonstrations and meetings were banned for a month and all schools throughout Burma were closed indefinitely. Earlier the same evening, Prime Minister Ne Win called on workers to stop their demonstrations and return to work. He charged that "anarchists" were using the discontent over the skyrocketing inflation to "exploit workers and incite violence."

Protest Beating of Turkish Political Prisoners

More than 700 Turkish writers, journalists, artists, university lecturers, and students issued a petition in Ankara June 5 protesting the beating of political prisoners in a military jail. "We protest the medieval and inhuman behavior which also caused a hunger strike among the prisoners," the petition stated. Some political prisoners at the Mamak prison were beaten by officers May 31. About 250 prisoners staged a hunger strike the same day to protest the incident.

World Food Crisis Seen by 1985

By 1985, reports the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, the world's underdeveloped countries can expect to run short 85 million tons of grain a year, about 10 percent of total requirements. Widespread crop failure, such as the one in 1972, would increase the figure to 100 million tons.

At current prices, importing the necessary grain would cost about \$17,000 million. "It is clear," the FAO warned, "that under existing trade arrangements [i.e., capitalism], the majority of developing countries will not be able to finance such heavy imports."

Kurds Accuse Baghdad of Genocide

The Kurdish Democratic party (KDP) has accused the Baghdad government of waging a "war of genocide" against Iraq's Kurdish population of some 2.3 million. In a letter delivered to the United Nations June 7, KDP leader Mustafa al-Barzani charged that the Iraqi govern-

ment had bombed fifteen towns and 204 villages in the Kurdish region between mid-April and the end of May, largely with napalm. He reported that 1,534 civilians had been killed and that another 3,500 had been wounded in the raids. About 80,000 Kurdish refugees have been forced to flee across the border into Iran and Turkey.

In a statement May 29, Kurdish leader Kamuran Bedir Khan denounced the hypocrisy of the Baghdad regime. "Whereas in the past the Iraqi government never made any effort to conceal its aggression," he said, "this time it is proceeding in a manner that is as underhanded as it is hypocritical. By proclaiming a so-called autonomy plan for Kurdistan, a plan that in reality is aimed at placing the entire Kurdish zone once again under the iron political and military rule of the Baath party, Baghdad is trying to appease international public opinion, which has been revolted by the genocide carried out against the Kurds."

After pointing out that the oil-rich Kirkuk area is part of the Kurdish region, a claim that Baghdad does not accept, Emir Khan added: "This oil, which should have been used to increase the standard of living of a particularly poor people, has in fact fallen to the Kurds, but in the form of napalm."

72 Chileans Permitted to Leave for Mexico

Seventy-two Chileans who had spent almost nine months in asylum in the Mexican Embassy in Santiago were allowed to fly to Mexico June 2. The group included several former members of the Allende government. Their safe-conduct was arranged after the Mexican government agreed to resume full diplomatic and commercial ties with the Chilean junta.

Palestine National Council Meets

The Palestine National Council voted overwhelmingly in Cairo June 8 for the ten-point policy platform supported by Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat. Although no official vote total was released, an observer reported that all but four or five of the 150 council members voted in favor of the document.

The first point in the platform, the focus of much of the prior debate, authorizes representatives of the PLO to take part in the Geneva negotiations, provided certain conditions are met. The first is that the organization be issued a formal invitation and be seated with the same status accorded to other delegations. The second is that the terms of the conference be changed to mention "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people." The term "legitimate rights" is understood to include the right to set up a Palestinian state on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in Gaza.

The End of Gaullism and Rise of the Masses

By Pierre Frank

Paris

The French presidential election provided evidence of the extremely favorable revolutionary perspectives facing France and, consequently, the whole of Western Europe. This has not been sufficiently understood everywhere. We will dwell in the following pages on the polarization of the country, the tremendous upsurge of the masses, the collapse of Gaullism, and the impressive electoral results scored by the far left as well as the question of the latter's vote in the second round of balloting.

Unlike so many others, this was not an election to replace one president by another as, for example, in the United States when a Democrat succeeds a Republican, or vice versa, without any effect on the country's political system. The Gaullists did not choose a replacement for Pompidou, who had himself taken de Gaulle's place; instead, the governing Gaullists were kicked out, after having ruled France since the army's coup in Algeria in 1958.

For some time already it had become a necessity for the bourgeoisie to put an end to the Gaullist regime; but, lacking an alternative, the bourgeoisie was not sure this could be done. Since May 1968 Gaullism had simply been surviving. Pompidou had continued along the course set by de Gaulle. The Gaullist organization, the UDR [Union des Démocrates pour la République—Union of Democrats for the Republic], remained in command, but this had become dangerous, encouraging the polarization of the masses toward the workers' parties.

The bourgeoisie was still hesitating at the outset of the election campaign between the Gaullist Chaban-Delmas and Giscard d'Estaing. Everyone knew that although Giscard had collaborated for years with the UDR in the government, he was out to eliminate it at the first opportunity. These hesitations vanished in less than a week, so that the first round of the elections finished the Gaullist candidate

and finished Gaullism. The regime founded on May 13, 1958, died after a death agony that began in May 1968 but that was considerably prolonged because of the cowardice and betrayal of the traditional leaderships of the workers' movement, as well as the uncertainties and hesitations of the bourgeois politicians.

Upsurge of the Masses

The overall figures indicate that Giscard was elected by a very small majority, just as Kennedy was over Nixon. In terms of living forces, of class forces, the result has quite a different meaning—a polarization and politicization of the country to a very high degree. The politicization was expressed by, among other things, a lower rate of abstention than ever (12.06%). Of the close to 26 million voters in metropolitan France, there were only 342,000 votes separating the two candidates. Grouped around Giscard were all the bourgeois forces, from the center-left Radicals led by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, to the extreme rightists of the Ordre Nouveau, the CFT, former members of the OAS, persons who served in the Pétain regime,¹ the old right wing (Pinay, Bidault, etc.), and the Center Right (Lecanuet). The surge forward of the masses is underscored by, among other things, the following statistics: On the first round Mitterrand got 700,000 more votes than all the Union of the Left candidates in the March 1973 legislative elections; on the second round, he picked up not only all the votes of the left and far left from the first round, but almost a million

additional votes as well. Nor should we forget that young people under 21 years of age did not have the right to vote.² Close to 75% of the industrial workers voted for Mitterrand, a higher percentage of support than even the British Labour party gets. Two-thirds of those under 35 years of age voted for Mitterrand. In bourgeois neighborhoods like the sixteenth arrondissement in Paris and like Neuilly, Giscard got about 70% of the votes, which is the same figure that Mitterrand got in the workers' districts (for example: Bobigny, 75%; Bagnolet, 72%; Saint-Denis, 69%). Mitterrand's campaign called forth massive meetings in all the major cities. Giscard's strongholds are the old reactionary departments of the West and East of France, and even there he suffered a setback. The main trade-union federations, the CGT, the CFDT, and the important Fédération de l'Education Nationale, participated in the campaign. Force Ouvrière³ refused to take a position, but its leaders admitted that 80% of its members were voting for Mitterrand. With the exception of a handful of spontanéists and Mao-Stalinists, the far left voted for Mitterrand on the second round. (We will come back to this later.) In last year's elections, around 2% of the vote went to the Left Radicals, thanks to the Socialists who did not run candidates against them. The appeals to Chaban's constituents between the first and second rounds had little

2. There are also 3 million "foreign" workers in France—North Africans, Blacks, Portuguese, etc.—who don't have the right to vote, or any other right except that of being superexploited.

3. CGT [Confederation Generale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, led by the Stalinists]; CFDT [Confederation Francaise et Democratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, of Social-Democratic inclination]; FEN [National Federation of Education, the main teachers' union]; Force Ouvriere [Workers Power, a relatively right-wing union].—IP

1. CFT [Confederation Francaise du Travail—French Confederation of Labor, a scab "union"]; OAS [Organisation de l'Armee Secrete—Secret Army Organization, composed of army officers and French settlers based in French-ruled Algeria, active in the fifties]; the Pétain regime collaborated with the Nazi occupation from 1940 to 1944.—IP

success: 80% of them voted for Giscard; 10% abstained; and 10%, or 1.5% of the total, cast their vote for Mitterrand.

Almost all the bourgeois commentators recognized that, *sociologically*, the Mitterrand vote was a class vote, to be viewed in the context of the movements that have developed in recent years, and no bourgeois politician or journalist in France jumped for joy when the result of the May 19 vote was announced.⁴

The 'Heritage' of Gaullism

The Gaullist candidate obtained only 14.55% of the votes. The Gaullist parliamentary group still has the most seats in the National Assembly. But it would be erroneous to think that Gaullism still has a future. It is in an advanced state of decay, and this is going to get worse. The maneuvers that undermined Chaban's candidacy began in the very midst of this group, with the formation of the "Group of 43" at the outset of the campaign. The leading spirit in this group, Chirac, has become Giscard's prime minister, the better to demolish the UDR.

But if today the French bourgeoisie has a president who represents the conservative right wing from the political, technocratic, and economic standpoints, it nonetheless has no political structures worthy of the name. The Independent Republicans, the various groups of the political "Center," are all at most clubs that can

4. We have mentioned only metropolitan France, the "hexagon" [the map of France can be inscribed in a hexagon], and not what remains of the former colonial Empire, the TOM-DOM (Overseas Territories and Departments) where fraudulent practices in the elections are traditional. Since for the bourgeoisie the decision between Giscard and Chaban was to be made by means of the first round, several thousand magistrates were sent to these areas, with instructions to supervise the elections. This supervisory operation, continued on the second round, provided equally interesting results: Mitterrand obtained a majority (56.4%) in Guadeloupe, 50.46% in Reunion where [former premier Michel] Debre was elected, 51.23% in so-called French Polynesia, and almost half the vote in Guyana (46.93%), 42.90% in Martinique, and 49.73% in New Caledonia and the New Hebrides. Complete or nearly complete fraudulent returns were limited to Djibouti, the Comor Islands, and Wallis and Futuna.

get together to form a more or less united parliamentary group, but this does not constitute a genuine political party. To be sure, the capitalist system in certain instances can function under such conditions for a time—that was the case in France under the Third Republic when the Radical party itself was mainly a collection of electoral committees. But we are no longer living under the Third Republic, and the Fourth Republic died largely as a result of the political fragmentation that characterized it. French capitalism, with a higher degree of concentration than ever, threatened by enormous economic difficulties and serious political crises, needs adequate political tools. Giscard can find ministers (there are always candidates for the various portfolios); he will be able to formulate policy on a day-by-day basis for some time, but as events unfold remorselessly he will need a political line and a political instrument to put it into effect.

At the same time, he will have to reorganize the state apparatus, which is still riddled with Gaullists and is in need of tuning up. There are behind-the-scenes struggles and some that are not so secret. In this connection, it has been mentioned that among the statistics on the distribution of the May 19 votes, "almost 50% of the military [officers and NCOs] voted for the left" (*Le Figaro*, May 27), and that in several housing projects inhabited by police ("Flicvilles" [Cop-towns] is the term the police themselves use to describe them) more than 40% voted for Mitterrand. We should be careful about taking these figures for good coin, but they indicate some actual tendencies in the state's coercive apparatus that we have called attention to in recent years.

In fact, what we are seeing in terms of political forces and the state apparatus is the end result of sixteen years of Gaullism. The latter performed many services for capital, but at the cost of some loss to old bourgeois political formations and the stability of the state apparatus. Since May 1968 the bourgeoisie has been generally paralyzed, with the result that now the chickens will come home to roost. The problems facing the new government include not only the growing inflation, the unemployment that has already appeared, and the in-

creased difficulties encountered in foreign trade. They also include problems stemming from the desire of the masses for a "change in life style"—for an end to the hellish pace of work in the factories, for adequate transportation facilities, decent housing, and social services, for an end to pollution and so many other things that make life more and more unendurable. There are the problems arising from the hostility of young people to the educational system and the barracks life they are forced to endure. The problems arising from the aspiration of women to end their age-old oppression. There is also the revolt against regimentation, stifling centralization, and the conformist, boring mass media.

Score of the Far Left

The second-round figures have somewhat overshadowed the results obtained by the far left on the first round, as well as their political significance. Almost 700,000 votes went to Alain Krivine and Arlette Laguiller. The vote for René Dumont, the ecology candidate, was undoubtedly a left-wing vote, but on the other hand it is unlikely that many far-left votes went to him.

One can say with assurance that the far left is not limited to these figures. Remember that youth under 21 do not as yet have the right to vote, and that the far left is especially strong in this category, as several polls have indicated. Moreover, a great many voters who gravitate in the periphery of the far-left organizations, who share their views on the reformist politics of the traditional organizations, and who are looking for a revolutionary political line, voted for Mitterrand *beginning with the first round*, not out of confidence in the Union of the Left, but to "make their votes count," to assure Mitterrand's victory if possible on the first round and thereby loosen up the situation—because everyone knew that the struggle would be very close, and to them, waiting for the second round might mean losing an opportunity. An a posteriori debate on this is useless, but on the eve of the first round it was not at all meaningless. In any event, it can be said without risk of error that the far left has an electoral

score of close to a million votes, against about 12 million votes for the left.

In other words, in a period of revolutionary upsurge of the working masses, while the vast majority is still under the leadership of the reformists, whether Social Democrats or Stalinists, there is already an important sector—generally younger and more militant—of around 7% that constitutes a vanguard, one whose role can only increase.⁵ This is all the more true in that there is no clean division between this far left and the mass of workers who voted for the Union of the Left. The latter certainly generated a lot of enthusiasm, but this enthusiasm was not uncritical; there was no irrational outpouring of enthusiasm such as was seen around the Popular Front in 1936 when the far left was numerically insignificant and no one was listening to it.

Thus, in the wake of May '68, the experience of the masses is expressed not only by their powerful radicalization, but also by the existence of a vanguard of already substantial num-

bers—a vanguard that is certainly not politically homogeneous, but which nonetheless constitutes a factor to be weighed in the French political scene, and even more so in the daily arena of the class struggle than in the episodic electoral arena. But is it true, as some people think, that this far left made a serious error, and fell into a trap, by voting for Mitterrand on the second round?

The Meaning of the Union of the Left

Leaving aside the anarchists, who advocate abstention at all times, it is notable that the overwhelming majority of the far left, including groups that in the past had been abstentionist, called for voting for Mitterrand on the second round. The exceptions were a few spontanéists and a handful of Mao-Stalinists who supported their arguments by dipping into the documents of the Stalinist "Third Period" in order to combat not only the "revisionists" of the Kremlin but also

5. The far left does not at all form a politically homogeneous body, nor is it identical with the existing organizations. For example, included in the far left are many sympathizers of the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party] and those who belong to or gravitate around the OCI [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste—Internationalist Communist Organization, the "Lambertists"], the two organizations that voted for Mitterrand from the first round. But the PSU is no longer anything but an appendage of the Socialist party, and the OCI once again demonstrated that in spite of the Trotskyist vocabulary it uses, it is above all a pressure group on the traditional organizations in the workers' movement; and, what's more, a very weak and clumsy pressure group.

The heterogeneity of the new vanguard also explains the difference between the results obtained by Alain Krivine (about 100,000 votes) and Arlette Laguiller (600,000). Their campaigns were very different in many respects. Alain Krivine campaigned in the name of an organization, the FCR [Front Communiste Révolutionnaire—Revolutionary Communist Front], and his personality was kept as much in the background as is possible in an election campaign of this kind. Participating in his TV and radio broadcasts were an Antilles comrade, a soldier, some women, some workers, and a former Communist party deputy of Popular Front days who was deported during the war.

the "Hitlero-Trotskyites." One can hold doubts about taking them as authorities on matters of revolutionary politics.

Some people's criticisms undoubtedly result from a lack of understanding of what *désistement*⁶ on the second round means. In France, where this practice has been followed for nearly a century, it has never meant acceptance, even partially, of the program of the candidate in whose favor you *désiste*. All the far-left organizations that called for voting for Mitterrand on the second round did so while continuing to fight his campaign, the Union of the Left, and the Common Program.⁷ Others have criticized the vote on the second round out of "doctrinaire" considerations: They say it was not a class vote because Mitterrand's campaign was not a campaign for independent political action by the working class, because it did not present a program of class against class, because the Union of the Left is not a "united front" of workers' parties but rather a more or less embryonic "popular front" owing to the presence in it of the Left Radicals, the intentions of the CP and SP leaders, etc. How valid are these criticisms?

To demand of a CP or SP candidate that he advance a class program, before being able to withdraw in his favor, is to say in reality that one will never withdraw, because a candidate of these parties will never present such a program. But those who take that position must also say that Lenin was wrong to advocate voting for the candidates of the Labour party in Great Britain, where there is only one round of voting. So the first argument is invalid.

Now what about the "united front" of workers' parties? It has no particu-

The Laguiller campaign was personalized to the extreme. The name of the newspaper *Lutte Ouvrière* did not even appear on the 30 million copies of her programmatic statement that were distributed by the state [in accordance with French election law]. Laguiller appeared alone in the mass media. Thousands of posters were pasted up bearing only the reference "Vote for Arlette."

Both campaigns included denunciations of the capitalist system, but Laguiller's was limited to that, while Krivine's devoted a major aspect of his campaign to indicating the revolutionary ways and means of achieving socialism (through committees, militias, etc.). Essentially, Laguiller denounced Mitterrand for his past as a "phony left-wing bourgeois politician" but did not engage in any fundamental criticism of the Union of the Left.

It follows that Krivine's vote was a more politicized and more militant vote than Laguiller's. The meetings organized by *Lutte Ouvrière* did not draw bigger crowds than the FCR's, including the meetings held after the first round when its results were already known. We in no way want to belittle the value of the result obtained by the Laguiller candidacy, but one cannot draw any conclusions from the difference between the two vote totals as to the respective strength of the organizations or their effective influence in the day-to-day class struggle. These remain essentially what they were before the election.

6. The nearest equivalent in British or American terms is to "stand down" or "withdraw" a candidate.—IP

7. To really understand the FCR's election campaign, we advise everyone who can do so to read through all the issues of *Le Quotidien Rouge* [the daily *Rouge*], which was published every day for three weeks. We think it was a particularly successful example of a revolutionary daily—militant, full of life, attractive, without sacrificing anything in necessary political firmness.

lar virtue in itself; it can stimulate workers' militancy, but it can also at other times serve to stifle that militancy. Is the Union of the Left a "popular front"? Let us avoid a somewhat metaphysical debate, for truth is always concrete—including the truth about the politics of the reformist parties. For a very long time the Social Democrats, and for a lesser period, the Stalinists, have had a reformist political line that serves the capitalist system. They have long sought to collaborate with the bourgeoisie, even in the government. That does not mean that every political line of the Social Democracy or Stalinism must be called a "popular front." We had not a popular front but a "*Union Sacrée*" [Sacred Union] government in 1914 in France and several other countries, the Churchill coalition government in 1940, and governments of "*national union*" in several European countries in 1945, and today in Portugal. The German government headed by Ebert in November 1918 did not include a single bourgeois minister, but that did not prevent it from assassinating Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. The reformists' politics are always reformist, but they assume specific forms that vary according to the political and social context. These forms must be analyzed each time in order to determine the appropriate tactic to combat the reformists' politics, if one does not want to make an abstract and ineffectual criticism. Let us look at the differences between the Popular Front of 1936 and the Union of the Left of 1974.

The Popular Front was a policy initiated in Moscow. At that time the Kremlin, in order to defend itself against Hitler's Germany, was looking for capitalist countries similarly threatened by Germany, with a view to establishing an alliance; and to this end, the workers' parties sought to ally themselves with big bourgeois parties in order to establish governments that supported Soviet diplomacy.

In France, an alliance was formed with the Radical party, which was at that time the *main party* of the bourgeoisie. The openly proclaimed objective of the Popular Front was to defend bourgeois democracy

against the growing fascist threat. In the 1936 elections, which assured the victory of the Popular Front, the Radical party obtained about a third of the votes of the Popular Front, coming second behind the Socialist party and ahead of the Communist party. The situation today is quite different on all these points. The French CP is still linked to the Kremlin, but the latter, owing to a different world situation, deals directly with bourgeois governments that take their distance from Washington. The Kremlin supported de Gaulle and Pompidou, and in the very midst of the recent election campaign, the Soviet ambassador in Paris publicly took a position (through a diplomatic ploy) in support of Giscard, arousing unconcealed anger from the Communist party. The Left Radicals are only the remnants of the Radical party, which is itself in ruins; they got 2% of the vote last year only because the Socialist party took them as their own candidates in about forty constituencies. As for the program of the Union of the Left, its authors—the SP and CP—present it as a short stage toward a socialist society. We do not believe that statement, but you cannot fight the Union of the Left without showing that it is illusory.

The Popular Front was the form reformist politics took during the rise of fascism. The Union of the Left is in fact a response by the workers' parties to the workers' upsurge that has been developing since May '68. It is an attempt to channel that upsurge by presenting it with a "common program" that would enable the workers to proceed to socialism along the peaceful, parliamentary road. That is the fundamental fact from which the revolutionary Marxists determined their electoral tactic on the second round. Let us note in this connection the mishap of the Lambertists who, last year, were raging against Mitterrand as a bourgeois politician who had taken over a workers' party, and against the Union of the Left on the pretext that it was a "popular front." In the presidential election, they were so afraid of being cut off from the masses that they called for voting for Mitterrand beginning with the first round—forgetting that he was a "bourgeois politician" and calling for

voting for him as "the first secretary of the Socialist party" and not as the candidate of the Union of the Left! Everyone in France understands that standing down in support of another candidate is not a vote for his program, but who can understand the Lambertists' vote on the first round, as if there were a difference between the SP's program and the Common Program.

The thrust of the masses toward socialism has taken many forms in France, from workers' mobilizations like the Lip struggle, to the mobilizations of the Larzac peasants and others. Electorally, it has been expressed in the Mitterrand vote. To refuse to vote for Mitterrand on the second round, or to abstain, was to refuse to help the masses if possible to go through the experience of the Union of the Left as the best, if not the only, way to rid them of their electoralist, parliamentarist, and reformist illusions—the intervention of the revolutionists helping them to go through this experience. Such a refusal would have been political infantilism, as Lenin explains in "*Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*," in words that everyone should read again. Not to vote for Mitterrand on the second round would have been to replace political action with sermons on socialism. In fact, to advocate abstention would have been to vote for Giscard, which would have meant cutting ourselves off from the workers for many years, without the least hope that the future would bring any justification whatsoever.

While the Union of the Left is not an alternative solution for the bourgeoisie today (since no bourgeois current worthy of the name supports it), it can become one tomorrow, with or without bourgeois ministers, in the event that the stormy rise of mass struggles threatens the bourgeois order. That was the theme developed by the campaign of the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire [FCR—Revolutionary Communist Front, the French Trotskyist organization]. But if a campaign of this nature can awaken the interest of the masses and alert them to the danger, it will not convince them. That will only come through their experience in the class struggle itself, and this will happen in the clear-

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est way with the reformist parties in power.

The Outlook After Giscard's Election

In the immediate period ahead, Giscard, having made some rash promises and having only barely won, will need to exercise caution. From the haphazard composition of his government, one can conclude that he will not have an easy task in realigning the bourgeois political structures. In the coming months we are going to see not only the breakup of the UDR, but also splits and regroupments within the National Assembly and the various bourgeois political groups. Barring the unforeseen, a certain amount of overhauling will have to be done in this area, and above all, the UDR delegation will have to disintegrate further, before Giscard can proceed to staging legislative elections. In the meantime, in other matters he will make some gestures that don't cost much, such as a small increase in the legal minimum wage, giving youth the right to vote at 19, and lowering the retirement age. But, as soon as it's a question of going a bit further, of responding more to the demands of the masses, the phony liberalism of the new president's first days will disappear, and he will resort to the repressive policies of his class, which is big business. It is symptomatic that he used former members of the OAS, the Ordre Nouveau gangs, and the CFT, for his marshaling squads during the election campaign. Those who have just lost their former masters in government, the SACs and

CDRs,⁸ will not fail to join these elements.

The Union of the Left was essentially a bloc to elect a government. What will happen to it now that there are no elections scheduled before 1978? If there had been a real electoral defeat, we would very likely have seen within a few months a loosening of this bloc, followed by its decomposition. But no one considers that there was a defeat; the SP and CP leaders think that victory is now within reach. The leaders of the CP even have the satisfaction of seeing that people are no longer frightened at the possible presence of Communist ministers in the government. All the Socialist party leaders are praising Mitterrand to the skies for having, through the partnership with the CP, strengthened their party beyond all hopes. In addition, while the masses were disappointed, there is no discouragement among them. Everyone is waiting and even preparing for big economic struggles at first, and nobody doubts that the new regime (if one can describe what has just inherited the "UDR-State" as a regime) is in no way a stable phenomenon. The outlook for major, generalized struggles does not exclude a perspective among the masses, and in the general staffs of the Union of the Left, of participating in elections—quite the contrary. Thus the May 19 election will not have any negative

8. SAC [Service d'Action Civique] a far-right semi-official "parallel police" organization, originating in the Gaullist movement. CDR [Comités de Défense de la République], Gaullist rank-and-file combat organizations.

repercussions on the Union of the Left. Lecanuet's appeals to the Socialists to break with the CP will remain unanswered. The pressure of the masses remains so strong that Mitterrand himself was obliged to say shortly after the election that the struggle will continue, and that there will be no truce. That obviously does not mean that the reformists of the SP and CP have changed, or will change. They are impelled to talk that way because of the situation.

A situation in which even the least politicized workers feel their strength, want a change in things, and have a credible perspective of a government based on their organizations, is full of possibilities for the revolutionary Marxists. An appreciable force already exists to the left of these organizations. Any shifts and crises among the mass of the workers and their organizations will be much more likely to take place toward the left than toward the right. More than ever, the revolutionary Marxists will base their policy on the perspective of major social and political crises. They will thereby prepare the masses for the big confrontations that are coming.

It must also be remembered that the presidential election occurred in the context of a more or less generalized upsurge of the workers' movement in Western Europe: the British miners' strike, which largely contributed to the fall of the Tory government; the fall of the Salazarist dictatorship in Portugal; the setback of the Christian Democracy in the divorce referendum in Italy; the big strikes in Denmark, etc. The European governments are all very weak, and the crises of leadership among the bourgeoisie are increasing. The relationship of forces would enable the workers to go very far, were it not for their leaderships. Such situations can only lead to gigantic struggles. Confrontations are approaching not only in France. Western Europe is now one of the hottest points of the world revolution. The task of the revolutionary Marxists in France is not theirs alone, but the task of all the revolutionary Marxists of Europe and the world—to prepare for the generalization and unification of the struggles of several hundred million workers in a section of the globe where the hour of socialism has struck.

June 2, 1974

Intercontinental Press

Was Slain SLA Leader a Police Informer?

By Harry Ring

[The following article is reprinted from the June 14 issue of *The Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist weekly published in New York.]

* * *

Los Angeles

At a news conference held in San Francisco May 10, a warning was made that if it were up to the Los Angeles police department (LAPD) and certain other officials, Donald (Cinque) DeFreeze, leader of the Symbionese Liberation Army group, would not be captured alive.

The police shootout in Los Angeles just one week later certainly gives credence to the charge that was made. Watching the television coverage of that incredible police attack, it was apparent that no serious effort was made to capture the entrapped SLAers alive.

It was asserted at the San Francisco news conference that DeFreeze had been an informer for several years for the Los Angeles police and for state prison officials. It was also asserted that revelations of such association with DeFreeze could prove so politically embarrassing that these officials wanted him dead.

It was further asserted that the LAPD and then Los Angeles district attorney Evelle Younger had intervened on nine occasions to keep DeFreeze out of prison and prevented his extradition to New Jersey and Ohio, where he faced charges including kidnapping.

These charges were made at the San Francisco news conference by author Donald Freed and the Citizens Research and Investigation Committee (CRIC), for which Freed is a principal spokesperson.

Freed edited the book *The Glass House Tapes*, which is mainly about Louis Tackwood, who two years ago revealed himself as a Los Angeles police informer and provocateur in the Black liberation movement.

CRIC was established at that time to check out Tackwood's story and

make public his revelations and accusations concerning the police.

CRIC has conducted an investigation of the alleged relationship between DeFreeze and the LAPD and other agencies. It has made a number of assertions concerning this relationship, for which it states it has corroborative evidence. It has called for a public investigation and declared it is ready to turn its findings over to an independent investigative body.

Without examining the evidence CRIC says it has gathered, it is impossible to judge the substance of its assertion that the CIA and California police officials contributed directly or indirectly to the formation of the Symbionese Liberation Army.

But the committee has made available sufficient documentary evidence to establish that on at least one occasion DeFreeze did act as an informant for the LAPD. The record also poses a serious if as yet unanswered question on how he was able to avoid imprisonment for a number of years even though convicted on various occasions of charges that normally would bring heavy sentences. Each time he was arrested he was on probation, and with each new conviction he was simply given an added period of probation.

(It is worth noting that the *New York Times*, which has the resources to check out such matters, did run a story May 17 reporting the facts of DeFreeze's record of encounters with the Los Angeles police. While the *Times* did not credit CRIC, its reporting confirmed the findings made public by CRIC in this regard.)

Both CRIC and the *Times* report that almost all of DeFreeze's arrests involved possession of weapons or bombs or both.

These are some of the facts reported.

DeFreeze was convicted in June 1967 for possession of two bombs and a pistol. Although he already had a previous record, he was given three years probation.

Six months later, in December 1967,

DeFreeze was arrested on the complaint of a prostitute who charged, according to police, that he threatened her with a pistol and demanded money.

The police said that when they arrested DeFreeze they found him in possession of several stolen weapons.

According to the official account, DeFreeze escaped and was recaptured four days later.

Then, police records state, DeFreeze led them to an accomplice, Ronald Coleman. At that time, police assert, they found a cache of 200 stolen weapons.

The cop who arrested DeFreeze was Ronald Farwell, then assigned to a stationhouse in Watts. Subsequently he was assigned to the undercover Criminal Conspiracy Section of the LAPD. (Louis Tackwood alleged that he worked as an informer and provocateur under Farwell's direction. Farwell is now assigned to the "Public Disorder Intelligence Unit," a spinoff of the Criminal Conspiracy Section.)

Following this arrest, DeFreeze was jailed briefly, and psychiatric officials reportedly recommended he be imprisoned because a "fascination with firearms and explosives made him dangerous."

DeFreeze was given an additional five years probation.

Both CRIC and the *New York Times* report indicate that DeFreeze's supplying of information to the LAPD did not end with the Coleman arrest.

In a May 10 statement responding to the CRIC news conference charges, Los Angeles Police Chief Edward Davis denied that DeFreeze had served as an informant for the department. The chief stated that "interviews with our investigative officers indicate that we did not use DeFreeze as an informant except when he volunteered in the '67 case."

Be that as it may, there certainly seemed to be an unusual official attitude toward DeFreeze.

During the period of 1968 to 1969, DeFreeze was picked up in the Los

Angeles area three times on charges involving burglary, theft, and gun possession. There was no disposition of these charges.

In May of 1969 DeFreeze was allegedly involved in a kidnapping and extortion case in Newark, N.J. In October of that year in Cleveland he was captured on the roof of a bank building reportedly in possession of a burglar kit and various weapons, including a grenade.

Cleveland officials released him on \$5,000 bond and DeFreeze allegedly jumped bail, returning to California.

A month later, Nov. 17, 1969, he was wounded in an exchange of gunfire outside a Los Angeles Bank of America branch. He was convicted of having stolen a cashier's check and this time was sentenced to prison. According to CRIC, he was sentenced to a term of five years to life and sent to Vacaville.

It was there that he joined the Black Cultural Association and was permitted to develop his own program within the organization, called Unisight, for the purpose of studying the Black family. Prison visitors, including whites, were permitted to participate, and according to CRIC and the *New York Times* it was from this group that the SLA developed.

In December 1972, DeFreeze was transferred to Soledad. After being there for three months, according to CRIC, he was given an unusual boiler attendant assignment in a minimum-security area of the prison. He escaped the first night on the job.

A prison spokesman denied he was permitted to escape.

Clearly there are many unanswered questions involved in the entire case. Police officials are contributing little to clear them up. In response to the allegations made by CRIC, LAPD Chief Davis, in addition to his somewhat ambiguous denial that DeFreeze was an informer, chose to launch a smear attack on Donald Freed.

"Donald Freed," Davis said, "was a founding father of the Friends of the Panthers and helped incite that group [the Panthers] in their violent revolutionary activities, which resulted in their arrest and prosecution in this city in 1969."

Translated, that means Freed was active in a group that sought to rally support for the Panthers at a time

when police across the country were carrying on a grim campaign to destroy them.

Davis continued to respond with smears when the American Civil Liberties Union protested the police operation in which the six SLAers died.

The Super-Snoops

Washington's Political Police

"It has been said of J. Edgar Hoover that in his prime he had more admirers than any other American and that he was the most popular unelected public official in our history. In terms of power, he was certainly large. Director Hoover was not only the nation's police chief; he filled a far more important post—he was its minister of internal security, an office of tremendous, if unacknowledged, power which he held continuously in six administrations. And from this base he organized a totalitarian-style political police force, developed a Congressional and mass constituency that sheltered him from interference or control by his nominal superiors, and harassed and blackmailed critics and enemies. . . ."

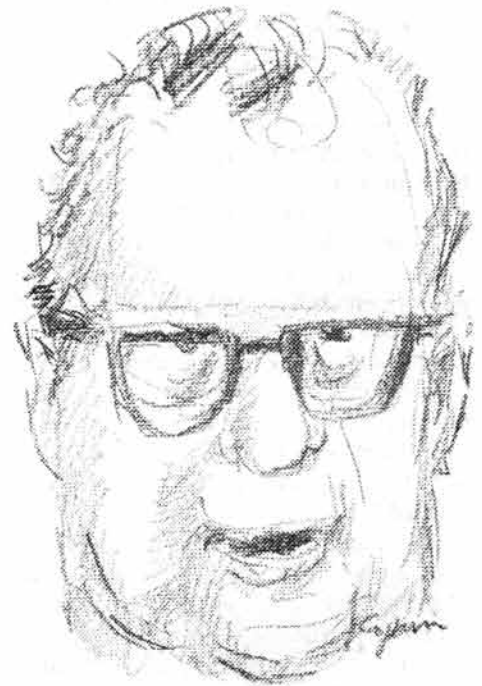
Thus civil-liberties attorney Frank J. Donner begins an article, "Hoover's Legacy," in the June 1 issue of the liberal weekly *Nation*. One of the myths of U. S. democracy has it that there is no such thing as a political crime in the United States: Dissidents, it is claimed, are never imprisoned for their views but only for some overt act in violation of written statutes; the U. S. judicial system makes no distinction between political prisoners and ordinary criminals.

Donner dispels at some length the myth of the "nonpolitical" Federal Bureau of Investigation, demonstrating that under Hoover and his successors the FBI is in fact a political police. Interestingly, there is little or no statutory authority for the FBI's function as Washington's guardian of the domestic status quo. The agency itself has generally traced its "mandate" to spy on political dissidents to a 1939 executive order by President Franklin Roosevelt that asked local and state police to cooperate with the FBI in

Davis told reporters he had predicted that the Communist Party would charge the police with excessive conduct, apparently assuming this would suffice to link the ACLU with communism in the public mind.

Chief Davis apparently thinks he's still living in the 1950s. □

apprehending saboteurs and German spies. This lack of legislative authority would seem to be an advantage, rather than a handicap: A law prescribing the functions actually performed by the



KELLEY: Wants "stand-by" powers.

FBI would be subject to relatively easy challenge in the courts.

Certainly the lack of enabling legislation has not hampered the construction of an extensive political police apparatus, as Donner demonstrates.

"The primary intelligence target," he writes, "is communism; it is also the standard by which the bureau measures the subversive character of other targets. This 'old Left' category includes the Communist Party U. S. A. (CPUSA), the Trotskyist Socialist

Workers Party (SWP), the Progressive Labor Party (P.L.), the Revolutionary Union (R.U.) and other sects, committees, leagues which espouse a revolutionary goal and base themselves on Marxist models: Soviet, Maoist or 'Third World.' . . .

"A connection with such a target group, no matter how tenuous in character or remote in time, *ipso facto* qualifies a subject for surveillance. Marxist groups are typically monitored more thoroughly than are other targets: more infiltrators, deep-penetration agents 'in place' for many years, wiretapping. In addition to covert surveillance, various overt forms of surveillance are routine: physical supervision, interrogation of third parties (landlords, bank managers, neighbors, employers, teachers), photography, tape recording, etc."

Such overt surveillance, of course, is less concerned with gathering information than with encouraging, directly or indirectly, employers, landlords, etc., to take reprisals against the intended victim.

Donner cites some of the documents that have come to light as a result of the lawsuit by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) against Nixon and the federal government. The FBI has admitted conducting an "SWP Disruption Program" that included such elements as questioning the employers of members, wiretapping, and the recording of names and addresses of persons who wrote to the party. During his brief sojourn as acting director of the FBI, L. Patrick Gray acknowledged such a "mail cover," claiming that it was made legal by the presence of the SWP on the notorious attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations.

"He apparently thought," Donner observes, "that the fact that the SWP had been listed by the Attorney General somehow gave the bureau *carte blanche* to monitor its mail. But if the organization was already on the list, what purpose would be served by further surveillance? Did the bureau perhaps contemplate developing evidence to indicate that it should be removed from the list?"

Other documents, released as a result of court action brought by an NBC television newsman, have shown the existence of an extensive disruption program aimed at the Black nationalist movement. (See *Interconti-*

mental Press, March 25, p. 332.)

One of the documents defines the goals of the program as being to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" nationalist organizations and "their leadership, spokesmen, membership and supporters." Does "neutralizing" a leader such as Malcolm X or Martin Luther King contemplate such methods as assassination? The document is not that specific, but there is every reason to believe that it does.

Donner describes a number of cases in which FBI provocateurs set up a victim for arrest—or summary execution by local police.

In May 1970, for example, Larry Ward, a young Black man in Seattle, was shot dead while allegedly attempting to bomb a business office. Ward had been paid by an FBI informer to plant the bomb. The informer later said he had assured the FBI that Ward was unarmed. Seattle police said that three messages from the FBI about the planned bombing all failed to mention this fact.

One of the techniques for attempting to discredit political dissidents is the selective leaking of information—factual or invented—from the bureau's supposedly sacrosanct files to friendly journalists. One FBI memo on nationalist groups instructs agents:

"... When an opportunity is apparent to disrupt or neutralize black nationalist, hate-type organizations through the cooperation of established local news media contacts or through such contact with sources available to the Seat of Government, in every instance careful attention must be given to the proposal to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited through the publicity and not merely publicized. . . .

"Many individuals currently active in black nationalist organizations have backgrounds of immorality, subversive activity and criminal records. Through your investigation of key agitators, you should endeavor to establish their unsavory backgrounds. Be alert to determine evidence of misappropriation of funds or other types of personal misconduct on the part of militant nationalist leaders so any practical or warranted counterintelligence may be instituted."

Donner is pessimistic about the prospects for controlling, let alone abolishing, Washington's political police:

"The almost predictable failure of Congress to deal with this question of towering importance, the bureau's political police functions, may well be regarded as ratifying the existing system, an ominous and possibly irreversible commitment which may permanently threaten the structure of freedom in this country. Meanwhile, the intelligence community is closing ranks: [FBI director Clarence] Kelley has appealed for stand-by 'counterintelligence' powers, [Attorney General William] Saxbe is considering a revival of the Attorney General's list, and HISC [House Internal Security Committee] is furiously proclaiming that we stand naked to the enemy, and has rushed to the support of the bureau's jurisdictional claims."

But it should be kept in mind that these reactionaries are so eager to expand the scope of the political police because they recognize the continued spread of the radicalization in the U. S. population—a process that contributes to a growing unwillingness to permit the existence of a political police. And Donner's article will itself contribute to this process. □

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The Repression in Yugoslavia Today

By Bob Thompson

Since 1948, the year the Soviet Union broke off relations with Yugoslavia, the latter country has developed a society that has some distinct features in comparison with the other bureaucratized workers states in Eastern Europe.

The most important difference is the principle of "self-management." Factories, institutions, and universities function in accordance with this principle, which means that in local—mainly economic—questions, decision-making takes place at the local level. But in political, cultural, and national economic questions, the power to make decisions lies in the hands of the leadership of the Yugoslav League of Communists.

The following example will illustrate this point. When deepgoing economic reforms were projected in the mid-1960s, the party leadership made no effort to install a democratic, planned economy. Such an economy would have called into question the bureaucracy's privilege of planning the economy. Instead of relinquishing this privilege to the workers and peasants, the party leadership chose to adopt an economic reform that included, among other things, the introduction of market mechanisms between the various enterprises, and the opening of the country's borders to capitalist investment.

Yugoslav society today is a contradictory phenomenon. There are contradictions between the self-management principle and the power of the party elite. There is the contradiction between the new "middle layer" of technocrats and petty bourgeoisie (a stratum that resulted from the economic reform) on one hand and the workers and peasants on the other. This new middle layer has amassed relative wealth in comparison with the workers and peasants, who have been hit hard by the heavy inflation of recent years.

In 1973 the rate of inflation reached 20 percent, and this year it is expected to hit 30 or 40 percent. Unemploy-

ment is also a grave problem. According to different sources, between 300,000 and one million Yugoslavs have had to emigrate in search of work, many of them to West Germany, France, and Sweden. Housing is another problem of considerable pro-



TITO

portions. In a country of 20 million people, 700,000 families do not have an apartment of their own, and another 700,000 live in substandard housing.

In recent years the nationalist currents have gained wide influence. The reason behind this is the social differentiation between the workers and peasants and the new middle layer, as well as that between the relatively developed provinces in the north and the poor provinces in the south.

Since the big student demonstrations

and the occupation of the University of Belgrade in June 1968, more and more students and workers have started to demand an extension of self-management. The philosophical review *Praxis* has published some critical analyses of contemporary Yugoslav society, pointing to the contradictions between the vision of socialism and the present reality. Demands have been raised for the extension of self-management, for the reduction of the power of the bureaucracy, and for a halt to the growth of the new middle layers.

The representatives of these views are now being attacked by the party leadership. In recent years, Tito has expelled many independent-minded workers and intellectuals from the party. In Serbia, for example, 1,300 party officials lost their jobs in the spring of 1973. Constant pressure has been put on the group around *Praxis* for several years. The editors have been expelled from the party and have had their passports taken away. Issues of *Praxis*, as well as books by its editors, have occasionally been censored. Recently a book by the Belgrade sociologist Zaga Golubovic was banned after being sold in the bookstores for two weeks.

Eight professors of philosophy and sociology at the University of Belgrade, some of them members of the *Praxis* editorial board, are now threatened with dismissal from their jobs at the university. Those best known in the West are Mihailo Markovic and Svetozar Stojanovic. The reason for their persecution—which has temporarily ceased during the party congress because of the attention from the West this event will draw toward Yugoslavia—is their criticism of the regime.

To facilitate the dismissals, the bureaucracy has changed the criteria for university employment. Formerly only a professor's academic record was considered. Now, as a result of pressure from the government, the rules have been changed to permit political criteria to be taken into consideration as well.

The professors have been under constant pressure from the party during the spring, evidently in preparation for their dismissal. Daily attacks in the newspapers, on radio and television, and at meetings have accused them of pseudo-liberalism, anarchism, statism, and of misleading the stu-

dents.

The most important reason the eight have not as yet been dismissed is the powerful support they have received from the students at the school of philosophy in Belgrade. They have also been supported by colleagues in Yugoslavia and abroad, and by the students in Zagreb and Ljubljana. The student organization at the school of philosophy in Belgrade voted last year to go on strike if the eight were dismissed. This decision was reaffirmed at several meetings during the spring.

The regime has systematically attempted to demoralize and demobilize the students. It is widely believed that the University of Belgrade has been systematically infiltrated by the secret service since early 1972, when three students were arrested on charges of "Trotskyism." Students having difficulties with their studies have been promised continued access to the university if they inform on other students. Monitoring devices have been found in the lecture halls, and one or two students have been arrested each month. This surveillance has had a certain demoralizing effect—especially on the students of other schools at

the University of Belgrade—but the school of philosophy has not backed down on its threat to strike.

In addition to student support, there are several other reasons the professors have not been fired yet. First, Tito is very concerned about the image of Yugoslavia in the West. The image of a socialist country with a human face has to be kept up.

One example of Tito's concern about international opinion is the fact that he recently invited three leading members of PEN [the international writers' organization] to his cottage outside Belgrade in May. Those invited were the chairman of the club, V.S. Pritchett; former chairman and Nobel Prize-winner Heinrich Böll; and Swedish author Per Wästberg.

Second, the regime evidently wants to extend the repression to include the editors of *Praxis* in Zagreb, a process that takes time. Finally, the international solidarity movement has had a certain effect on the decisions of the bureaucracy.

The most likely perspective is that the regime will attack the professors in the summer when the students are

scattered, the party congress is over, and Tito is back from his June trip to West Germany. It is possible that the philosophy faculty will be closed down, reorganized, and reopened in the fall without the dissident professors.

The right of the eight to employment at the University of Belgrade is not a question that concerns only them, a point Tito has understood perfectly well. If the eight professors and the current around *Praxis* are forced to cease or reduce their present activities, it will mean a considerable weakening of the left in Yugoslavia. Criticism of the regime within the framework of a socialist viewpoint would then be shown to be impossible. A positive solution to the present problems—that is, a solution in the interests of the workers and peasants—would then be more difficult to achieve.

If the eight win, however, it will serve to spur other groups to follow their example. The debate on "what kind of socialism we want" would then be revitalized, raising the question again and again in the coming years. □

Supported Trudeau Government

Where NDP Leaders Went Wrong in Parliament

By Ray Warden

[The following article is reprinted from an election supplement to *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto.

[The July 8 elections in Canada were called May 8, when the Conservative party joined the New Democratic party (NDP—Canada's labor party) to defeat the budget proposal of Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.]

* * *

NDP leader David Lewis officially kicked off his 1974 election campaign in Toronto May 19. "In this campaign," he told a crowd of cheering supporters, "we are going to pose the blunt and increasingly urgent question: Who rules Canada?"

The NDP leader wasn't long in an-

swering his own question. "Under Liberals and Conservatives," he said, "the corporations run Canada." The two parties get "millions of dollars" in corporate money; they are bought and paid for.

"The corporate thumb lies heavily across the governmental institutions of our country," the NDP leader charged.

"Canada cannot have a genuine social democracy until the power to make economic decisions is wrested from the hands of the corporations and placed in the hands of the people through a parliament and a government which have removed the corporate thumb."

Those are fighting words. But Lewis has no criticism to make of the program and strategy his caucus pur-

sued over the last parliament. The NDP leaders formed a voting bloc with the Liberal party and helped keep Trudeau in power for 18 months. In supporting the corporations' government, they claimed to be "making parliament work."

In fact, Lewis is unhesitatingly boastful about his parliamentary record. Throughout the last 18 months, he says, the NDP has shown that it is "one of the major parties in this country." The NDP, claims Lewis, "has gained stature in this parliament." In making parliament work, "it has proven it is a reliable and responsible party."

Parliamentary Allies

For 18 months, the NDP caucus

was the reliable ally of the Liberal party. Had they maintained their independence, in firm opposition to the government, they might have correctly cast their votes in favor of particular government measures, when these offered some benefit to working people.

But the NDP leaders purposefully maintained the Liberals in power, and gave them political support. The parliamentary caucus acted as an appendage to the Liberal party. It embellished the Liberals' legislative program, and muted its criticism of the government.

"You cannot condemn the government for some of the things that you feel you ought to condemn it for, in a way in which you'd like to do it," Lewis confided to a national television audience on Feb. 5, "when you're refusing to vote it out of office." In maintaining the government in power, the NDP leaders are forced to share responsibility for its record—and defend it.

When you're refusing to vote it out of office, admits Lewis, "you cannot make the demands on the Trudeau government that you know he is not going to accept." The political needs of labor were subordinated to the parliamentary bloc with the Liberals. Labor's political leaders, so-called, allowed themselves to be bound hand and foot to the policies of the corporations' government.

For allowing themselves to be hogtied, the NDP leaders claim to have extracted important concessions from the Liberals. In a speech to the Peel County riding association, only two weeks before the election call, Lewis made one of many speeches full of praise for the record of the Trudeau government.

'Making Parliament Work'

"Taken together as a package of legislative achievements," the NDP leader said, "I have no hesitation in saying that they are greater accomplishments achieved in 18 months than any obtained by recent majority governments over four years." They are measures "this parliament was able to accomplish with the initiative and assistance of the NDP caucus," Lewis boasted.

Lewis showed little restraint in heaping praise on parliament's "accomp-

lishments." He waxed eloquent in listing the reforms implemented over the last 18 months for his Peel County audience: increased pensions and family allowances; cuts in personal income tax; subsidies to offset increases in the prices of bread and milk; improvements in the National Housing Act; stepped-up controls on foreign investment; an export tax on oil; and controls on election spending. Lewis went on and on.

Trudeau himself could hardly have been more lavish in his praise of the accomplishments of the last parliament. The prime minister gleefully quoted long excerpts from Lewis's Peel County speech to the House of Commons during the budget debate. "If they want an election on that," he taunted the NDP leader, "then we'll have an election on that."

Trudeau claims it was his government, not the New Democrats, that "made parliament work." As for Lewis's boast to have "inspired" Liberal policies, Trudeau answers, "For 18 months the NDP prospered by loudly demanding things that the Liberal government was doing anyway." The NDP leaders offered the Trudeau government support and credibility in the eyes of the Canadian workers. In return he offers them not so much as a "thank you."

Miserly Reforms

From the standpoint of working people, whether the Liberals or the NDP leaders are "credited" with the collection of miserly reforms introduced by the last parliament is a matter of indifference. The best measure of the Liberal government—and its Social Democratic partners in "making parliament work"—is the falling living standard of Canadian workers and the profit ledgers of the government's corporate backers.

After all, how do the pitiful increases in old-age pensions and family allowances measure up against the requirements of the aged, and low-income families? How does a five percent reduction in personal income taxes stack up against ten percent inflation? What good are minor changes in housing legislation, when buying a home is beyond the means of most working people, and the land speculators and developers reap windfall profits?

Who has benefited from the energy

policies implemented by the Liberal government, with the backing of the NDP caucus, except the petroleum monopolies, and Canadian industrialists, who have been guaranteed fuel supplies at prices slightly below the international rate? Yet Lewis hails the government's petroleum export tax as a victory for working people.

In making excuses for their voting bloc with the Liberal government, in the face of pressures from labor's rank and file for an independent course, the NDP leaders present this rag bag of reforms as an important victory for working people. But the package of legislative reforms the NDP caucus claims to have won from the Liberal government, in exchange for its support, do nothing to stem capitalism's voracious assault on working people's standard of living. Their "make-parliament-work" strategy has been tested in life, to the cost of the entire labor movement.

Real wages are falling in Canada. They were falling over the entire period of the last parliament, while the corporations were making record-breaking profits. The NDP helped "make parliament work"—but it worked in the interests of big business, and the Liberal party, not for working people.

A Pressure Group

The NDP was founded in opposition to "Liberal-Labor" politics. The rank and file of the trade-union movement recognized that workers needed their own party, independent of the Liberals and Tories, to pursue labor's interests and fight for power. The NDP leaders cut across that aspiration for independent labor political action with their parliamentary alliance. In their support for the Liberals they reduced the NDP from a party striving for power on the federal and provincial levels, into little more than a pressure group groveling for crumbs from the Liberal's corporate table.

No parliamentary bloc with a capitalist party can serve working people's interests. The Liberals and Tories are agents of the corporations, as Lewis is saying in this election campaign. They are representatives of the capitalist ruling class, who own and run Canada's economy in the interest of maximum profits, for every ounce of sweat they can drain from working people, at the lowest possible wage.

"Pressure" from a group of NDP MPs will not change this.

The interests of big business and labor are fundamentally irreconcilable. Every penny of capitalist profit is robbed from the workers' pockets. Only uncompromising struggle against the capitalists and their parties can advance the position of working people.

Labor can have no truck or trade with the capitalist parties. No worker should vote for the capitalist parties at the ballot box; no representative of labor should lend them support in parliament. It is only through independent labor political action that workers can win real power.

Who Rules Canada?

"Who rules Canada?" Lewis asks. "The corporations," he answers.

Power resides in the ownership of capital. The capitalists control Canada's mass media, the educational system, all the means of indoctrination in capitalist ideology. This ruling class exercises power through the state machinery which they control — the army, the police, the courts, the upper echelons of the civil service, all tied to the corporate bosses by a thousand strings.

The state is administered by the cabinet, handpicked from the most reliable politicians capitalist politics has to offer. Parliament does not rule. It provides Canada's rulers with the facade of sharing their power with working people.

How illusory, then, is the "balance of power" which the NDP leaders claim to have been exercising in the last parliament? They had no power. They were pawns in Trudeau's game of making parliament work in the interest of big business.

But the NDP leaders fetishize parliament. They worship it, and have no conception of politics except within its confines. They attempt to make over the NDP in the image of the capitalist parties, an electoral machine at the service of parliamentarians. Rather than basing their program on the fundamental needs of working people and rallying support behind it, they adapt their policies to the lowest common denominator of media-induced opinion, in an endless scramble for votes.

Lewis rightly denounces Canada's

corporate rulers. He spouts off reams of statistics on capitalist profit gouging. But he has no serious perspective of struggling for power. His program is limited to the piecemeal reform of the capitalist system.

Attack on Working People

With the current inflationary spiral, created by capitalism to maximize corporate profits, big business has launched a ferocious attack on working people. As leader of labor's party, Lewis has the responsibility to mobilize working people in fighting back.

The last parliament provided the NDP leaders with a big opportunity. Their illusory "balance of power" position focused public attention on their every move. But rather than use the parliamentary stage to build support for a program of struggle against the capitalists and their parties, the NDP crossed class lines to maintain the big business government in power. They tried to make capitalism work, to reconcile the interests of workers and those of the corporate bosses.

No sharp policy disagreement with the Liberals led the NDP leaders finally to break their bloc with Trudeau and vote against the government's budget. Their capacity for collaboration with the Liberals over the past year and a half had proved almost limitless.

Rather, the NDP leaders were feeling the pressure of growing public resentment against the government, and increasing restiveness in the labor movement, fueled by the runaway cost of living. Their support for Trudeau was becoming a millstone around their opportunist necks. Rather than allow their parliamentary careers to go down with the Liberals' falling public support, the NDP caucus decided to break the parliamentary bloc.

The Road Ahead

But in voting against the Liberals, they have not abandoned class collaboration. Just as they refused to use the parliamentary stage, now they refuse to use the electoral podium, to carry a serious fight in defense of workers' standard of living. They refuse to use the election campaign to build workers' struggles for big mid-contract wage increases and cost-of-living escalator clauses. They refuse to campaign in this election for the

nationalization of the corporate profiteers. For all their anti-corporate rhetoric, they are completely reconciled to continued capitalist rule. They will not use the election campaign to build independent workers power.

"I predict a minority government," says Lorne Nystrom, the NDP MP for Yorkton-Melville. Nystrom's prediction was shared by most NDP MPs interviewed by the *Toronto Globe and Mail* shortly after the Liberal government had been brought down by the no-confidence vote. According to the *Globe's* reporter, "Some members suggested that the NDP was likely to gain an appreciable number of seats, but these rosy predictions were few."

The last parliament "has been an unusual situation for everybody," says Doug Rowland, the NDP MP from Selkirk. "We've set up some patterns of behavior that worked well, but they were new and untried." With yet another minority government, he thinks, the "new patterns of behavior" can be consecrated.

The cause of the labor movement cannot be forwarded by crossing class lines: at strike pickets, at the ballot box, or in the parliamentary chambers. But the NDP leaders are willing to "make parliament work" again, in bloc with one of the capitalist parties.

The class-collaborationist course of the NDP leadership must be repudiated. The labor movement has no interest in pursuing some phantom "balance of power." The ranks of labor must rally behind the NDP in this election, and demand that their leaders lead a serious fight for power. The task is to wrest real power from the corporations and their political agents on Parliament Hill, campaigning to bring the NDP to power on a socialist program. □

Poor Agnew

Former Vice-President Spiro Agnew recently sold his suburban Washington house for a reported \$300,000, after having bought it fifteen months earlier for \$190,000. The spectacular profit may not have been entirely due to his wide knowledge of finance and real estate. A government report suggests that part of the increase in the house's value may have come from the \$175,569.19 in improvements, including a \$40,650 fence, added at the taxpayers' expense. In a settlement worked out with the government auditor, Agnew agreed to repay \$400 for carpeting and \$700 for air-conditioning units installed in the house.

What Colonial Students Are Fighting For

[The following interview was given to Gerry Foley on May 14 by Salomé, a spokesperson of the African students occupying the former Procuradoria dos Estudantes Ultramarinos at 84 Avenida da República in Lisbon. The interview took place in the occupied institution and was in English.]

* * *

Question. What effect has the fall of the Salazarist regime had on the students from the colonies?

Answer. There are many students from the colonies studying here, but before April 25 they never expressed any opinion about the situation in the colonies or about politics in general. The repression was very strong—particularly against them. After April 25, things changed a little. And so all the students from the Portuguese colonies in Africa decided to meet and discuss among ourselves, especially about the colonial problem and the new political situation in general.

We had a meeting in the school of medicine in Lisbon, and we decided to occupy the old Procuradoria dos Estudantes Ultramarinos because it was an institution devoted to training the students from the colonies in the fascist ideology. We approved a statement of principles and marched from the school of medicine to this place. When we arrived here, we occupied the facilities and immediately began an assembly to discuss and analyze the situation and see what concrete measures we would take.

Q. You are still discussing what concrete measures you intend to take, it seems?

A. Yes. We had just begun our meeting when an officer came here and asked what was the matter. We told him that we had decided to occupy these facilities, and he said that many processes of occupation were developing like this one. He said he would explain to the junta what was going on. An hour later, another officer arrived to tell us that the junta had

asked us to send a delegation to inform them of our demands.

The assembly decided not to send any commission, essentially because we knew that if the PIDE [the political police] has been abolished here, it has not been in the colonies. We decided that one of us would take our declaration of principles to the junta. But this person would not be identified. The next day another officer came here to tell us that the junta was asking us to send a commission to inform them of what we intended to do and what our aims were. So we decided to send a committee, which was received by a representative of the junta.

When this committee showed the junta's representative our program and our declaration of principles, he said that in a general way he agreed with everything but that there were some things that were objectionable. He said that the junta could not accept the name that we had given to this place, the Casa dos Estudantes das Colónias (Colonial Student House) because this endangered the unity of the government.

Q. Does this mean the unity of the Portuguese state as they view it, that is, as a state in which the colonies are an integral part?

A. I think he meant the unity of the Military Movement.

Q. That is, there were some elements in the junta that would not accept this name?

A. Yes, some elements would not accept it, no matter what. But some others would accept it. And so it endangered the unity of the junta. As regards the fourth point of our declaration of principles, the junta's representative said that they accepted it as a political expression but that they didn't agree with it. As regards our program, we said that we wanted to control this institution on our own. He said that this was not possible because it was an organ of the state and that we had to have a representative of the junta present here. The as-

sembly decided that it would not accept any such representative, because we were quite able to control all the services here.

Another committee was elected to go to the junta and tell them about our decision. Before this the junta's representative told us that the government could not enter into negotiations with us since our position was based on an act of force. We had to evacuate these facilities before there could be any agreement. The committee reported back to the assembly, which decided not to leave. We would not put our political principles in the background. We would not stay here if the name were changed, because when we said that we wanted this place called the Casa dos Estudantes das Colónias, we were assuming a political attitude. And so we couldn't give it up. When the new committee went to tell the junta that we were not going to leave, the junta accepted everything. The representative of the junta gave us a statement saying that we were allowed to stay here, and all the payments would be taken care of. Up to then, everything had been stopped, including student grants. But what has really happened is just that the junta has decided not to use force against us, because the colonial problem is one of the most important problems, if not *the* most important, the junta faces.

So, the junta is handing this problem over to the provisional government [not yet installed at this time], and all these negotiations will have to be carried on with it. We are sure of that.

Q. Where do things stand now? I think there was a representative of the junta here this morning to check the books or something like that. Are they leaving you more or less alone? Or is there a certain pressure from the government still?

A. The representative of the junta has only come here to solve some problems. A commission will be formed including some of us, the junta's representative, and some of the directors here, in order to solve the material problems, such as payment of the staff.

Q. Another person here told me this morning that you have tried to make contact with the African immigrant

workers here. He said that there were about 20,000 workers from Cape Verde. Is that just in Lisbon or in all Portugal?

A. In Portugal, but most of them are here in Lisbon. That is a problem that preoccupies us. There are many workers from the colonies here, especially from Cape Verde. One of our aims is to begin a process of politicalization of the Cape Verdian workers here, and also the new students coming from the colonies. We want to call their attention to the situation in the colonies, because what concerns us most of all right now is the problem of the neocolonial solutions that are being proposed. In our statement of principles and the motion we accepted here, we declared in the strongest way that we would not accept any neocolonial solution.

Q. That means that you are opposed to General Spínola's concept of a federation?

A. Yes. We are strongly opposed to the solutions proposed by General Spínola—and not only General Spínola.

There are many other parties and sectors of Portuguese political life that propose neocolonialist solutions. And we are opposed to all of them. We demand immediate independence for the colonies.

Q. What about the murder of Amílcar Cabral? Are you demanding an investigation of his murder?

A. Yes, although we know more or less what happened. It was a plot and we know perfectly well that General Spínola was one of the persons involved. We think it is important to clarify this question.

Q. What kind of a response have you gotten so far from the Cape Verdian workers in Portugal?

A. On May 5 there was a meeting here with the Cape Verdian workers and then a long demonstration here against the colonial war. But we have not yet begun serious work among them. We are really interested in that; we think it is very important.

Q. Do the African workers have any

organizations of their own?

A. No, not yet.

Q. What about trade-union organization?

A. No, not even that. I think one of the most important things now is to tell the African workers to go to the trade unions and ask for the same wages as the Portuguese workers. The wages are not the same now. These are the first demands.

Q. What about support from Portuguese left groups? Have they offered you any help?

A. No. This was a spontaneous movement by all the students from the colonies. It is natural that some students have a preference for one or another group, but there have been no contacts between us and any of the Portuguese groups.

Q. Do you support any specific solutions for Portugal, or do you confine your demands to the question of the colonies alone?

A. We know that the problem of the colonies cannot be solved separately from the revolution all over the world. It is in this framework that we see the total independence of the colonies. And we think that while we are here in Portugal, it is our duty to fight against capitalist exploitation. That is our ultimate aim, to fight against every kind of exploitation. We don't want independence only so that our people can be exploited by Blacks instead of Portuguese colonialists, by a new bourgeoisie. For us, it is not a matter of Black or white; we are opposed to any kind of exploitation. And it is in this sense that we are opposed to any neocolonialist solution.

Q. Do you believe that the Salazar system has been smashed in Portugal?

A. Something has obviously changed. When Marcello Caetano had the power, we could not have been here. We couldn't talk about these things. But the essential remains, because we don't think that capitalist exploitation ended. That's obvious.

Q. Did the students from the colonies

participate in the May 1 demonstration under their own banners?

A. Yes, of course. We have done this in all the demonstrations.

Q. What banners did you carry?

A. We had banners against the colonialist war, against capitalist exploitation. We concentrated on the question of the colonial war because we think it is the main problem now, independently of our being from the colonies. We had banners saying "power to the workers."

Q. What about racism in Portuguese society? You already mentioned wage inequalities.

A. There is no legal discrimination. But in the case of the workers, they have to work much harder than Portuguese to prove that they are not lazy negroes. And they usually are not paid as well as the Portuguese. I think the Portuguese people themselves are racist. It is quite understandable. I remember a speech by Salazar, for instance, where he said that the Europeans could not leave Africa because the Africans could not assume any responsibility. And this is a notion which, consciously or unconsciously, most Portuguese hold. While the people may not be racist in some ways, they are often paternalist, which I think is another form of racism.

As for the workers, I can talk about the ones from Cape Verde; most of them are from there. To come here, they have to find money for the passage. Sometimes they have to pay as much in interest as the amount they need. So, when they arrive they have to send money to their families to pay back their passage money.

Q. Whom do they borrow the money from?

A. From the priests, or from the commissions.

Q. Do the priests charge interest?

A. The priests usually charge less interest than the others, but they only give money to those who live the kind of lives they advocate. The workers also have to send money back to their families, and here in Portugal

they live in very bad conditions.

They live almost entirely on rice and potatoes. They don't eat meat or fish.

Q. Is there a Cape Verdian district in Lisbon?

A. No, they usually live where they work, in shack towns.

Q. What actions are you planning now?

A. Since we are sure that we will have to fight against the Provisional Government in order to stay, we must inform the whole population about what is going on. So, we have formed committees to go to the schools, to the factories, and to the population in general to tell them what is going on here.

Q. What kind of response have you gotten from the Portuguese people themselves?

A. We have gotten support essentially from the students. But we have not yet been able to inform the rest of the population. After we hold the mass meeting we are planning, we will be able to say something about the reaction of the Portuguese people.

Q. What is the situation of the political prisoners in the colonies?

A. I think that all of those imprisoned for their political beliefs alone have been released. But the fighters from the liberation movements have not been released, and the junta told us that they could not be because they were prisoners of war.

Q. Do you intend to develop a campaign to force the junta to release these prisoners?

A. I am sure this will be one of our tasks, but so far nothing has been planned. For one thing, we do not know if this institution will continue to exist. The junta's representative has told us that the present overseas ministry will be abolished and replaced by some kind of "interterritorial" ministry that would coordinate activities in the different areas. Then, there would no longer be an institution for students from the colo-

nies but only for Portuguese students in general.

Q. That doesn't mean, does it, that you would accept giving up your own institution just because the government changed its form of administering the colonies?

A. No. We cannot give up our principles. We think we are students from the colonies, and we won't give up this principle. We have seen that during this entire process, the junta has been trying to get us to forget our principles. For example, we were under a lot of pressure from students who wanted their grants. The junta used this to try to get us to accept resumption of the payments before anything had been said about our program and our political demands. But we did not accept that, because in our negotiations with the junta, we can't let our principles get lost while our people are fighting in the colonies. We know for example that there have been many demonstrations in the colonies, by the people, who are against the neocolonialist solutions and who support the liberation movements. And just because we are here and not there, we can't get absorbed in negotiations. We have to be firm in our principles.

Q. Obviously then you do not give unconditional support to the junta like the Communist and Socialist party.

A. Oh no, we are radically opposed to that, because we are quite sure of what the junta wants. We know that

the Military Movement was necessary for the Portuguese capitalists because the old government was not what they needed any longer. Furthermore, there was increasing pressure on the Portuguese government from the other countries to change its policy toward the colonies. Here in Portugal, the discontent of the great majority of the population was also growing. The struggle in the colonies was also mounting. There were many factors that produced the Military Movement.

We also know that the colonies are important for Portuguese capitalism. So, we are sure that exploitation of the African colonies will go on, even if the form changes. We cannot accept any solution that maintains this exploitation. We cannot say that the junta knows what it is doing about democratizing the country and restoring freedom, because we also know what this democracy and this freedom mean. We can say that some of the Portuguese people are getting more freedom and more rights, but we know that the exploitation of the Portuguese workers still goes on.

Q. Are you critical of the Communist and Socialist parties, then, for their attitude of unconditional support for the junta?

A. Yes. And I can give you an example of what happened at the May Day demonstration. There were some leftist groups that wanted to speak also. And the Socialists and the Communists that were there did not allow it. We have always criticized these alliances that forget about the real interests of the Portuguese workers and the people from the colonies. □

Kleindienst: Sentenced or Given Award?

In March and April of 1972, then Attorney General Richard Kleindienst testified before a Senate committee that was investigating the connections between a promised \$400,000 campaign contribution from ITT and a favorable settlement of an antitrust case against the giant corporation.

Kleindienst, a leading "law and order" spokesman for the Nixon administration, was asked whether he had been subjected to any White House pressures to settle the case. He denied that he had been.

In the wake of the Watergate scandal, however, it was learned—and Kleindienst admitted—that at one point Nixon him-

self had called his attorney general and ordered him not to file a planned appeal to the ITT case.

But Kleindienst was not charged with perjury. On May 16, the special prosecutor allowed him to plead guilty to a single misdemeanor. Kleindienst was sentenced June 7 to one month in prison and a \$100 fine—both suspended. The judge called Kleindienst a man of the "highest integrity and loyalty throughout his life," and said he was "universally respected and admired."

Kleindienst told reporters later that he was "very humbled and very flattered" by the judge's remarks. □

CP's Opportunist Role in Australian Election

By Jim Percy

[The following article is reprinted from the May 25 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney.]

* * *

Along with other minor candidates who stood at the May 18 elections, the Communist party of Australia (CPA) fielded senate candidates in three States. Along with most other minor candidates, they will lose their deposits.

But revolutionaries don't run in elections just to get back their deposits. Perhaps there is some merit in the CPA campaign that deserved the support of socialists. This is certainly the position taken by Denis Freney, national committee member of the CPA, writing in that party's pre-election issue of its paper *Tribune*: "One would have thought that other groupings on the left who pose as more revolutionary than the CPA, would have given some support, even if critical, to our Senate campaign, and particularly to Jack Munday. But all 'trotskyist' groups without exception feature 'Vote Labor' as their main election slogan."

Direct Action campaigned in the elections around the slogan: Vote Labor! Fight for socialist policies! We saw the main issue to be whether a party based on the trade unions, a workers' party in this sense, was to retain office or whether the parties of the bosses were to return to government. We pointed out that the Labor party could not change society—the Labor leadership and the program of the ALP were committed to act within the framework of capitalist society. So against the reformist program of the Labor leadership we posed our own socialist program.

There will be no socialist change until the overwhelming majority of workers and oppressed struggle for it. At present they are oriented to and have great illusions in the Labor party. We say, as Trotsky did in speaking of the British Labour party: "The Labour party will deceive you and betray you but you do not believe us. Very well, we will go through your experiences with you but in no case do we identify ourselves with the Labour party program."

By taking this orientation we recognize the need to struggle for our ideas in this arena. Merely standing on the sidelines shouting is not nearly so effective in winning Labor supporters to a revolutionary program.

Now there is nothing wrong with revolutionaries running candidates to further

the aim of winning support for revolutionary ideas and struggles. But the central problem in Australia is winning the masses from the ALP. It is clear how abysmally the CPA has failed at this with their independent campaigns during the last forty years. Even with their massive trade-union strength of the late '40s, the CPA gathered only a minuscule vote. Clearly their past orientation has not worked for them.

But this has been the basic thrust of their electioneering for May 18. The emphasis has not been on struggling with and exposing the Labor leadership but on the weird priorities of the CPA campaign. "Vote Red for a Green Australia" reads the central campaign slogan. With this stuff the CPA is divorced from the struggle and can win few Labor supporters to its ideas. Throughout the CPA campaign it was noticeable that it separated off support for a Labor victory and their own campaign. On page three of *Tribune* there would be an editorial comment supporting Labor because of its "progressive" policies. Then there would be separate articles on the merits of the CPA candidates. The campaign was never integrated, the fight against the Labor leadership not taken up.

But all this is begging the question. We do not simply "pose" as more revolutionary than the CPA, as Freney puts it. It is not a question of degree. If the CPA had a revolutionary strategy and program we would vote for it. But right now it has all of the ALP's deficiencies and none of its advantages.

Let us for instance just turn back the pages of *Tribune* one page from Freney's article in the issue of May 14–20 to an article entitled "Libs Would Sell Australia to Multinationals." Here we read:

"Attitudes to overseas takeover of Australia is one of the greatest policy differences between the Labor and Liberal parties. In this area the basic interest of the Australian workers coincides with those of expanding capitalism in Australia, in keeping out the ocean of financial invasion of overseas monopolies." (Emphasis added.)

Seldom would one see such a clear statement of the CPA's line in this sphere. The CPA says that the interests of workers are tied up with the interests of their own bourgeoisie. The Aussie capitalists are somehow better than foreign capitalists. This is the sort of line that leads straight to the class treachery of supporting your local ruling class when it is fighting a war with a foreign capitalist class. It is a counterrevolutionary policy

through and through. Workers' interests do not and cannot coincide with our local bosses—they coincide with the interests of workers internationally, including those in Southeast Asia and the Pacific that our local expanding capitalism is seeking to exploit.

We can even see this basic failure to understand working-class politics in Freney's article:

"It [*Direct Action's* electoral position] also contrasts with their ill-informed vitriol directed against supposed 'Popular Fronts' in Chile and elsewhere. No good in Chile—but in Australia, 'Vote Labor'!"

The Allende Unidad Popular government in Chile represented a class-collaborationist front of workers' parties and a bourgeois party. It misled the working class into a deathtrap. Revolutionaries must condemn this sort of politics since it fails to maintain the independent politics of the working class—it crosses class lines. The CPA supported Allende and his disastrous experiment, and still do.

The Labor party is not in an alliance with the Australia party or the Liberals or the DLP [Democratic Labor party]. It is principled to vote for it. The CPA does not understand this basic question, it seems. How then can they call themselves revolutionaries?

And just what is the revolutionary program of the CPA that we are being asked to take a stand on? Is it Munday's style of trade unionism or Laurie Carmichael's? Is it the pro-Zionist wing on the Palestinian question or the pro-Palestinian? *Tribune* has not taken a clear stand. What about their position on the USSR and China? Does the CPA still belong to the same "international Communist movement" as Brezhnev's party?

Under the impact of the youth radicalisation, the CPA has adapted, and adopted some progressive policies. But it remains trapped by its past and in the same camp as before. Their position on Chile demonstrates this for all to see. Even Freney seems to recognise this when he refers to the Socialist party of Australia [a pro-Moscow split from the CPA] as the "truly stalinist party in Australia." (Emphasis added.)

Yes, we do agree the SPA is more truly slavish, but that does not make the CPA revolutionary.

So far is their campaign from being revolutionary that the CPA even gets caught up in the parliamentary game. We are urged, in the quote above, "particularly" to vote for Jack Munday. Why? Is it because they think Munday is "so much better," that what we need in parliament is "good men" to put things right? Should we vote CPA or Munday? Is the idea to get Munday elected or to counterpose a revolutionary program? Freney gives the game away when he talks of ALP people "who are doing what they can quietly to win votes for Jack Munday." This is sheer electoralism. They don't want to stand up and be counted for the CPA's policies but "Jack's a good bloke,

let's help him in, etc." In the same breath Freney has the hide to say we "pander to electoralist illusions."

The lengths the CPA was prepared to go to in their desire to "get Jack in" are illustrated by their half-page ad in the *Australian*. The heads read: "Keep Australia Green, Elect Jack Munday, Australia's most effective conservationist." All the demands raised are so abstract that anyone from the Australia party to the ALP to the CPA could readily agree with them. But it is hardly a fight for socialist policies. In fact, you have to read the very small print at the bottom to tell it is a Communist party advertisement. Probably most people think CPA stands for Conservationist party of Australia.

After this, Freney has the hide to say that *Direct Action* raises the demand, "Fight for socialist policies," as an "afterthought." The issue of *Tribune* this appeared in had as its front-page headline: "Put the lid on the Libs." After this and the blatant opportunism of the campaign advertisement, it hardly seems worth discussing.

But we will persist in spite of Freney's accusation that we spend most of our time

attacking the CPA. This is not true of course, but it is good to see that some of our criticism is taken to heart. Before the 1972 elections and in the 1973 New South Wales State elections, the CPA advocated giving their preferences to the Australia party.* We spent a little bit of our time attacking this. The AP is a bourgeois party led by multimillionaire Barton and his ilk. This time the CPA allocates, albeit a little apologetically to their friends in the AP, their first preferences to Labor. At least that is progress.

To wind up his article, perhaps feeling he's not getting through, Freney throws in some epithets: "reformist," "sectarian," "unprincipled." This is called projection. We are not sectarians who stand aside from the struggle to win Labor supporters to

*Australian voters are required to list all the candidates for an office in the order of preference. In close elections, voters' second or even third choice may be decisive in determining the outcome. Parties normally recommend to their supporters a particular order of preferences. — IP

socialism, we are not unprincipled crossers of class lines who support local capitalism, we are not reformists who run crass opportunist campaigns to "keep Australia green and put Jack in."

Freney, in a fit of bravado, ends up: "Let the militant workers and students judge."

Well they certainly did. Munday's 0.4 percent is not exactly progress. Moreover, except in working-class areas where the CPA is well organized or where there is a big student population, Munday did better in the Liberal-held seats than in the Labor strongholds. In the Sydney area, the average vote for Munday in Liberal-held electorates was 254. In all Labor-held seats it was 231. Excluding the electorates with high student concentration—Sydney, Kingsford Smith, Phillip, and Grayndler—the average vote in Labor-held electorates was only 175.

Yes, workers judged and understood the need to vote Labor. More and more they will come to understand the need to fight for revolutionary policies and reject the class collaborationism of Whitlam and Company. Unfortunately, the CPA campaigns will not help them do this. □

Who Are the Real Targets?

Mao's Campaign to Criticize Confucius and Lin Piao

By Kate Chang

[The following is a translation of major excerpts from an article that originally appeared in *October Review*, a Trotskyist journal published in Hong Kong.]

* * *

Since February of this year, the Chinese Communist party has formally called on the people of the entire country to wage a struggle "to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius." The chief target of this struggle is obviously not two dead men.

It is true that any elements of the Confucian feudal ideology should be swept away, but socialism has been the predominant ideology in China for a quarter-century. Could remnants of Confucianism seriously threaten the existence of the CCP regime?

The charge that Lin Piao wanted to restore capitalism is neither logical nor supported by any concrete evidence. And even if he had wanted

to do so, why would he have selected a 2,000-year-old ideology as his vehicle?

Moreover, piling up the charges against Lin, which are intended to explain his alleged betrayal and liquidate his influence, is equivalent to the CCP accusing itself of a terrible mistake at its ninth congress in 1969, in which Lin was officially declared "Mao Tsetung's closest comrade in arms and successor." This leaves the party the task of explaining how it could render two completely contradictory verdicts in such a short period.

Why, then, did the CCP suddenly call on the entire party, army, and people to wage such a struggle?

The CCP has admitted that the current campaign is closely related to "the current class struggle and the struggle between two lines" (*Renmin Ribao* editorial, February 2, 1974). That is to say, the immediate target of the struggle is the current opposition. This opposition comes from

different currents, such as various army commands, party cadres of various levels, young intellectuals, and the worker and peasant masses. To factions inside the CCP, this struggle presents an opportunity to attack the country's top leaders and their policies in order to win dominance for their own faction in the party, government, and army.

Although the CCP has purged many factions, new factions are continually being formed. Mao has liquidated a number of his old comrades-in-arms and established his own dictatorial rule, but opposition inside and outside the party still exists. The position of the ruling bureaucracy has not been consolidated, but weakened.

This situation is reflected in the CCP's publications. For instance, in the article "Party Members Should Strengthen Party Discipline" in the January 1974 issue of *Hongqi*, the author emphasized that "no party organization or party member can set up another center and do another

thing"; "the dividing line between our party and all bourgeois careerists and conspirators is to support or to split the party center headed by Chairman Mao, to execute or to sabotage Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies"; and "we have to resolutely carry out . . . Chairman Mao's policy."

This indicates that there are party members who not only express doubts about Mao's line but actively oppose it.

The same editorial charged that "Lin Piao lashed out at the 'May 7' road, slandering cadres' going to take part in physical labor as a 'disguised form of unemployment.'" Cadres who oppose this labor program are thus branded as supporters of Lin Piao.

The army, especially high-ranking officers who gained considerable strength during the Cultural Revolution when they were used by Mao to beat down the ruling faction, was itself seen as a threat to the party center headed by Mao. For this reason, in early January a large number of commanders in important military areas were transferred, and some were stripped of their additional duties as party secretaries or chairmen of revolutionary committees. While this weakened their power, it also increased their dissatisfaction and opposition. Today's campaign is also aimed at these people.

Mao wants to push again the "Three Red Flags" line. The essence of this line is to ask the people to tighten their belts to save for the country while engaging in hard physical labor to produce more wealth. Any policy contradictory to this line can be branded as "taking the capitalist road." The above-mentioned editorial denounced Lin for allegedly saying that the working people only think of "daily necessities" and (on New Year's Day) greet each other "May you become rich." This denunciation attempts to use the current struggle to press working people not to pursue immediate goals and not to demand improvements in their living conditions. Those who do can be branded followers of Lin Piao.

One of the measures to carry out the "Three Red Flags" line is the sending of educated young people to settle in the countryside. A major aim here is to increase the labor force in the countryside. But it also serves the purpose of scattering discontented and

militant youth in isolated and remote rural and mountain regions, so that they cannot crystallize into an uncontrollable opposition.

In our opinion, encouraging young



MAO: Wants youth to learn from the peasantry, not from workers.

people to engage in necessary physical labor should be intended to raise their enthusiasm for socialist construction. This requires that their efforts be voluntary. They should never be forced to go to the countryside, as they are at present. This has made a great number of youth dissatisfied, even to the point of becoming deliberate slackers. Many became rebellious. (Much information uncovered during the Cultural Revolution has sufficiently revealed this sort of reaction from the youth.)

Forcing youth into the countryside not only does not help agricultural production, but also wastes human resources. Many of these educated young people could be trained to become scientists, engineers, and technicians, who are greatly needed in a country beginning to be industrialized. Sending them to the countryside is a

waste of human material that is harmful to the development of the country.

From the viewpoint of youth learning from experience with the most advanced and most revolutionary class, they should be urged to learn from the working class, not the peasantry. By calling on youth to learn from the poor and middle peasants rather than the workers, the CCP displays its own backwardness while creating a false justification for forcing young people into the countryside.

The above-mentioned editorial said that "Lin Piao . . . slandered educated young people settling in the countryside as a 'disguised form of reform through forced labor.'" This charge is another pressure on youth to obey the party's directives, since if they resist going to the countryside, they can be called fellow travelers of Lin Piao.

In the period immediately after the opening of the anti-Confucius campaign, some superficial results seem to have been achieved. The Chinese press claims that under the slogan "grasp revolution, promote production, and promote work," industrial production in many places has surpassed the level of the same period last year, the peasants are hastening the spring cultivation, and many educated young people want to settle in the countryside. These reports only confirm our analysis of the real aims of the campaign.

March 31, 1974

Folk Song Revival in China

Evidence of the thriving folk culture of China's minority nationalities is presented by a recent issue of *Chinese Literature* (Number 4 of 1974), published in Peking. Examples of the distinctive national cultures of the Tibetan and Yi peoples are provided in folk songs of these two minority nations. Here are the final stanzas as transcribed by *Chinese Literature*

From ninety-nine hills we choose the
the whitest camelia
To weave a snow-white *hata*
And long to ride off on rosy clouds
To present this scarf to our dear
Chairman Mao!

— a Tibetan folk song

Today every one of us is a fine singer
We sing all over nine hundred and
ninety-nine hills
Yet we cannot sing all our praise, all
our love for Chairman Mao.

— a Yi folk song

BOOKS

Japanese Imperialism Today: Still Within Washington's Orbit

Reviewed by Ernest Harsch

Washington's role in the rebuilding of Japanese imperialism following its defeat in the second world war was even more striking than the similar U.S. efforts to save the shattered capitalist economies in Europe. From the first year of the U.S. occupation until the present, U.S. imperialism clearly dominated, charting the direction of Tokyo's early economic expansion, working out a division of labor with Tokyo in Washington's efforts to contain and roll back the Asian revolution, and to a certain extent helping "Japan, Inc." realize its "economic miracle" of the 1960s and early 1970s — while at the same time trying to keep Tokyo's renewed economic strength subordinate to its own overall interests. In *Japanese Imperialism Today*, Jon Halliday and Gavan McCormack competently explore this symbiotic — and sometimes antagonistic — relationship between the two imperialisms.

The alliance between Washington and Tokyo began immediately after the Japanese surrender and was made possible by the wartime destruction of Japan. But in the postwar Asia of national and anticolonial upsurges, Washington needed more than a weak junior partner; it needed to help the Japanese imperialists get back on their feet so that they could do their share in protecting capitalism in that area.

"America had begun to turn and crack down on the Japanese working-class movement as early as May 1946," write Halliday and McCormack, "less than one year after the start of the occupation. By 1948 the U.S.A. was already actively seeking out a way to restart Japanese industry at full pitch, and this process was already under way in 1949, fuelled by Washington's hostility to both the Japanese working masses and the Chinese Revolution, which were the two determinants in the process." The outbreak of the Korean war in 1950

further accelerated this process.

Under U.S. guidance, the recovery of Japanese industry occurred first in the area of arms and munitions production. The armaments industry was switched to full production in 1951 to help Washington's intervention in Korea. In the two decades that fol-

Japanese Imperialism Today, by Jon Halliday and Gavan McCormack. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973. 257 pp. \$3.95, paperback.

lowed, especially with the escalation of the Vietnam war in the mid-1960s, Tokyo developed a series of sophisticated weapons designed for warfare in Asia: tanks capable of underwater use in the paddy fields of Southeast Asia, hovercraft vehicles for swamps and jungles, small flying boats, and a new infantry rifle especially designed for the smaller Asian soldiers in Washington's puppet armies.

In the years 1964–1969 (with the single exception of 1967), U.S. Defense Department expenditures in Japan were higher than in Vietnam, reflecting the strategic role of Japan as a staging area for Washington's military interventions into Asia.

Tokyo's part in Washington's counterrevolutionary schemes was not limited to the purely military. Citing the efforts of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in the mid-1950s to promote Japanese investment in Southeast Asia, Halliday and McCormack remark: "The scheme only makes sense in the light of America's comparative [economic] weakness in the area. In spite of the massive imperialist military activity in the area, South-East Asia has not been a major area for investment by the U.S.A.: in 1967 only 2.3 per cent of U.S. direct overseas investment was in South-East



Asia. From America's point of view, Japanese capital was welcome in the area to help tie down reactionary regimes." The Japanese imperialists, of course, were more than eager to accommodate Dulles's scheme.

The year 1965 marked a significant leap in Tokyo's reexpansion into Asia. With Washington heavily involved in Vietnam, it put considerable pressure on Japan "to share the costs of policing the area." In that year Tokyo's relations with Seoul were "normalized," the Sukarno regime in Indonesia was overthrown by U.S.- and Japanese-backed generals — which soon led to the division of Indonesia's vast natural wealth between Tokyo and Washington — and Japanese investment in other Asian countries began to accelerate. By 1969 Tokyo was the dominant foreign investor in Thailand and held significant interests in South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and Hong Kong.

Since Japan has few natural resources of its own and the rapid expansion of Japanese industry required vast amounts of raw materials that could only be obtained abroad, gaining control over these resources was considered by Tokyo a matter of vital importance. This was particularly evident in its moves to acquire new sources of oil, the Japanese market having been dominated by U.S. oil companies since the U.S. occupation. Tokyo's recent moves in the Arab East, the occupation of the Tiao-yu Islands near Taiwan, which are believed to have vast oil fields, and the efforts of Japanese capital, along with Gulf Oil, to gain oil concessions off the coast of South Vietnam, all underline the "new" aggressiveness Japanese imperialism can display when its interests are at stake.

According to Halliday and McCormack, the high rate of capital accumu-

lation in Japan—exemplified by the escalating number of mergers and the growing strength of the *zaibatsu*, the giant industrial and financial monopolies—was made possible by a government-industry cooperation greater than in any other advanced capitalist country. The authors also note that since 1965 Japan has had "the heaviest based industrial economy in the entire world," which lays the basis for its increased competitiveness on the world market and for even greater expansion in the future.

The renewed Japanese competitiveness—particularly in the U.S. domes-



JOHN FOSTER DULLES

tic market—prompted Washington to tighten the reins on its junior partner. The "Nixon shocks" of 1971—the 10 percent surtax on imports to the United States and the cutting loose of the dollar from the gold standard, which led to a revaluation of the yen—did not seriously affect Tokyo's economic expansion, but did indicate that Washington was still calling the shots.

The increase in the prices of oil by the U.S. oil giants, however, was a much more serious blow to Tokyo, and many Japanese economic experts predicted a significant slowdown in the expansion of the Japanese economy. Once again Washington reasserted its hegemony.

"Certainly a sector of Japanese capitalism wants to shake off the American yoke," write Halliday and McCor-

mack. "But the indications are that Japanese capitalism is still essentially subordinate to U.S. imperialism, and that the signs and signals of 'independence' are more shadow than substance. Moreover, it must be repeated that, while Japanese imperialism is a real danger to the peoples of Asia, including the people of Japan, U.S. imperialism is the main enemy, and is

itself largely responsible for the restoration of Japanese imperialism and Japanese militarism."

While a continuation of joint ventures by U.S. and Japanese concerns, particularly in Asia, is in view for the next few years, the seeds of conflict remain and will continue to affect political developments throughout Asia. □

DOCUMENTS

The Situation in Portugal

[The following is an editorial that appeared in the June 14 issue of the New York revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant*.]

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For the past month, the eyes of working people throughout the world have been on Portugal. The on-the-scene reports by Gerry Foley that *The Militant* has printed, as well as accounts in the capitalist press, have testified to the strength of the popular upsurge touched off by the fall of the Salazarist dictatorship on April 25.

The replacement of Premier Caetano by the Spínola regime was a calculated move by sections of the Portuguese capitalist class. In the face of the tenacious resistance of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, they finally decided they had no choice but to try to establish some kind of neocolonial relationship with the African colonies in place of direct rule.

But the need to get rid of the 48-year-old Salazarist dictatorship entailed big risks for the Portuguese rulers and big opportunities for the masses of working people.

With the end of the long decades of stifling totalitarian repression, the masses went into motion. They poured into the streets, rejoicing in the perspective of democratic freedoms and determined to make this perspective a reality.

In the celebrations throughout Portugal, the masses began going into ac-

tion to gain a few elementary improvements. Hundreds of thousands of workers went out on strike when the bosses resisted their demands for higher wages. Rank-and-file soldiers and sailors joined in the mass demonstrations and solidarized with the struggles of the workers for a better life.

Challenges are being raised among the populace to some of the deepest-going prejudices and forms of repression bred by class society. Women are demanding equal rights. Banners have been raised for the right to divorce. Homosexuals are demanding their rights and recognition of their dignity as human beings. The separation of church and state, a key democratic demand in the long struggle in Portugal against obscurantism and authoritarianism, is once again being advanced.

Spínola faced the problem of how to contain this popular upsurge, the logic of which is clearly to challenge the basis of the capitalist private-property system. To succeed in this, the generals needed help. They needed the support of political forces trusted by the workers. Bidding for this role were the Communist Party, the largest of the organizations enjoying the confidence of the workers, and the smaller Socialist Party.

The CP and SP eagerly took posts in Spínola's coalition government, giving full support to this capitalist regime and siding with Spínola *against* the rising popular movement. The Portuguese Stalinists deliberately set out to sabotage the wave of strikes and undermine the mobilization of the



SPINOLA

masses.

With full backing and, no doubt, prompting from Moscow, they have told the workers *not* to move into action for their demands, but to sit back and wait, trusting in Spínola to safeguard their interests at the present time, and eventually to grant some concessions.

Parallel to Russian Revolution

This situation in Portugal is reminiscent of the situation in Russia in 1917. In Russia there was a similar awakening of the masses, the first consequence of which was the downfall of the hated tsarist regime and an attempt by the bourgeoisie to set up an alternative regime to maintain capitalism. And there was a similar betrayal of the masses by the majority party in the workers movement, the Mensheviks, who supported the bourgeois alternative to tsarism.

After the overthrow of the tsar, the Mensheviks leaped at the chance to form a coalition government with the liberal capitalist politicians. The Portuguese Stalinists aped the Mensheviks in groveling for portfolios from Spínola.

In taking responsibility for the capitalist coalition government set up in Russia, the Mensheviks had to *oppose* the demands of the Russian workers and peasants for bread, peace, and land—demands the capitalist government could not grant.

The Mensheviks told the workers

and peasants they should *wait* to press their demands and that the present "stage" was one of "consolidating democracy" rather than fighting for social needs. The Stalinists are echoing this Menshevik policy in Portugal today. The same Stalinist-Menshevik policy of supporting a capitalist government led to defeat in Spain in the 1930s and in Chile last year.

Example of the Bolsheviks

The policies of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky in Russia in 1917 offer valuable lessons for the struggle in Portugal.

The Bolsheviks explained that the capitalist government could not grant the pressing demands of the masses, which could only be won by the workers and peasants establishing their own government and carrying out a socialist revolution.

As is the case with revolutionists in Portugal today, the Bolsheviks were a small minority in the Russian workers movement at the time of the February revolution. The first wave of popular upsurge brought to the fore the old parties, whose authority among the workers stemmed from past work in the underground. But the Bolsheviks had confidence that new experiences in the class struggle would soon teach the workers that the Mensheviks did not represent their interests.

The Bolsheviks demonstrated in action how to overcome the political obstacles that stood in the way of the Russian masses. The example is instructive in light of the broad parallels with the unfolding Portuguese revolution.

Three main areas should be noted:

Out of Africa Now!

The first is the country's involvement in the African wars. Although Russia in 1917 was engaged in an interimperialist conflict, while Portugal has been waging a war of colonial aggression, the parallel holds in many ways.

One of the main reasons the masses switched their allegiance from the Mensheviks to the Bolsheviks was because the Bolsheviks consistently pressed the struggle for an immediate end to the war.

The Mensheviks refused to get out of the war because of their commitment to the coalition government with the capitalists and landlords, who insisted on defending the imperialist interests of Russian capitalism.

Similarly, the Portuguese Stalinists are now providing a "left" rationale for Spínola's maintenance of Portuguese troops in the colonies while he tries to extract as many concessions as possible out of the African liberation fighters.

Portuguese workers, sailors, soldiers, and students—with African workers in Portugal in the forefront—are already raising the demands: Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Portuguese troops and police forces from the colonies! Immediate independence for Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands!

The working unity, now visible in embryonic form, between the workers, soldiers, sailors, students, and urban poor can take clearer shape as demonstrations for an end to the colonial wars gain impetus in face of Spínola's persistence in a neocolonialist "solution."

The soldiers still forced to remain in the colonies are certain to view this process sympathetically and to link up with it. That was also part of the logic of the Russian revolution. This process would also give a big impulse to the intertwined national liberation and class struggles

in the colonies.

The rank-and-file soldiers and sailors, who are directly affected by the wars and who have the capacity to bring them to an abrupt end, will be strongly inclined to resist any renegeing by Spínola on his promises to bring peace. Many will want to assert their democratic rights to hold assemblies to discuss the government war policies, and to demonstrate against the wars and against the sending of new troops to fight in Africa.

No Support to Provisional Government!

The second area in which the Bolshevik example is instructive concerns the government. Spínola's capitalist coalition government is cast in the same mold as the coalition government between capitalist parties and workers parties in Russia in 1917. The Stalinists have merely covered the reality with their particular label, "people's front government," or Spínola's label, "government of national salvation."

In 1917 the Bolsheviks said, "This is not our war, but a war serving the imperialists." And they added, "This is not our government, but a government of the capitalists and landowners." They refused to give such a government an ounce of political support or take any responsibility for its actions.

Against the Mensheviks' coalition with the capitalist forces, the Bolsheviks called for a united front of workers parties. Even when they were a minority in the workers councils, the Bolsheviks called on the Mensheviks, who had a majority, to form a government excluding all capitalist parties. In this way they exposed the treacherous policies of the Mensheviks and won the political confidence of the workers.

A parallel approach obviously holds for Portugal today. The logic of the popular upsurge itself can generate sentiment in favor of the CP and SP ending their support to the Spínola government and taking the road to socialism.

The Bolsheviks called for rapid elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution, as against the Menshevik line of foot-dragging on such elections while they shored up the capitalist provisional govern-

ment.

Democratically conducted elections to a constituent assembly are urgently needed now in Portugal. Why should the masses have to wait for a year, as Spínola proposes, while his self-appointed provisional government moves against the workers movement and refuses to bring Portuguese troops home from the colonies?

In Portugal today the CP has wide support. Why, then, does it not at once get together with the other workers parties and form a government?



CAETANO

What does Spínola represent, apart from elements of the Salazarist regime the people have repudiated? Why should the workers be asked to subordinate themselves to this fascist-trained general and his backers among the monopolists and landlords?

Need for Soviets

The third area in which the Russian revolution offers a prototype well worth studying in relation to the perspective in Portugal concerns giving effective organizational form to the mass struggle.

When the traditional workers organizations proved too narrow to mo-

bilize the required forces, in view of the scope of their struggle, the Russian workers—first in 1905 and again in 1917—organized broad councils (the Russian word was "soviets"). These included all workers, unionized and nonunionized, as well as all allies of the workers—the unemployed, the peasants, and the soldiers and sailors. These councils were completely democratic. Because of this, they were able to centralize the struggles of all the layers allied to the workers and unite their fighting capacities against the capitalists.

Already the Portuguese workers have taken some steps in this direction. In many factories workers have held assemblies on the job to discuss how to defend, utilize, and extend the new freedoms. They moved swiftly against the officials appointed by the Salazarist regime in the government-controlled unions, calling for the establishment of free unions.

Clearly, it is but a small step from this to organizing regular assemblies and interlinking them through councils. And just as clearly, these assemblies and councils would soon become the central arena in which the workers and their allies would discuss all the burning economic and political questions now facing them, and organize to solve them.

Through such councils, for example, the workers could press for greater and greater control over production and distribution where the capitalists proved unwilling or unable both to continue organized production and provide a living wage for their workers. This would provide the best answer to Spínola's charges that strikes mean anarchy or disruption of the economy.

Importance of Leadership

On the political level, the utter unreliability of the Communist and Socialist parties, the treacherous nature of their class-collaborationist policies, and the need to replace them can become apparent to many working-class militants. This would create favorable conditions to organize a new leadership genuinely committed to fighting for the interests of the oppressed and exploited.

Here again the Russian revolution offers immense lessons, the main one being the example set by Lenin in

constructing the Bolshevik Party.

By the sweep of their response to the downfall of Salazarism, the Portuguese masses have already set a new example for the workers of the world—not least of all in Francoist Spain.

Will the Portuguese masses now repeat at the opposite end of Europe

the pattern seen in Russia in 1917? It would be hazardous at this point to say that it is inevitable. But the potential is there; and the perspective that is implied is such as to make Portugal a source right now of the greatest hope and inspiration for revolutionists everywhere. □

'Woe to Revolutionists Who Make a Revolution Only Half Way'

[The following is the text of the speech given to a united-front meeting in Lisbon May 19 by Ernest Mandel. An article describing the meeting appears elsewhere in this issue. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Compañeros,

First of all, I would like to apologize for my inability to speak your beautiful language and for the fact that I will have to speak in Spanish, which I speak very badly. But I hope you will be able to understand some of the things I am going to say in Spanish.

It is a great joy for revolutionists of my generation, after seeing the fall of Hitler and Mussolini, to be able to speak in a Lisbon liberated from fascism. This is one more confirmation that the history of this century is not going in the direction of fascist barbarism but in the direction of socialism and communism. It is a warning to the hangmen of the Chilean and Brazilian military that they will suffer the same fate as the Gestapo and the fate the PIDE [Portuguese political police] must suffer today.

It is no accident that the liberation struggles of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau contributed decisively to the fall of fascism here. For twenty years the center of gravity of the world revolution shifted from the Western countries to the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Throughout this period when imperialism was relatively stable in Europe and North America, the struggles of these peoples helped crystallize a new revolutionary vanguard in the advanced capitalist countries, a vanguard capable of re-

suming the struggle for socialist revolution in the West.

For this reason, certainly, as well as for historical reasons, the unity of interest, the need for international solidarity among the workers, among the exploited, it is an unavoidable duty for the workers and the revolutionary youth in Western Europe to support unconditionally the struggle of the peoples in the colonies, to support this struggle until they win unconditional, immediate, and full independence, and to fight today to stop another cent, another soldier, another ship from being sent to support the colonial war. To fight for the release of all the prisoners in Africa, for the immediate withdrawal of the Portuguese troops from Africa, and for the immediate and unconditional independence of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique.

The new upsurge of workers' struggles in Western Europe that began in May 1968 has today widened the international revolutionary struggle. This fight is no longer limited to the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The upsurge of workers' struggles in the countries of Western Europe puts the socialist revolution on the agenda once again in these countries.

Not only have we seen enormous strikes involving millions of workers: 10 million strikers in France, 15 million strikers in Italy, 5 million strikers in Great Britain. We have seen factory occupations. And not only has the European working class refused to pay the price of the structural crisis of capitalism, the cost of inflation and unemployment, but the workers have raised more radical demands signifying that they no longer accept the authority of management in the fac-

ories, the authority of the bourgeoisie over the economy, and the authority of the bourgeois state over society.

The British miners demonstrated this during the winter by refusing to submit to the laws of the Conservative government, refusing to accept the wage freeze, and creating a situation in the country that in fact forced the Tory government out of office.

This, along with the fact that broader and broader struggles are developing for workers' control and that many workers are looking for general political solutions, indicates that a pre-revolutionary situation is ripening in some countries on this continent. But still more important than the more radical demands being raised are the more radical forms of organization that are being adopted now in many cases by workers in Western Europe. More and more strikes are being led democratically by strike committees elected in general assemblies, strike committees that are beginning to establish coordination among themselves on the local level, on the regional level, and in some instances, already on the national level.

These facts announce a more fundamental turn in Western Europe; they prefigure the rediscovery by the West European workers of the real meaning of socialism. The European socialism of tomorrow will be based on the rule of workers' councils, on the administration of the factories and enterprises by workers' councils, which will be democratically elected and will meet in national and international assemblies, planning their own economy and demonstrating that if the working class is capable of producing all material wealth, it is certainly capable of administering the wealth it produces.

What has been happening in Portugal since April 25 fits perfectly into the general framework of the impetuous rise of workers' struggles throughout capitalist Europe. The Portuguese bourgeoisie, in crisis because of its colonial war, the crisis of its system of political rule, in crisis because of the need to reorient its investments and its finances, sought a tactical solution. The impetuous irruption of the masses into the political scene forced the bourgeoisie to change its plans, to base itself on the reformist formations, on the Socialist party and on the Communist party, in order to try

to hold back the mass upsurge and channel it toward class-collaborationist aims, toward national construction.

But events every day show that it is impossible to find a common interest between the workers and the capitalists, to find a common interest between the poor and the rich, between the exploited and the exploiters. The working class must win and defend its full organizational and political class independence. It must rely only on its own organized struggle and place no confidence in the Provisional Government, which is not its government but a government of class collaboration.

The tragic example of Chile shows that democratic freedoms cannot be defended, that a return to fascism cannot be prevented, by collaborating with the bourgeoisie. We must remember the classic words of the great French revolutionist Saint-Just. "Woe to revolutionists who make a revolution only half way. They only dig their own graves." Listen, compañero leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties. "Woe to revolutionists who make a revolution only half way. They only dig their own graves."

Beware of those who talk about democratic freedoms only when they argue that elections must be postponed. Just as it was in 1944 in France and Italy, it is necessary to demand the immediate abolition of the fascist penal code and the recognition of the unconditional right to strike, to demand the abolition of all the institutions of the fascist period and their replacement by organs elected by the masses. If you wait three or four years, the danger is that there may be no more Communist or Socialist ministers in the government but that the fascist penal code will remain, as was the case in Italy. The mobilizations of the masses and the strikes of the workers must be extended and generalized to win the immediate demands of the working class.

But the unconditional and intransigent defense of the interests of the working class does not contradict in any way achieving the broadest possible united front of all the oppressed, and we must defend the unity in action of the industrial workers and workers on the land, of white-collar workers, of soldiers, sailors, of oppressed

women, of rebel youth; all this great mass is the decisive force that can open the way for the only solution to the historic crisis of Portuguese capitalism, the road of the socialist revolution, the creation of a socialist Portugal in the framework of a socialist united states of Iberia and a socialist united states of Europe.

The Fourth International and its Portuguese organization, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista, are in favor of closer, more intimate unity in action of all revolutionists who oppose in day-to-day struggles the line of the reformists, the line of class collaboration, the line of maintaining the capitalist system and the bourgeois state, and who do so in the name of struggle for the socialist revolution, the struggle for power to the workers and masses of toilers. In this unity in action, the compañeros of the Fourth International, the compañeros of the Liga Comunista, will defend their whole program, the whole program of revolutionary Marxism, which extends from democratic slogans and the immediate demands of the masses, such as the 6,000 escudo minimum wage, the forty-hour week and four weeks of vacation at full pay, to the principal transitional demands such as the sliding scale of wages, workers' control over production, the demand that the parties that claim to represent the working class break

from their coalition with the bourgeoisie and struggle for a workers' government.

In these struggles a great effort must be made to give impetus to the creation of organs of self-organization of the working masses. In this context will spring up tomorrow the workers' councils, the nuclei of a real workers' government.

We are not yet in a socialist revolution. We still have to prepare the way for such a revolution; we still have to take into account that after decades and decades of a fascist regime, the masses have reformist illusions. They still have partial confidence in the reformist parties. They still have to complete their experience with this. In all their tactics, revolutionists must combine unity in action of the working class with calling for no confidence in any class-collaborationist experiment.

If we act in this intelligent and tactically astute way, if we act in such a way that we can convince ever broader layers of the working class of the correctness of the revolutionary line as opposed to the reformist line, we will be able in the months and years ahead to advance toward a socialist revolution, toward the victory of the socialist revolution in Portugal and in Europe. Workers of All Countries Unite! Workers of All Countries Unite!

Colonialist Attack in Cape Verde

[The following is the text of a leaflet handed out in Lisbon by the African students occupying the former Procuradoria dos Estudantes Ultramarinos. They organized a demonstration at the airport to greet one of the victims of a repressive attack in Cape Verde, but the plane carrying the wounded person was diverted to a hospital outside Portugal. Translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Last night, May 19, there was a clash in Praia, Cape Verde, between the population and elements of the colonialist army. Several persons were wounded, three or four seriously. One of these was sent immediately to Lisbon and is to arrive today at 7:25 at the Portela airport.

Similar incidents, in which one person was killed by the police, had also occurred when the political prisoners were released

from Tarrafal.

A climate of extreme tension prevails in the city of Praia because of the presence of the colonialist army of occupation.

Since April 25, the population of Cape Verde has shown its support for its legitimate representative, the PAIGC, commemorating Amílcar Cabral and demanding the independence of Guinea and Cape Verde as one country. The Provisional Government has only mentioned independence for Guinea, trying to divide two peoples united by their history and by their struggle.

These events show clearly that the Provisional Government is using every means, including murder, to achieve its objectives.

The workers and students from the colonies in Portugal, as well as the Portuguese workers, soldiers, sailors and the rest of the Portuguese population, must take a firm stand for immediate withdraw-

al of the troops and immediate and unconditional independence for the colonies.

We must support the peoples struggling in the Portuguese colonies as well as their representatives who have been fighting thirteen years for the independence of these colonies and the end of colonialist oppression.

Immediate and unconditional indepen-

*dence for the colonies
Immediate withdrawal of the colonial
army*

*Long live the independent republic of
of Guinea and Cape Verde
Unity of Guinea and Cape Verde
Long live the PAIGC
Long live Frelimo
Long live the MPLA* □

Portuguese Soldiers Call for Halt to War

[The following letter was published in the June 7 issue of the mass-circulation Portuguese illustrated magazine *Flama*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

We are taking this means to let you know that almost all of the soldiers and officers in Guinea-Bissau have followed the events that have taken place in our country with an intense feeling of involvement, even though we have often been unaware of many of the facts—the newspapers that do reach us arrive late.

Although we are prevented from participating in all that is going on, we have seen the great changes that have taken place in such a short time. Therefore we appeal to you for your help, which can be decisive for us at this time.

We do not want our families to forget about us; we want them to realize that they cannot remain silent while their sons, brothers, and husbands are going off to this war, being killed or mutilated in it, and losing the high moral values of our peoples in which you have educated us. You cannot remain silent while we serve out our long terms of duty in a hell of privation, humiliation, and useless sacrifices that cannot be justified.

So, those of our relatives who read this should use every means available to them to demand that the war be ended without delay so that we can

return at last to be with them; so that we can see our homes again, where there is love and happiness; so that we can see our friends again, who are now united in a more genuine unity than has ever existed. What we ask you to do is what we expect from you as your sons, brothers, and hus-

Soldados Portugueses Piden que se Acabe la Guerra

[La siguiente carta fue publicada en la edición del 7 de junio de la revista ilustrada portuguesa *Flama*.]

* * *

Queremos, por este medio, darles a conocer que la mayoría abrumadora de los soldados de Guinea-Bissau hemos vivido ansiosamente los acontecimientos que han tenido lugar en nuestra tierra, aunque desconocemos muchos hechos, puesto que los diarios llegan aquí con varios días de atraso.

Si bien no podemos participar en todo lo que está sucediendo, sí nos damos cuenta de los grandes cambios que se han verificado en tan poco tiempo. Por eso pedimos su ayuda, que puede ser decisiva en estos momentos.

Queremos, principalmente, que nuestras familias no nos abandonen, y comprendan que no pueden seguir callando mientras sus hijos, hermanos y esposos seguimos en esta guerra, muriendo, siendo mutilados y perdiendo los elevados sentimientos morales y humanos de nuestro pueblo y en los que ustedes nos educaron; viviendo por mucho tiempo en un infierno de privaciones, humillaciones y sacrificios inútiles que no tienen ninguna justificación.

Por eso, familiar que estás leyendo

bands.

We call on you to join with the mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters, and wives of our friends and comrades in our country, in our villages, our towns, our cities.

We call on you to form committees, to form groups to raise a loud outcry and to demand, together with the glorious Junta de Salvação Nacional and the nearer units of the patriotic armed forces, *the immediate end of the war and our immediate return.*

Any of our loved ones who read this should call on the Junta de Salvação Nacional (loudly enough to be heard) to withdraw our troops immediately.

With affection and great concern, we end: "The people united will never be defeated."

Soldiers in Guinea-Bissau

esta carta, debes pedir por todos los medios a tu alcance que se pare inmediatamente esta guerra, para que podamos regresar con nuestras familias; para que regresemos a nuestros hogares, donde hay amor y alegría; para reunirnos con nuestros amigos que, ahora más que nunca, están unidos. Esto es lo que debes hacer, y esto es lo que esperamos de tí tus hijos, hermanos y maridos.

Pedimos que se unan todas las madres, padres, hermanos y mujeres de nuestros amigos y camaradas en toda nuestra tierra, en la aldea, el pueblo o la ciudad.

Formen comisiones, formen grupos que griten bien alto y que, junto con la gloriosa Junta de Salvación Nacional y las unidades más cercanas de las patrióticas Fuerzas Armadas, pidan que se ponga fin inmediatamente a la guerra y que regresemos todos nosotros.

Querido familiar que nos estás leyendo, envía cartas, telegramas, haz llamadas telefónicas, usa todos los medios de que dispongas; pide a la Junta de Salvación Nacional (pero grita, para que te escuche) que ordene el regreso inmediato de todas las tropas.

Con amistad y emoción, *el pueblo unido jamás será vencido.*

Soldados de Guinea

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