

Intercontinental Press

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Hugo Blanco Reports From Portugal **CP Defends Capitalist Rule**



Hugo Blanco Escribe desde Portugal **El PC--Guardián del Capitalismo**

Britain

Demonstrator Killed in Police Riot

Argentina

Perón Urges Campaign Against 'Traitors'

Some Questions for Giscard

[The following article appeared in the May 31 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist weekly. Translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

"You will be surprised," Giscard stated in announcing the composition of his government.

Thus, after the first cabinet meeting of the Chirac government, we learn that there will be no more illegal telephone wiretaps and that the old ones will be destroyed. Which, of course, means that they did exist—under a government that included Giscard—and that they existed under the direction of Raymond Marcellin, a member of the same party as the present president of the Republic.

We are also told that France will open its doors to foreigners, will become a "land of asylum." Which, of course, means that it had no longer been one—with the blessings of a government that included Giscard and under the authority of Marcellin, who was responsible for dozens of entry prohibitions and hundreds of expulsion orders, and who was co-author with Fontanet of the infamous directive limiting the rights of immigrant workers. Well, so be it!

We will take you at your word, Your Highness Prince Poniatowski [Interior Minister Michel Poniatowski]. Are you ready to let all the banned revolutionists enter France? Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International; Livio Maitan, the Italian Trotskyist; Charles-André Udry, the Swiss Trotskyist; Joe Hansen, the American Trotskyist; Tariq Ali, the Pakistani Trotskyist?

And Bernadette Devlin, Cohn-Bendit—will they be able to come and go at will in our country?

Are the French police going to stop directly helping Franco's police hunt down Basque and Spanish militants?

Will immigrant workers be able to enjoy the same rights as French workers?

It's not hard to see the window-dressing that's involved here. What we're waiting for are concrete answers to concrete cases, and there are a lot of these cases after sixteen years of Gaullist dictatorship. □

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Spínola Moving Toward Crackdown on Left

By Gerry Foley

Lisbon

I had a feeling when I left Lisbon early in the morning of May 25 that there would soon be a confrontation between the government, including the Communist and Socialist parties, and the left groups that have opposed the policies of Spínola's capitalist government of national union and class collaboration.

Unlike previous experiments of this kind, such as the postwar governments in a series of European countries or the French Popular Front in 1936-37, a large part of the university youth and intellectuals were openly skeptical about reformist solutions and prepared to advocate a socialist revolution as the only real answer to the problems of the country. Furthermore, in the conditions existing in Portugal since the sudden removal of the repressive Salazarist regime on April 25, the ideas and criticisms of Trotskyist, Maoist, and anarchist groups could reach a mass audience.

The lid was lifted at a time when bourgeois and reformist political structures were still extremely underdeveloped. The Portuguese masses, and in particular the journalists, who quickly acquired a high degree of freedom of expression in their publications, were determined to consider all sorts of political ideas and to engage in an intense process of political debate to make up for the long years of enforced silence.

In this situation, the conditioning against revolutionary ideas, which is deeply rooted in the advanced capitalist countries, and a strong factor everywhere there is a measure of bourgeois democracy, was not as strong in Portugal.

Many of the big bourgeois dailies dutifully carried the statements of the Trotskyist, Maoist, and anarchist groups, as well as reports of their activities and interviews with their representatives. The meeting of four groups May 19 was televised. The entire speech of the well-known Trotskyist leader Ernest Mandel, who spoke

on behalf of the Portuguese Trotskyists in this meeting, was broadcast over the radio and television network.

Obviously, it would not be long before the regime moved to isolate and restrict those groups that openly challenged the government and were particularly dangerous and embarrassing to the Communist party, the main organized political force on which the government can rely and an absolutely essential ally for it at the present time.

Most Explosive Question

In particular, these groups have threatened the junta and its Stalinist and Social Democratic allies by their determination and their ability to raise the most explosive question in the political context of Portugal today—the question of the colonial war.

In the May Day demonstration it was clear that the masses of Portuguese people believed the war was almost over. Hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of persons were celebrating peace.

But almost every day since that time the papers have carried lists of soldiers killed and wounded in the Portuguese colonies in Africa. And it is questionable how long the hoopla over the negotiations can obscure the harsh fact that the colonial war is continuing.

The colonial problem is a matter of life and death for the junta. And the junta does not seem inclined or able to make concessions to the opponents of the war. The regime has announced that the deserters and draft refusers returning to the country will be conscripted into the armed forces and are liable to be sent to the colonies. It could hardly have made a more unpopular decision, or one more likely to infuriate the radical youth.

That was evident at a mass meeting in the Coliseu dos Recreios in downtown Lisbon on May 24. The meeting was called by the same four

groups that sponsored the meeting the previous week where Ernest Mandel spoke: the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League, sympathizing group of the Fourth International); the Unidade Revolucionária Marxista-Leninista (URML—Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Unity); the Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado (PRP—Revolutionary party of the Proletariat); and the Comissões de Base Socialistas (CBS—Rank-and-File Socialist Committees).

The meeting on May 24 was much the same as the one the previous week. There were the same thousands of radical youth (4,000 to 5,000), the same revolutionary chants and gestures. There seemed always to be a section of the audience that was ready to jump up and chant, "Power to the workers," or "Long live proletarian internationalism," and to raise their left fists into the air.

'No Soldiers to the Colonies!'

But the announcement that the government intended to conscript deserters and draft refusers and send them into the colonial war brought almost the entire audience to its feet immediately in prolonged chanting: "Nem um só soldado mais para as colônias" (Not a single soldier more for the colonies). The crowd was photographed by television cameras as it expressed its defiance of the government and its radical sentiments.

At every high point of the meeting, cadres in the front stood up and led chants of "*Todos a Rossio amanhã!*" (Everyone out to Rossio tomorrow). The organizers of the meeting were making a real effort to bring out their following in the next day's demonstration against the continuance of the colonial war.

I could not attend the Rossio demonstration. I had to leave for a week in France. But the impact was quite clear from the French papers. The demonstration drew about 10,000 participants (5,000 according to the bourgeois press). And even the reports in the bourgeois press indicated that many young soldiers, as well as African students, participated.

The action was played up as a semi-insurrection in some French papers. It was claimed that the participants

wanted to free by force a Cuban captain captured in Guinea-Bissau who is still being held by the new government. It was also claimed that the demonstrators intended to seize a radio station.

The May 27 issue of the daily *República*, which tends to reflect the views of the Socialist party, described some clashes that occurred at the vigil for the Cuban Captain Peralta that followed the main demonstration:

"The demonstration of the six far-left organizations (CBS, PRP, LCI, URML, LUAR, and CICS) included about 10,000 persons and in the night of Saturday-Sunday transformed the Largo da Estrela into a hot spot, where one mass meeting followed on the heels of another and slogans against the colonial war and demanding the release of Peralta marked the style of the longest political meeting Lisbon has yet seen.

"The demonstrators were so determined that they did not balk at sacrificing a night, rolled up in sleeping bags. At a certain point the crowd was joined by 300 followers of the MRPP [Movimento Reorganizador do Partido do Proletariado—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian party] and people came from all parts of Lisbon to the Largo da Estrela.

"At 5 p.m. yesterday, Major Casanova, the commander of the PSP [paramilitary security police] in Lisbon, announced that Captain Peralta was no longer in the Hospital Militar Principal at the same time as warning the demonstrators to leave the square.

"At this point, some of the organizations agreed to withdraw, in particular the PRP, as it seemed to consider the Peralta case a secondary issue. It had, however, been the organization that at the Palácio São Bento [the parliament building] had called through its spokesperson for a march on Estrela. The MRPP and the LCI stayed on the spot.

"When the order was given for the (mounted) GNR [Guarda Nacional Republicana—Republican National Guard] and the PSP to act, they moved up two tanks with water cannon and tear-gas launchers. The demonstrators were drenched with water and beaten with clubs. The police advance was met with a barrage of stones. Only a few groups remained to hold meetings. . . .

"On this incident, the office of the chief of staff of the armed forces issued a communiqué that ended as follows: "To avoid giving offense to all those who share in the spirit of its program and want to see it carried out, the armed forces call on the people of Lisbon and their press to refrain from promoting attitudes that in no way serve the higher interests of the Nation."

New Censorship?

This communiqué apparently created a momentary panic in Portuguese press circles whose effects may be long lasting. The threat of a new censorship, I was told, convinced many editors that it was preferable to reinstitute their own censorship of leftist reporters rather than risk a government crackdown. These warnings and pressures from the government seemed to be the first concerted attempt to cut off access to the mass media for groups critical of the government from the left.

Evidently the more right-wing elements in the junta had already grown impatient. For example General Galvão de Melo, one of the members of the Junta de Salvação Nacional, went on television May 27 to make the crudest kind of reactionary appeal, one which seemed to reflect the frustrations of all right-wing elements, including the supporters of the ousted regime:

"I received a letter dated May 22 from one Portuguese person; it could have been written by all real Portuguese men and women. It should be made known:

"To the Junta de Salvação Nacional:

"I supported the program of the Armed Forces Movement and the Junta de Salvação Nacional from the first.

"I don't represent anyone but myself but in the four weeks since April 25 I am beginning to wonder, and I have gotten no answer, whether this is the freedom the Portuguese dreamed of.

"Is this freedom releasing terrorists without a fatherland and making them into national heroes.

"Is it allowing and encouraging manhunts, gratuitous insults, physical abuse, sacking of houses.

"Is it boycotts of some, promoted by the official radio and television stations with shamefully and unrestrainedly biased reports in which the

broadcasters themselves permit themselves the most improper attitudes and torment us with programs whose level sinks below all possible standards, making it impossible to clarify the half-truths and lies propagated by the stations paid for by all of us. And all this has happened without a single broadcaster being suspended, as would have occurred in any civilized country.

"Is this freedom allowing the papers to print ignobly in their columns, which can be read by any child, communiqués of prostitutes and homosexuals, in a demonstration of amorality unprecedented in any country where the values of family and morality have ever existed!"

A communiqué allegedly from a group of prostitutes had appeared earlier in the press, hailing the Armed Forces Movement and offering a special discount rate for members of the military. Despite its patriotic spirit, it seems, this statement was received in a less than friendly way by some sections of the officer corps.

Flowering of Movements

At least one communiqué calling for the formation of a gay liberation movement has been rather widely circulated by the press. There is a flowering of all sorts of movements now in Portugal—ecology movements, women's liberation, educational reform—a ferment of advanced ideas that cannot help but profoundly upset the conservative bourgeois nationalist officers of the junta, as well as the whole traditional right wing in Portugal. It was clearly this ferment that General Galvão de Melo sought to stigmatize with his references to "prostitutes" and "homosexuals."

Although Galvão de Melo's pompous tirade obviously had a limited political effectiveness, arousing as it did memories of the reactionary fascist demagogy of the ousted regime, it was only the opening shot in a much more extensive campaign by the government and its Communist party backers against "perverted" and "anarchistic" elements.

In the northern industrial center of Oporto, Spinola himself launched a general offensive May 28 against all forms of "indiscipline," in particular, strikes and protests by workers de-

manding higher wages and some control over the product of their labor.

"Without peace in the countryside, in the factories, in the streets, and in our minds, unless all Portuguese work together in an orderly way to increase productivity, and without social justice being expressed in the distribution of this product, we will never be able to build the prosperous Portugal of the future, where happiness and well-being will no longer be the privilege of a few, but will come freely into the homes of all Portuguese.

"On April 25 the armed forces restored freedom to the people.

"At that time, all paternalism by dubious elites was ended and the people could express their legitimate aspirations in open dialogue.

"But now that the first month of enthusiastic euphoria is over, it is time for all Portuguese to ponder the fact that a free and democratic society is impossible without civic discipline and mutual respect. . . .

"It is time for all Portuguese to realize that any form of anarchy will inevitably open the door to new dictatorships, to new regimes similar to the one ousted April 25.

"I warn all the Portuguese people that the ideas of democracy and freedom that inspired the armed forces are being criminally undermined by counterrevolutionary forces. These forces, which exist in various sectors of the nation, seek only destruction and anarchy, economic chaos and unemployment; they are trying to carry out the well-known 'scorched earth' policy so that on the ruins of the country's economy and morale . . . they can build something foreign to the fatherland of our dreams."

Spinola spoke to a large crowd in Oporto, since the work of the CP and SP on May Day in mobilizing tens of thousands of workers in unconditional support for the government has guaranteed big popular outpourings for all his public appearances.

Totalitarian Flavor

A few days after my return to Lisbon, I saw a television newsreel of one of these appearances. It had a distinctly totalitarian flavor.

The film began with long scenes of drilling soldiers and prolonged sequences of military music and drum

beats. Then the camera took up position above and behind Spinola. All you could see was his uniform and the crowd and banners in front of him. His face was never shown. The speech ended with shouts of "Long live Portugal!" and renewed fanfares of military music. The waiter in the cafe seemed almost to stand at attention.

I watched this newsreel in a cafe in the industrial part of the city across the river from downtown Lisbon. It was obviously an area where the Communist party had some strength. Their posters were everywhere, big, vapid, coolly professional posters, with patriotic themes in most cases. The Communist party obviously had done its best to promote the nationalist demagoguery of the junta.

The Communist party and the trade-union federation Intersindical that it controls were quick to back Spinola's offensive. On May 29, the CP-controlled federation issued a communiqué warning the workers about "opportunistic elements of the right and extreme left that are exploiting the workers' impatience."

It called for a mass meeting June 1 to demonstrate "total repudiation of the provocative maneuvers of the enemies of the working class as well as solidarity with the Armed Forces Movement that these enemies want to weaken."

When I returned to Lisbon on June 2 there were signs everywhere of a campaign against "ultraleft provocateurs" and "saboteurs." Sometimes it was unsigned posters, other times the announcements for the Intersindical meeting. Politically, the positions of the junta and the CP were identical, so it was hard to tell who was responsible for which posters.

As for the SP, while it did not oppose this campaign, it took a more centrist position, apparently trying to maintain some contact with the more militant elements.

The issue of the French daily *Le Monde* that I read in the plane said that there had been a "relaxation of social tensions" after Spinola's speech in Oporto. The reports in the Portuguese papers tended to confirm that the CP-military campaign has had some effect. There were several statements in the press by groups of workers opposing strikes.

Contradictions Deepening

But at the same time, the contradictions of the present situation in Portugal seem to be deepening. Many small and middle capitalists, especially in the North, who were protected against foreign competition by the Salazarist system as well as guaranteed low labor costs, are threatening to close down and lock out their workers.

At the same time, it can be doubted how popular the CP's campaign for "civic responsibility" is among the workers.

The bourgeois press, whose articles on CP activities outshine even the party press in their enthusiasm, played up the Intersindical meeting as a great success, estimating the attendance at 10,000. In the first place, given the CP's position and the publicity for this meeting, 10,000 itself is not an impressive figure. But other observers estimate the attendance at much less, about 3,000, or less than public meetings organized by the Trotskyists, Maoists, and others.

With the government moving rather rapidly to the right and the contradictions deepening, the mood among the left-wing reporters in particular seems to have taken a pessimistic turn.

It is true that no stable solution seems to be in sight, while the limitations of the junta's democratization are becoming clearer and clearer. After the CP presented it with a vote of confidence on May Day, the government seems now to think that the purpose of the "folk festival" has been achieved and that it is time to "stop the nonsense."

Many of those who had been swept up by the euphoria of the first days were brought sharply back to reality when Spinola allowed his friend Caetano to take an honorable exile in Brazil. This almost universally unpopular "gentlemanly act" made it clear that the junta and the ousted rulers belong to the same circles and showed that the regime is incapable of purging the rightist elements from the state and social apparatus.

The crackdown that followed the Rossio demonstration was the second blow to illusions in the junta. It also showed the nervousness of the junta on the colonial question. The next test for the regime may very well be how it deals with what seems to be a rapidly growing "bring us home" movement in the colonial army itself.

Portuguese CP, Guardian of Capitalism

By Hugo Blanco

[The following is a translation of "El PC Portugués, Guardián del Capitalismo," which appears elsewhere in this issue.]

* * *

Lisbon

Portuguese capitalism was committing suicide with the Caetano regime. As a result, the armed forces had to overthrow it as the best way to save the system.

However, they could not prevent the masses from launching a struggle to achieve their most urgent demands. The military government preferred not to resort to violent repression. They preferred, instead, to use the Socialist party and, above all, the Communist party to restrain the masses.

The CP is devoting all its energy to carrying out that task. CP General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal is one of the ministers without portfolio. Another Communist, Avelino Gonçalves, is minister of labor. Unfortunately, the *Intersindical*, the embryo of a trade-union federation, is also in the hands of this party and is its main instrument for braking the struggles.

In an interview published June 4, Gonçalves made some very telling statements:

"Ideological homogeneity in the government would not serve the national interest better than the differentiations that characterize the provisional government at this time. The fundamental thing was to establish a new governmental coalition that would win the confidence of the great majority of the Portuguese people."

This means that it is better to have a bourgeois government where the CP acts to "win the confidence" of the workers, than a socialist government with "ideological homogeneity."

When asked about the "points of tension" between his ministry and the Ministry of Economic Coordination, Gonçalves answered:

"It would not be correct to speak of points of tension among the minis-

tries. There does exist a serious contradiction between the level of the just demands of the workers and the degree to which it is possible to satisfy them. To overcome this contradiction, a close collaboration between the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Economic Coordination is necessary. This collaboration must be tied to a



ALVARO CUNHAL

clear unity of objectives among the ministries and to a strong popular support. I would say that if 'tensions' exist, they are the road along which a common effort at national recovery must pass."

Who is this minister of the economy with whom a "close collaboration" is necessary within a "clear unity of objectives" and with whom "a common effort at national recovery" is to be made?

He is Dr. Vasco Vieira de Almeida,

who has successively been underdirector, general director, and administrator of the Banco Português do Atlântico [Portuguese Bank of the Atlantic]; administrator of the Sociedade Anónima Concessionária da Refinação de Petróleos em Portugal [Portuguese Petroleum Refining Corporation, Inc.]; vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce; head of commercial missions to Japan and Brazil; author of various articles published in the *Financial Times*, the *American Banker*, etc.; administrator of the Sociedade Nacional de Petróleos S.A.R.L. [National Association of Petroleum S.A.R.L.]; vice-president of the administrative council of the Banque Franco-Portugaise d'Outre-Mer [Franco-Portuguese Overseas Bank]; administrator of the Lissabon Bank A.G. [Lisbon Bank, Inc.]; and president of the Crédito Predial Português [Portuguese Real Estate Credit Association].

As is clear, this gentleman did not do so badly during the previous regime. But now he is serving his class better from the Ministry of Economic Coordination.

Gonçalves, who was a bank employee and union leader during the previous regime, is now serving his bosses' interests better.

We should not find it strange that the minimum wage (3,300 escudos [about US\$150] a month, which is not applicable to rural and domestic workers) does not satisfy the needs of the workers. The minister of labor explains it to us as a function of the interests that granted the increase:

"You must not forget what economic system and conjunctural context these measures are part of. In the very logic of the capitalist economic system, starvation wages end up causing serious disturbances sooner or later. Any economic breakthrough necessitates the eradication of starvation and the establishment of minimal living conditions for all workers. This is the reason why the need for a national minimum wage was posed. It will take the form of a progressive scale starting from a reasonable base, which will begin to function immediately."

When asked why the government was permitting a handful of persons to obtain exorbitant profits in a country where the wages are so low, Gonçalves answered:

"With regard to the exorbitant profits of a tiny minority, well . . . these gains do not have the same economic consequences as the small salaries of the masses."

To the question of whether the new labor law would prohibit firings without justifiable cause, he answered:

"I would not be able to give any categorical guarantees on that. To prohibit firings without justifiable cause is a beautiful aspiration of the workers. But we ought to distinguish punitive firings from simple unjustified firings. Any law that is not adapted to the social realities always runs the risk of not being carried out."

Lest it appear that these are personal positions of the minister of labor, the Communist party editorialized in its paper, *Avante*:

"The Communist party has already made its position clear on the previously mentioned events [strikes]. The Communist party does not have two political lines—one inside the provisional government in which it participates in its own right, and another outside it."

And later on: "The task of the provisional government is not easy. The steps that it has energetically taken up to now are an important factor in cleaning up the political, social, and economic scene. But now the workers have the floor. They have to prove their political maturity and their sense of responsibility."

The slogan of the Communist party is, "Against anarchistic strikes that favor fascism."

And what are these strikes that "favor fascism"? Strikes in which the workers fight for their most elementary demands, which they could not do for forty-eight years. Strikes demanding the kicking out of the servile bosses of the former regime, who are now venting their anger on the workers. It is clear that those who "favor fascism" are not the rank-and-file workers, but those who put a brake on, and fight against, their strikes.

Here are some examples of these strikes, which supposedly favor fascism:

— The workers at the PROPAM yeast factory were demanding the resignation of the current administration for incompetence and abusiveness. They called the Intersindical—and the po-

lice appeared instead.

— Tannery workers in Oporto also asked for the dismissal of some administrators linked to the previous regime.

— The workers at the Manuel Gonçalves textile plant asked for wage increases and fringe benefits. They explained that "management cannot and should not complain about a lack of financial resources. Not only because this is the largest factory of its type in the country, but also because last

year they ended up with a profit of close to 200 million escudos."

— FIAT reported to its workers that the rejection of their request was in compliance with the directives of the Ministry of Labor, the Council of Ministers, and the Intersindical.

Finally, on the colonial question, the slogan of the CP is not to demand an end to colonialism, or anything like that. They call for "a political solution," which does not rule out the continuation of colonialism. □

As Spínola Institutes Censorship

Patriotic March Draws Little Support

By Gerry Foley

"A march of the people marked Portugal Day in Lisbon," the June 12 *Diário de Notícias* wrote. "It was all spontaneous and took place in an atmosphere of the loftiest civic spirit.

"Thousands of persons congregated at the site where the march was scheduled to begin, under the statue of the Marquis de Pombal. Long before 4:00 in the afternoon, a dense throng was already spreading through the area, waving the most varied signs, posters, and banners—a few were the flags of political groups but most were the flag of our country. From little paper ones to the biggest ones available, our red and green flags were raised proudly in the refreshing breeze that blew that hot afternoon.

"There was no organization, the route of the march was not defined, no police directed it. None of this was necessary, however, for everything to come off in impeccable order."

It was true that the Dia de Portugal demonstration was not officially called by the government or any political organization. But several days before the event, big professional-looking posters appeared in downtown Lisbon calling on the people to assemble at 4:00 at the head of the Avenida da Liberdade for a march in support of the Armed Forces Movement. The posters were in the colors of the Portuguese flag and showed a soldier with a red flower in the barrel of his gun.

The street vendors, at least, were

quick to take the hint. Everywhere they stepped up their hawking of Portuguese national flags, buttonhole decorations in the national colors, and various medals hailing the coup and the armed forces.

But the person or persons who wrote the article on the Dia de Portugal march for the largest Lisbon morning paper, the old semiofficial organ of the Salazarist regime, must have been carried away by their "civic spirit," or perhaps nostalgia, if they thought they saw a dense multitude gathered around the statue of the celebrated nineteenth-century statesman that stands at the head of the Avenida da Liberdade.

The crowd that marched down the Avenida that day numbered at most a few thousand, a puny turnout in comparison with the Communist party-controlled May Day march and only two or three times larger than a number of sectarian demonstrations that I had seen the preceding week.

The broad avenue leading to the Praça dos Restauradores and the central square of Rossio was almost empty that day as a Portuguese friend and I walked down it a couple of hundred yards or so behind the "dense throng." We had to hurry because the parade took so short a time to pass that the thoroughfare was reopened to traffic after a few minutes. But except at the very end of the Avenida, a dense central-city area full of cafes, the sidewalks also were almost empty.

Regardless of political considerations, I couldn't understand why the usually congested area was so deserted. I would have expected the most routine event to draw a bigger crowd of holiday strollers. After all, it was a noisy and colorful scene, with nationalist music and stentorian "patriotic" appeals booming out of loudspeakers placed along the avenue.

My friend explained that many of the city's inhabitants were recent arrivals from the provinces and were probably taking advantage of the three-day weekend to visit their home towns. The anonymous organizers of the "spontaneous" demonstration seemed to have overestimated the "civic spirit" of a people bored by years of staged "patriotic" spectacles.

If the few thousand straggling marchers—including many families who seemed to have just come out for a walk on a warm afternoon down a beautiful shady avenue enlivened with fountains, pools, and statues—were not roused to a "patriotic" fervor, it was not apparently because of any lack of effort by the unseen speakers, whose voices blared out of amplifiers placed somewhere in the lush trees lining the thoroughfare.

"Portugueses! Portugueses!" the speakers boomed, "our heroic soldiers have not died in vain."

I did not see very many signs. Most were carried, it seemed to me, by the same type of seedy middle-aged men I saw several times around the fringes of "super Communist" Maoist demonstrations in Rossio. They were always red in the face, jumping up and down and screaming at the rare traffic policeman to "do something" to "stop this disgrace." This seemed to be their day, the day for all the frustrated reactionaries who had been lying low since the fall of the Salazarist government. But there did not seem to be so many of them, or perhaps they were a timid breed that will need more encouragement to come out of their holes.

The reporters for *Diário de Notícias* had a sharper eye, apparently, and saw many slogans expressing "patriotic" sentiments—"The army is the guardian of democracy in the African territories"; "Long live the men of the overseas territories"; "Glory to the heroes"; "We will not abandon the Africans"; "Overseas territories, we are with you." The *Diário de Notícias* ran

a picture showing a banner that said, "The Tuppas [a derogatory term meaning "terrorist"] are afraid of a plebiscite." Most of the signs I saw being carried by the familiar down-at-the-heel petty-bourgeois types took up the theme of Spínola's recent speeches: "Democracy does not mean anarchy."

The *Diário de Notícias* reporter or reporters also saw many Africans participating in the "patriotic" festival in the Largo de Camões, a square not far from the foot of the Avenida da Liberdade that is named for the poet of the Portuguese expansion. "In the lawn that surrounds the statue of our greatest bard, the words of the tenth verse of the first Canto of the *Lusiads* were spelled out in red carnations," the *Diário de Notícias* pointed out. "You will see love of the fatherland, motivated not by thought of vulgar reward, but lofty and virtually eternal."

I did not follow the march to the Largo de Camões, since it seemed to be breaking up at the foot of the Avenida da Liberdade, and it had been an uninteresting event. But later in the week, on another holiday, I was in the area of the Palácio São Bento, which lies further on in the poor neighborhood inhabited by many Africans. I was struck by the number of Black people on the street. I had expected to see many Africans in Portugal, but I had noticed very few in the streets up till then, even though I had been in that neighborhood many times before. It occurred to me that most Africans must work long hours in construction jobs and generally be visible only on long holidays. Some of them may have come out to see a rally that devoted so much attention to "our brothers in the overseas territories."

The *Diário de Notícias* report did mention that the "civic spirit" of the march was not shared by all those present: "A famous democrat . . . Dr. Armindo Rodrigues, stepped out of the crowd to declaim a few verses written by him to exalt the revolution of April 25 and hail the liberties won.

"The multitude acclaimed him for a long period, and a little later did not permit two youths, who claimed to be university students and leaders of a political movement, to speak and call the demonstration reactionary.

"It was at that point that Major Roberto Durão got up to announce that he had written a message to send

to the president of the republic, who was then in Belém. He read:

"On this festive occasion, the Dia de Portugal, the Portuguese armed forces and the Portuguese people are gathered together to seal their complete unity in an embrace of total confidence and solidarity that can never be broken."

But if there were not many "Portuguese people," at this "spontaneous" demonstration, there seemed to be even fewer "armed forces." I asked my friend why the government didn't bring out some military units to swell the "patriotic" outpouring. He explained that no one could order the soldiers to do anything these days and that the officers despaired of being able to impose their authority.

Nonetheless, the failure of the "spontaneous" demonstration of support for the military regime did not halt the right-wing turn Spínola began late in May.

On the day of the "spontaneous" patriotic demonstration, the military official overseeing the national television network ordered a program cut off the air because it "offended the sensibilities of many Portuguese." It was a play satirizing the Catholic church's collaboration with the Salazarist regime. Television workers occupied the studios in protest against this censorship. But the Communist party labor apparatus kept them from getting the support of the unions and left them isolated.

On June 15, the government took control of the television network and announced that it would establish press censorship:

"Now, a commission of seven members of the armed forces will supervise the press," the *New York Times* reported June 16. "It will have powers to levy fines for disclosure of military secrets as well as for statements offending the Portuguese chief of state or foreign chiefs of state and diplomats."

The reporter commented: ". . . high Government sources made it clear that the freewheeling and somewhat anarchic days that followed the military coup of April 25 are over and that an effort to instill discipline is under way."

It is not surprising that after forty-eight years of chauvinist drum-beating and an ever more dreary reality, the "patriotic" and "anti-extremist" rhetoric of the Junta of National Salvation

has not stirred much of a chord in the masses. The question is why the junta apparently thinks that it can clamp the lid back on so soon after arousing hopes for a new era of democracy among the people.

The main reason for this is probably the role the Communist party has played. It managed to keep the May 1 demonstration celebrating the fall of Salazarism within the framework of support for the junta and give it a nationalist tone. It has managed to break the momentum of the strike wave that followed the momentary

collapse of the repressive apparatus. It has thrown all its resources into a campaign—paralleling Spínola's own—against "extremists" and "undisciplined elements." And finally the CP has been just as enthusiastically "patriotic" as the junta, so much so that it was not surprising, although the Communist party did not participate in the June 10 demonstration, to see a big red CP banner with a hammer and sickle and the initials of the party in the middle of the reactionary march. Some "disciplined" CP militant must have loyally followed the logic of his party's propaganda. □

hace "un esfuerzo común de recuperación nacional"?

Es el Dr. Vasco Vieira de Almeida, entre cuyos títulos resaltan: Subdirector, Director General y Administrador, sucesivamente, del Banco Português do Atlântico; Administrador de la Sociedade Anónima Concessionária da Refinação de Petróleos em Portugal; Vicepresidente de la Câmara de Comércio; Jefe de misiones comerciales al Japón y Brasil; autor de varios artículos publicados en *Financial Times*, *American Banker*, etc.; fue Administrador de la Sociedade Nacional de Petróleos SARL; Vicepresidente del Consejo de Administración del Banque Franco-Portugaise d'Outre-Mer, Administrador del Lissabon Bank A.G. y Presidente de Crédito Predial Português.

Como se ve, este señor no andaba muy mal durante el régimen anterior; pero actualmente sirve mejor a su clase desde el Ministerio de Coordinación Económica.

También Gonçalves, que era empleado bancario y dirigente sindical durante el régimen anterior, está sirviendo mejor ahora a los intereses de sus patrones.

No debe extrañarnos que el salario mínimo (3,300 escudos, que no es válido para los trabajadores rurales y domésticos) no satisfaga las necesidades de los trabajadores. El Ministro de Trabajo nos explica en función de qué intereses se dió ese aumento:

"No debe olvidarse en qué sistema económico y en qué contexto circunstancial se insertan estas medidas. En la lógica propia del sistema económico capitalista, los salarios de miseria acaban por crear, tarde o temprano, graves perturbaciones. Cualquier despegue económico exige la erradicación de la miseria y la creación de condiciones mínimas de vida para todos los trabajadores. Esta es la razón por la que se planteó la necesidad de establecer un salario mínimo nacional, que se aplicará progresivamente y el decreto de un mínimo salarial posible, que empezará a funcionar inmediatamente".

Cuando se le preguntó por qué permitía el gobierno que unos pocos obtuvieran ganancias exorbitantes en un país donde los salarios son tan bajos, contestó:

"En cuanto a las ganancias exor-

Contra 'las huelgas que favorecen al fascismo'

El PC Portugués, Guardián del Capitalismo

Por Hugo Blanco

Lisboa

El régimen de Caetano significaba un suicidio para el capitalismo portugués, por eso las Fuerzas Armadas tuvieron que derrocarlo, ya que ésta era la mejor forma de salvar el sistema.

Sin embargo, no pudieron evitar que las masas se lanzaran al logro de sus reivindicaciones más sentidas. El gobierno militar prefirió no recurrir a la fuerza represiva, sino usar al Partido Socialista y, principalmente, al Partido Comunista para frenar a las masas.

El PC está dedicando todas sus energías al cumplimiento de esa tarea.

Su Secretario General, Alvaro Cunhal, es uno de los Ministros sin cartera, y otro comunista, Avelino Gonçalves, es el Ministro de Trabajo. Desgraciadamente, la "Intersindical", embrión de central obrera, también está en manos de este partido y es su principal instrumento para frenar las luchas.

En una entrevista publicada el 4 de junio, Gonçalves hizo declaraciones muy indicativas:

"Difícilmente la uniformidad ideológica del Gobierno serviría mejor a los intereses nacionales, en este momento, que la diferenciación que caracteriza al Gobierno Provisional. Era

fundamental establecer una coalición que asegurase la confianza de la inmensa mayoría del pueblo portugués en el nuevo gobierno".

Esto quiere decir que es mejor un gobierno burgués dentro del cual el PC sirva para "asegurar la confianza" de los trabajadores, que un gobierno socialista con "uniformidad ideológica".

Cuando se le preguntó acerca de los "puntos de tensión" entre su Ministerio y el de Coordinación Económica, contestó:

"No sería correcto hablar de puntos de tensión entre los ministerios. Existe una contradicción grave entre el nivel de las justas reivindicaciones de los trabajadores y el grado en que es posible satisfacerlas. Para superar esa contradicción, se hace necesaria una estrecha colaboración entre los ministerios de Trabajo y de Coordinación Económica, aliada a una franca unidad de objetivos del elenco gubernamental y a un fuerte apoyo popular. Yo diría que si existen 'tensiones', ellas son el camino por el que pasa un esfuerzo común de recuperación nacional".

¿Quién es el Ministro de Economía, con el que es necesaria una "estrecha colaboración" dentro de "una franca unidad de objetivos" y con quien se

bitantes de una pequeña minoría, bueno . . . éstas no tienen las mismas consecuencias económicas que los pequeños salarios de las multitudes".

A la pregunta sobre si la nueva Ley de Trabajo prohibiría el despido sin causa justificada, respondió:

"No podría, desde ya, dar seguridad alguna en cuanto a eso. Prohibir el despido sin causa justificada es una bella aspiración de los trabajadores. Pero debemos distinguir el despido abusivo del simple despido sin causa justificada. Cualquier ley que no se adapte a las realidades sociales corre siempre el riesgo de no ser cumplida".

Para que no se piense que éstas son posiciones personales del Ministro de Trabajo, el Partido Comunista declara en el editorial de su periódico, *Avante*:

"El Partido Comunista ya hizo pública su posición frente a los acontecimientos arriba referidos [huelgas]. El Partido Comunista no tiene dos políticas, una dentro del Gobierno Provisional, en el que participa por derecho propio, y otra fuera de él".

Y más abajo: "La tarea del Gobierno Provisional no es fácil. Las

medidas que ha tomado hasta ahora con la energía requerida son un factor importante para sanear el terreno político, social y económico. Pero ahora los trabajadores tienen la palabra; tienen que dar pruebas de madurez política y de sentido de responsabilidad".

La consigna del Partido Comunista es: "Contra las huelgas anárquicas que favorecen al fascismo".

¿Y cuáles son esas huelgas que favorecen al fascismo? Huelgas con las que los trabajadores exigen sus reivindicaciones más elementales, las que no pudieron reclamar durante cuarenta y ocho años. Huelgas con las que los trabajadores exigen la salida de jefes sirvientes del régimen anterior, que ahora descargan su ira contra los obreros. Se ve claramente que los que "favorecen al fascismo" no son las bases obreras, sino quienes frenan y combaten esas huelgas.

Algunos ejemplos de estas huelgas, que supuestamente favorecen al fascismo:

— Los trabajadores de la fábrica de levaduras PROPAM exigían el retiro de la actual administración por

incompetente y abusiva. Llamaron a la Intersindical, y en lugar de ella apareció la policía.

— Los trabajadores de una curtiembre en Oporto también piden la dimisión de algunos directores ligados al antiguo régimen.

— Los obreros de la fábrica textil Manuel Gonçalves, piden reivindicaciones salariales y sociales. Explican que la entidad patronal no se puede ni debe quejar de falta de posibilidades financieras, no sólo porque se trata de la mayor fábrica del género en el país, sino también porque el año pasado obtuvo un saldo de cerca de doscientos millones de escudos.

— La FIAT comunica a sus trabajadores que el rechazo de sus peticiones está de acuerdo con las directrices del Ministerio de Trabajo, el Consejo de Ministros y la Intersindical.

Por último, sobre el problema colonial, la consigna del PC no es exigir el fin del colonialismo ni nada por el estilo, sino "Por una solución política", dentro de la cual no está descartada la continuación del colonialismo. □

Con la Colaboración del PC

Spínola Lanza una Ofensiva Contra la Izquierda

Por Gerry Foley

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "Spínola Moving Toward Crackdown on Left", que aparece en este mismo número de *Intercontinental Press*].

* * *

Lisboa

Cuando salí de Lisboa el 25 de mayo por la mañana, tenía la impresión de que pronto habría un enfrentamiento entre el gobierno, incluidos los partidos Socialista y Comunista, y los grupos de izquierda que se han opuesto a la política de unidad nacional y colaboración de clases del gobierno capitalista de Spínola. A diferencia de anteriores experimentos de este tipo, como los gobiernos de la post-guerra en varios países europeos

o el Frente Popular francés de 1936-37, una gran parte de la juventud universitaria y de los intelectuales dudan abiertamente de las soluciones reformistas y se preparan para plantear la revolución socialista como la única forma real de solucionar los problemas del país. Aún más, con las condiciones que existen en Portugal desde que cayó el régimen salazarista, el 25 de abril, las ideas y críticas de los grupos trotskistas, maoístas y anarquistas tienen ahora una audiencia de masas.

En Portugal, la olla se destapó en un momento en que las estructuras burguesas y reformistas estaban todavía muy poco desarrolladas. Las masas portuguesas—especialmente los periodistas, que lograron rápidamente

un alto grado de libertad de expresión en sus publicaciones—estaban dispuestas a considerar todas las ideas políticas, a participar en un intenso proceso de discusión política, para resarcirse de los largos años de silencio forzoso. En esta situación, no era muy fuerte el condicionamiento contra las ideas revolucionarias, que está fuertemente enraizado en los países capitalistas avanzados y que es un factor de peso en cualquier parte donde hay algo de democracia burguesa.

Muchos diarios burgueses publicaban las declaraciones de los grupos trotskistas, maoístas y anarquistas, así como informes de sus actividades y entrevistas con sus representantes. El acto que realizaron cuatro de estos

grupos el 19 de mayo, fue televisado. Todo el discurso del conocido dirigente trotskista Ernest Mandel, que habló en este acto a nombre de los trotskistas portugueses, fue transmitido por la radio y la televisión. Obviamente, no podía pasar mucho tiempo antes de que el régimen tomara medidas para aislar a estos grupos, que abiertamente han retado al gobierno y que resultan particularmente peligrosos y comprometedores para el Partido Comunista, la principal fuerza política organizada en que se apoya el gobierno, y su aliado esencial en estos momentos.

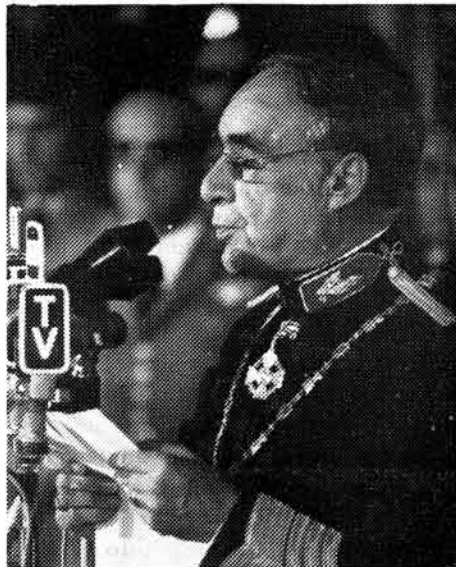
En particular, estos grupos amenazan a la Junta y a sus aliados stalinistas y socialdemócratas, con su determinación y su habilidad para plantear el problema más explosivo dentro del actual contexto político de Portugal—el problema de la guerra colonial.

En la manifestación del Primero de Mayo se vió claramente que el pueblo portugués cree que la guerra ya está casi terminada. Cientos de miles de personas estaban celebrando el fin de la guerra. Pero casi diariamente los periódicos publican listas de soldados que han muerto o están heridos en las colonias portuguesas de Africa. Y es dudoso que los fuegos artificiales de las negociaciones puedan seguir oscureciendo el hecho de que la guerra continúa.

El problema colonial es un asunto de vida o muerte para la Junta. Y ésta no parece tener intenciones de conceder sobre la guerra a sus oponentes, no sólo porque no quiere, sino porque no puede. Ya anunció que los desertores que regresen al país serán enrolados en las fuerzas armadas y lo más posible es que sean enviados a las colonias. Dificilmente podía haber tomado una decisión menos popular, o una que hubiera puesto más furiosa a la juventud radicalizada.

Esto se vió claro en un acto de masas que tuvo lugar el 24 de mayo en el Coliseu dos Recreios, en el centro de Lisboa. Este acto fue convocado por las mismas cuatro organizaciones que llamaron al acto de la semana pasada, donde habló Ernest Mandel; esto es, la Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI, grupo simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional), Unidad Revolucionaria Marxista-Le-

ninista (URML—Unidad Revolucionaria Marxista-leninista), el Partido Revolucionario do Proletariado (PRP—Partido Revolucionario del Proletariado) y las Comissões de Base Socialistas (CBS—Comisiones de Base Socialistas). El acto del 24 de mayo fue muy parecido al de la semana anterior. Había la misma cantidad de jóvenes radicales (4 ó 5 mil), las mismas consignas y gestos revolucionarios. Parecía que siempre había un sector del público que estaba dispuesto a saltar y corear "¡El poder a los obreros!", o "¡Viva el internacionalismo proletario!" y a le-



SPINOLA

vantar sus puños. Pero el anuncio de que el gobierno había decidido enrolar a los desertores y mandarlos a la guerra colonial, hizo que casi todas las personas que estaban ahí se pusieran de pie inmediatamente y corearan durante bastante tiempo: "Nem um só soldado mais para as colónias" (ni un solo soldado más para las colonias). Las cámaras de televisión tomaron a la multitud cuando ésta manifestaba su cuestionamiento del gobierno y sus sentimientos radicales.

En un momento muy álgido del acto, unos activistas que estaban enfrente se pusieron de pie y empezaron a corear "¡Todos a Rossio amanhã!" (todos a Rossio mañana). Los organizadores del acto hicieron un gran esfuerzo para llevar a todos sus seguidores a la manifestación contra la continuación de la guerra colonial.

No pude asistir a la manifestación de Rossio. Tenía que salir para pasar una semana en Francia. Pero el impacto de este acto se reflejó muy claramente en los periódicos franceses. En la manifestación hubo más de 10,000 personas (5,000 según la prensa burguesa). E incluso los informes en la prensa burguesa indicaban que participaron muchos soldados jóvenes y estudiantes africanos.

La acción fue presentada en algunos periódicos franceses como una semi-insurrección. Se decía que los manifestantes quisieron liberar por la fuerza a un capitán cubano que había sido capturado en Guinea-Bissau y que seguía preso con el nuevo gobierno. También se dice que los manifestantes trataron de tomar una estación de radio.

El 27 de mayo, el diario *República*, que tiende a reflejar los puntos de vista del Partido Socialista, describía algunos choques que tuvieron lugar el día anterior, después de la manifestación, por el problema del capitán cubano, de nombre Peralta:

"En la manifestación de las seis organizaciones de extrema izquierda (CBS, PRP, LCI, URML, LUAR y CICS) hubo cerca de 10,000 personas, que en la noche entre el sábado y el domingo transformaron a Largo da Estrela en un punto de movilización, donde un acto de masas seguía a otro y las consignas contra la guerra colonial y por la liberación de Peralta marcaron la tónica del acto de masas más largo que se haya visto en Lisboa.

"Los manifestantes estaban tan decididos, que no vacilaron en sacrificarse una noche durmiendo en 'sleeping bags'. En un momento dado, se unieron a la multitud 300 seguidores del MRPP (Movimento Reorganizador do Partido do Proletariado—Movimiento Reorganizador del Partido del Proletariado) y gente que venía de todas partes de Lisboa a Largo da Estrela.

"Ayer a las 17:00, el Mayor Casanova, jefe del PSP en Lisboa, anunció que el capitán Peralta ya no estaba en el Hospital Militar Principal, al mismo tiempo que advertía a los manifestantes que abandonarían la plaza.

"Algunas de las organizaciones aceptaron retirarse, especialmente el PRP, porque parecía considerar que

el caso de Peralta era de segunda importancia. Esta es, sin embargo, la misma organización que llamó a una marcha en Estrela, a través de un vocero, en el Palácio São Bento (el edificio del parlamento). El MRPP y la LCI se quedaron en la plaza.

"Cuando la GNR (Guarda Nacional Republicana—Guardia Nacional Republicana) recibió la orden de atacar, se lanzaron dos tanques con mangueras y lanzadores de gas lacrimógeno. Los manifestantes fueron mojados y golpeados con garrotes. El avance policiaco fue enfrentado con una barricada de piedras. Sólo unos pequeños grupos siguieron reunidos . . .

"La oficina del Jefe de las Fuerzas Armadas hizo una declaración sobre este incidente, que termina de la siguiente manera: 'Para no ofender a los que comparten el espíritu de su programa y desean ver que se lleve a la práctica, las Fuerzas Armadas llaman al pueblo de Lisboa a abstenerse de promover actitudes que de ninguna manera ayudan a los intereses superiores de la Nación'".

Aparentemente, este comunicado causó un pánico momentáneo entre los círculos de la prensa portuguesa, cuyos efectos pueden ser duraderos. La amenaza de una nueva censura, se me informó cuando regresé a Portugal, convenció a muchos editores de que era preferible instaurar su propia censura sobre los reporteros de izquierda, que correr el riesgo de un ataque del gobierno. Estas advertencias y presiones del gobierno son el primer intento de cortar el acceso a los medios masivos de comunicación a los grupos que critican al gobierno desde la izquierda.

Evidentemente, los elementos más derechistas de la Junta ya se impacientaron. Por ejemplo, el General Galvão de Melo, miembro de la Junta de Salvación Nacional, hizo un llamado por televisión el 27 de mayo, que es el más reaccionario que se ha realizado hasta ahora, en el que parecía reflejar las frustraciones de todos los elementos derechistas, incluidos los que apoyan al antiguo régimen. Dijo:

"Recibí una carta de fecha 22 de mayo que me envió un portugués, pudo haberla escrito cualquier verdadero portugués, hombre o mujer. Tengo que darla a conocer:

"A la Junta de Salvación Nacio-

nal:

"Yo apoyé el programa del Movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas y de la Junta de Salvación Nacional desde el primer momento.

"No represento a nadie más que a mí mismo; pero en las cuatro semanas que han pasado desde el 25 de abril me he empezado a preguntar, y frecuentemente no he podido encontrar la respuesta, si ésta es la libertad que soñaron los portugueses.

"Esta libertad, ¿no está liberando terroristas sin patria y convirtiéndolos en héroes nacionales?

"¿No está permitiendo y alentando asesinatos, insultos gratuitos, abusos físicos, saqueos de casas?

"¿Es esto sólo el boicot de algunos, promovido por las estaciones de radio y televisión con reportajes vergonzantes e irrestrictos, en los que los mismos que transmiten se permiten las actitudes más impropias y nos atormentan con programas cuyo nivel cae más abajo de cualquier medida posible, imposibilitando la clarificación de las medias verdades y las mentiras que propagan las estaciones que pagamos entre todos? Y todo esto ha sucedido sin que se haya suspendido una sola estación de radio o televisión, como hubiera sucedido en cualquier país civilizado.

"Esta libertad ha permitido que los periódicos publiquen innoblemente en sus columnas, que pueden ser leídas por cualquier niño, comunicados de prostitutas y homosexuales, en una demostración de amoralidad sin precedente en un país donde los valores de la familia y de la moral han existido siempre".

Un comunicado supuestamente de un grupo de prostitutas había aparecido antes en la prensa, alabando al Movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas y ofreciendo un descuento especial para los militares. A pesar de su espíritu patriótico, parece ser que esta declaración tuvo una acogida menos que amistosa en algunos sectores de la oficialidad.

Cuando menos un comunicado que llama a la formación de un movimiento de liberación de los homosexuales ha sido ampliamente reproducido por la prensa. Hay un florecimiento de todo tipo de movimientos en Portugal—movimientos ecológicos, de la liberación de la mujer, de reforma educativa—un fermento de

ideas avanzadas que no puede más que molestar profundamente a los conservadores oficiales burgueses nacionalistas de la Junta, así como a toda el ala derecha tradicional de Portugal. Era claramente este fermento el que trataba de estigmatizar el General Galvão Melo con sus referencias a las "prostitutas" y los "homosexuales".

A pesar de que la pomposa diatriba de Galvão Melo fue obviamente limitada en su efectividad política, recordando la demagogia fascista del régimen anterior, fue sólo el primer episodio de una campaña mucho más extensa del gobierno y del Partido Comunista contra los elementos "pervertidos" y "anarquistas".

El 28 de mayo, en el centro industrial norteño de Oporto, el mismo Spinola lanzó una ofensiva general contra todas las formas de "indisciplina", especialmente huelgas y protestas obreras que exijan mayores salarios y algún control sobre el producto de su trabajo. Dijo Spinola:

"Si no hay paz en el campo, en las fábricas, en las calles y en nuestras mentes; si todos los portugueses no trabajamos juntos de manera ordenada para aumentar la productividad, y si la justicia social no se expresa en la distribución de este producto, nunca podremos construir el Portugal próspero del futuro, donde la felicidad y la riqueza no sean privilegio de unos pocos, sino que estén en todos los hogares portugueses.

"El 25 de abril las fuerzas armadas devolvieron la libertad al pueblo.

"En ese momento se acabó cualquier paternalismo de dudosas elites, y el pueblo podía ya expresar sus legítimas aspiraciones en un diálogo abierto.

"Pero ahora que han pasado ya los primeros meses de euforia, es tiempo de que todos los portugueses comprendan que no puede existir una sociedad democrática y libre sin disciplina cívica y respeto mutuo . . .

"Es tiempo de que todos los portugueses se den cuenta de que cualquier forma de anarquía abrirá inevitablemente la puerta a nuevas dictaduras, a nuevos regímenes como el que fue derribado el 25 de abril.

"Advierto a todo el pueblo portugués que las ideas de democracia y libertad que inspiraron a las fuerzas armadas, están siendo criminalmente

minadas por fuerzas contrarrevolucionarias. Estas fuerzas, que existen en varios sectores de la Nación, buscan solamente la destrucción y la anarquía, el caos económico y el desempleo, tratan de llevar a cabo la conocida política de "devastación" para poder construir sobre las ruinas de la economía y la moral nacionales... algo ajeno a la patria de nuestros sueños".

Spínola habló ante una gran multitud en Oporto, ya que el trabajo que hicieron el PC y el PS el Primero de Mayo para movilizar a decenas de miles de trabajadores en apoyo incondicional al gobierno, ha garantizado una gran asistencia popular a todas sus apariciones públicas.

Pocos días después de que había regresado a Lisboa, vi por televisión una de estas presentaciones en público. Tenía un sabor claramente totalitario.

La película comenzaba con largas escenas de soldados haciendo ejercicios militares y secuencias de música militar y redoble de tambores. Luego, la cámara se situó arriba y atrás de Spínola. Todo lo que se podía ver era su uniforme y la multitud y estandartes que estaban frente a él. Nunca apareció su cara. El discurso terminó con gritos de "¡Viva Portugal!" y nuevas fanfarrias militares. El camarero del café donde yo estaba parecía que casi se iba a cuadrar ante la orden de atención.

Yo estaba viendo este noticiero en un café de la parte industrial de la ciudad, que está separada del centro de Lisboa por un río. Obviamente, era un área donde el Partido Comunista tenía alguna fuerza. Sus carteles estaban por todas partes, grandes y sosos, friamente profesionales, la mayoría con temas patrióticos. Evidentemente, el Partido Comunista ha hecho todo lo que ha podido para promover la demagogia nacionalista de la Junta.

El Partido Comunista y la Intersindical—la federación de sindicatos—que está bajo su control, se movieron rápidamente para apoyar la ofensiva de Spínola. El 29 de mayo, la Intersindical lanzó un comunicado en el que advertía a los obreros contra "elementos oportunistas de la extrema derecha y de la extrema izquierda que están explotando la impaciencia de los trabajadores".

Llamó a un mítin que se realizó el 1 de junio para demostrar el "re-

putido total a las maniobras provocadoras de los enemigos de la clase obrera, así como la solidaridad con el Movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas, al que estos enemigos quieren debilitar".

Cuando regresé a Lisboa, el 2 de junio, vi por todas partes señales de una campaña contra los "provocadores ultraizquierdistas" y "saboteadores". Algunas veces eran carteles sin firma, otras eran anuncios para el acto de la Intersindical. Políticamente, las posiciones de la Junta y las del PC eran idénticas, de tal manera que resultaba difícil decir de quién era cada cartel.

En cuanto al PS, si bien no se opone a esta campaña, tomó una posición más centrista, aparentemente tratando de mantener contacto con algunos elementos más militantes.

La edición del periódico francés *Le Monde* que leí en el avión, decía que había habido "un relajamiento de las tensiones sociales" después del discurso de Spínola en Oporto. Los informes que aparecieron en los periódicos portugueses tendían a confirmar que la campaña del PC y los militares ha tenido algún efecto. Había varias declaraciones en la prensa de grupos de obreros que se oponen a las huelgas.

Pero al mismo tiempo, las contradicciones de la actual situación de Portugal parecen profundizarse. Muchos capitalistas pequeños y medianos, especialmente del norte, que estaban protegidos contra la competencia extranjera por el sistema de Salazar, que también les garantizaba bajos costos, han amenazado con cerrar sus fábricas y despedir a sus trabajadores.

Al mismo tiempo, se puede dudar de la popularidad que tiene entre los obreros la campaña del PC en favor de la "responsabilidad cívica".

La prensa burguesa, cuyos artículos superan incluso a la prensa del partido en su entusiasmo, presentaron el acto de la Intersindical como un gran éxito, calculando que asistieron 10,000 personas. En primer lugar, dada la posición del PC y la publicidad que recibió este acto, 10,000 no es un número impresionante. Pero otros observadores calculan que la asistencia fue de sólo 3,000, lo que sería una cantidad inferior a la que tuvieron los actos organizados por los trotskistas, maoístas y otros grupos.

Con el gobierno moviéndose rápidamente hacia la derecha y las con-

tradiciones profundizándose, el ánimo de los reporteros de izquierda, en particular, parece haber tomado un giro pesimista.

Es cierto que no se vislumbra ninguna solución estable, mientras que las limitaciones de la democratización de la Junta son cada vez más claras. Después de que el PC le regaló un voto de confianza el Primero de Mayo, parece que el gobierno piensa que ya se logró el objetivo del "festival popular" y que ya es tiempo de "parar las tonterías".

Muchas personas que habían sido contagiadas por la euforia de los primeros días regresaron bruscamente a la realidad cuando Spínola permitió que su amigo Caetano se exilara honorablemente en Brasil. Este "acto caballeroso" casi universalmente impopular, hizo claro que la Junta y los antiguos dictadores pertenecen a los mismos círculos y demostró que el régimen es incapaz de deshacerse de los elementos derechistas que hay en el estado y en el aparato social.

El régimen más riguroso que siguió a la manifestación de Rossio fue el segundo golpe a las ilusiones en la Junta. También demostró lo nerviosa que se pone la Junta cuando se trata el problema colonial. La próxima prueba a la que se enfrentará el régimen puede muy bien ser cómo va a responder ante el movimiento por "que se regrese a las tropas a casa", que va creciendo muy rápido dentro del mismo ejército colonial. □

Correction

A line was inadvertently omitted from the article "Litvinov Describes 'Spectrum' of Views" on page 735 of our June 10 issue. The third full paragraph in the second column should read as follows: "(Here, of course, Litvinov expresses another idea that is quite widespread, in both West and East. That is the oversimplified notion that the Bolshevik party, after taking power in 1917, moved in a straight line, inexorably and inevitably, to the bureaucratized despotism of Stalin that still survives under Stalin's heirs. But in fact, a close look at the historical evidence shows that the bureaucratic tendency headed by Stalin emerged as a partial counterrevolution (Thermidor) in conflict with the revolutionary tendency within the party, initially headed by Lenin himself (late 1922–early 1923) and represented most consistently by the Left Opposition; in a word, Stalinism is the opposite of genuine Leninism.")

Perón Urges Campaign Against 'Traitors'

By Judy White

"What are we going to do about these deaths?"

"Unity in action against the repression," the crowd roared out, in answer to the question from Eduardo Pimentel, leader of the Partido Revolucionario Cristiano (PRC — Christian Revolutionary party).

The scene was the funeral for the three slain members of the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores — Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) in Buenos Aires June 1. All three were rank-and-file unionists, well known for their leading role in fighting for a class-struggle tendency in the labor movement. (See *Intercontinental Press*, June 10, p. 707, and June 17, p. 755.)

The echo was still ringing when Argentine President Juan Domingo Perón made a new attack on those opposing his antilabor Social Pact and associated legislation.

On June 12 the general addressed the country. He threatened to resign unless the "traitors to the homeland" were dealt with. "Anyone who shares the concerns and ends that we are pursuing cannot be a mute witness to the events, but must be an active and diligent protagonist in defense of the interests common to the Argentine people," he said in conclusion.

It was an open incitement to his right wing to take matters into their own hands against "irresponsible minorities . . . [that are] sabotaging the National Reconstruction."

"Everyone who signed that pact also knew they were going to give up some of their aims, as a contribution to the process of national liberation," said Perón. "However, a few months after taking on this key commitment for the country, it would appear that some signers of the Great Contract [Social Pact] are pledged not to carry out the agreement, and they want to drag all of us along to do the same."

Perón's stalwart supporters in the trade-union bureaucracy responded in what Jonathan Kandell, reporting on the events for the *New York Times*,

described in his June 12 story from Buenos Aires as an apparently "previously planned gesture."

The CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo — General Confederation of Labor) announced a general strike and mass rally in support of the president as soon as he had finished his morning speech. Over 50,000 attended the rally held barely six hours after Perón threatened to resign from office, according to the *New York Times*. Despite his complaints about the "great personal sacrifice" he had made when he accepted the presidency, the general agreed to stay on.

In an official statement published in the June 13 Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*, the CGT spelled out its position.

The organization tried to shift the blame for the economic problems of Argentina and the failure of the Social Pact onto the "international reaction," and "certain newspapers that publish in other languages in the federal capital," who "are trying to create a psychosis of desperation among the people."

However, the bureaucrats promised Perón that "the workers' movement will adopt its own measures of defense and action to defend it [the government] against minority and unscrupulous sectors that, with a totally antinational sensibility, are trying to fleece the people."

In his analysis of the general's speech, Kandell rightly drew the conclusion, "When the President went on the air, it appeared that he had been moved to make his resignation threat by the rising controversy surrounding the Government's wage and price freeze."

Kandell went on to explain: ". . . increasingly in recent months, the wage-price pact has threatened to collapse under a wave of strikes, shortages and complaints from businessmen that the controls are driving them to the edge of bankruptcy.

"The trade union movement, which has formed the backbone of General

Perón's support, has been shaken by work stoppages by dissident unionists demanding wage increases far above the levels set by Government policy."

(Perón recently granted a 13 percent wage increase as part of the Social Pact, but prices are expected to rise 24 percent by the end of the year.)

Terror Against Opponents

The PST commented on the ramifications of the regime's dilemma in the June 4 issue of their weekly, *Avanzada Socialista*:

"The bureaucracy sees that its privileges are becoming endangered, because it is losing union elections, control of the Comisiones Internas [plant committees], and because it cannot slow down strikes.

"That is why the bureaucracy has resorted to methods like fraud and gangsterism. . . .

"However, it has not succeeded in imposing its control except in a few cases, and then at the price of winning the growing hatred of the workers and strengthening the class-struggle ranks. To confirm this, we have only to look at the lean results that came out of their big efforts to mobilize workers August 31 and May 1 [reference to two CGT-called demonstrations].

"That is the cause of their desperation. That is why they use those methods. Getting more desperate all the time, they go out to kill anyone who opposes them."

The biggest response to attacks on worker militants to date came after the three PST activists were tortured and shot in northern Buenos Aires at the end of May.

However, the six weeks since Perón made his first open attack on his left wing (for not appreciating "everything we have done") have been marked by a generalized step-up in the wave of violence.

The PST itself suffered a series of attacks and threats in addition to the assassination of four of its members:

At dawn May 29 a powerful bomb exploded at the Córdoba party headquarters, doing severe damage to it and to the neighboring premises.

In Mar del Plata, two PST members were shot in separate incidents, and the party headquarters was bombed on May 28 and 29.

Three members of the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (JSA — Van-

guard Socialist Youth, the youth group in political solidarity with the PST), who were on their way to their offices, were stopped on a Buenos Aires street by four individuals May 29. "We killed three of them and they still feel like screwing around," the attackers shouted. While the youth were being threatened and insulted, a police car pulled up and ordered the JSA members to drop posters they had been carrying and to move on. *Avanzada Socialista*, reporting the incident, noted that the thugs stayed on, chatting with the police.

On the evening of May 30, eight armed individuals kidnapped three PST members in Lanús. They threatened, "We already killed three of you and now there are going to be six." The victims were beaten, blindfolded, and taken to a house where the abuse continued for about an hour before they were released. The goons identified themselves as being "from the administration" and "from the Lanús police."

Similar attacks have been made against left Peronists and others. On May 11, leftist Peronist priest Carlos Mujica was gunned down as he left a church where he had just performed a mass. He died a short time later. A friend who was with him was seriously wounded.

A few hours before the opening of the Tenth National Congress of the Federación Juvenil Comunista (FJC—Communist Youth Federation) the first week of June, one of its members, Rubén Poggione, was slain in northern Buenos Aires. He had been putting up posters for the congress at the time. Another FJC member with him was seriously wounded in the assault.

The residence of a Communist doctor and two of the party's headquarters had been bombed the previous weekend.

Also reported were:

—An estimated fifty attacks on offices of left Peronist groups and their sympathizers during April and May.

—Death threats against leaders of the Frente de Izquierda Popular (People's Left Front) and the PRC, two petty-bourgeois parties outside the Peronist movement. The threat against federal Deputy Horacio Sueldo of the PRC came after he had been spearheading a campaign in the legislature to denounce the torture of arrested left Peronists.

—Arrests of 250 demonstrators, who were demanding the release of political prisoners, at Villa Devoto prison May 25.

—Arrests of sixty persons at a May 29 rally in Córdoba commemorating the 1969 semi-insurrection in that city.

PST Campaign

At the funeral for the slain PST members, the party spelled out the next steps necessary to protect the workers' and left movements against this violence.

Party leaders Juan Carlos Coral and Nahuel Moreno summed it up:

"... if there is no concrete result within fifteen or thirty days from the promised investigation of these terrorist activities, we will consider ourselves notified of the complicity of the government with the right-wing gangs of assassins," said Coral. "In these days of back-room pacts, secret agreements, hand-to-hand fighting, and conspiracies, we call for the formation of a Pact of Unity in Action for the defense of civil liberties. And as for General Perón, who seems to be involved in so many pacts against the workers and the people, we also call on him

to take a clear stand in support of this action, which we must take without delay to ensure democratic rights. Finally, we demand the formation of a parliamentary commission, with the power to arrest and interrogate. This commission must have the support of all organizations under attack by fascist terrorism and of all sectors of the labor movement that have suffered the violence of the bureaucracy's gangsterism."

Speaking for the executive committee of the PST, Moreno stressed the need to form worker and antifascist people's brigades and pickets to defend the movement against continuing attacks.

The PST's call for a united front on this issue has received an unprecedented breadth of support. *Avanzada Socialista* quoted the positive reactions to the proposal from spokesmen of the Bloque de Base and Peronismo de Base (left Peronist formations), Pharmaceutical Workers Union, Lista Marrón Metalúrgica from Villa Constitución (a class-struggle tendency in the metalworkers union), UDELPA (Unión del Pueblo Adelante—People's Movement for Progress), Partido Intransigente (Intransigent party), and the Communist party. □

El PST Llama a Formar un Frente Unido

Perón Lanza una Campaña Contra los 'Traidores'

Por Judy White

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "Perón Urges Campaign Against 'Traitors'", que aparece en la página anterior.]

* * *

"¿Qué vamos a hacer con estas muertes?"

"Unidad en la acción contra la represión", rugió la multitud en respuesta a la pregunta de Eduardo Pimentel, dirigente del Partido Revolucionario Cristiano (PRC).

Esto sucedió en el funeral de los tres miembros del PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, organización simpatizante de la Cuarta In-

ternacional) que fueron asesinados en Buenos Aires el 1 de junio. Todos ellos eran sindicalistas de base conocidos por el papel dirigente que habían jugado en la lucha por construir una tendencia clasista en el movimiento obrero. (Ver *Intercontinental Press*, 10 de junio, p. 707 y junio 17, p. 755).

El eco de estos gritos todavía se escuchaba, cuando el Presidente Juan Domingo Perón lanzó un nuevo ataque contra quienes se oponen al Pacto Social y a las leyes antiobreras que de él se desprenden.

El 12 de junio habló el General a la Nación. Amenazó con renunciar si no se llama al orden a los "tra-

dores a la patria". "Por eso, cada uno que comparta las inquietudes y fines que perseguimos, no puede ser un testigo mudo de los acontecimientos sino un protagonista activo y diligente en defensa de los intereses comunes de los argentinos", dijo para terminar. Fue una incitación abierta al ala derecha peronista para que tome el asunto en sus propias manos contra las "minorías irresponsables. . . [que están] sabotando la Reconstrucción Nacional".

"Todos los que firmaron en dos oportunidades ese acuerdo, sabían también que iban a ceder una parte de sus pretensiones, como contribución al proceso de la liberación nacional", dijo. "Sin embargo, a pocos meses de asumir ese compromiso clave para el país, pareciera que algunos firmantes de la Gran Paritaria están empeñados en no cumplir con el acuerdo y desean arrastrar al conjunto a que haga lo mismo".

Los leales seguidores de Perón en la burocracia sindical respondieron con lo que Jonathan Kandell, reportero del *New York Times*, describió el 12 de junio en su reportaje desde Buenos Aires como una acción que parecía "planeada con anterioridad".

La Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT) anunció que lanzaría una huelga general y convocó a un acto de masas en apoyo al Presidente, justo después de que éste había terminado su discurso. Más de 50 mil personas asistieron al acto, que tuvo lugar escasas seis horas después de que Perón había amenazado con renunciar, según el *New York Times*. A pesar de sus quejas sobre el "gran sacrificio personal" que tuvo que hacer cuando aceptó la presidencia, el General aceptó seguir realizando sus funciones.

En una declaración oficial publicada el 13 de junio en el diario bonaerense *Clarín*, la CGT explicó su posición.

Esta organización trató de culpar de los problemas económicos que tiene Argentina y del fracaso del Pacto Social, a la "sinarquía internacional" y a "ciertos medios de difusión, incluso algunos que se publican en otros idiomas en el Capital Federal", que están tratando de "crear en el pueblo la psicosis de la desesperación".

Sin embargo, los burócratas prometieron a Perón que "el Movimiento Obrero adoptará sus propias medidas de defensa y acción y lo hará frente

a los sectores minoritarios e inescrupulosos que con total insensibilidad antinacional tratan de esquilmar al pueblo".

En su análisis del discurso del General, Kandell saca correctamente esta conclusión: "Cuando el Presidente estaba en el aire, parecía que había sido impulsado a plantear su amenaza de renuncia por la creciente controversia que ha creado su política de congelación de precios y salarios".

Seguía explicando: ". . . en los últimos meses, el pacto de salarios y precios amenaza cada vez más con desplomarse bajo la ola de huelgas, escasez y quejas de los empresarios de que estos controles los están poniendo al borde de la bancarrota.

"El movimiento sindical, que ha constituido la columna vertebral del apoyo a Perón, ha sido sacudido por paros realizados por sindicalistas disidentes que exigen que se aumenten los salarios mucho más de lo que marcan los niveles establecidos por la política del gobierno".

(Recientemente, Perón concedió un aumento del 13% en los salarios como parte del Pacto Social, pero se espera que este año los precios subirán un 24%).

TERROR CONTRA OPOSITORES

El PST comentó las ramificaciones del dilema en que se encuentra el régimen en la edición del 4 de junio de *Avanzada Socialista*.

"La burocracia ve que sus privilegios vienen peligrando, porque pierde las elecciones sindicales o el control de las Comisiones Internas, o porque no puede frenar las huelgas.

"Por ello ha apelado a todos los métodos: el fraude y el matonaje. . .

"Sin embargo, no ha logrado imponerse, quizás algunas veces sí, pero al precio de ganarse el odio creciente de los trabajadores y el fortalecimiento de las filas del clasismo. Para confirmarlo basta ver los magros resultados de los grandes esfuerzos que hicieron para movilizar el 31 de Agosto y el 1 de Mayo.

"Esta es la causa de su desesperación, y por ello sus métodos son así, cada vez más desesperados; salir a matar a quien se le opone".

La respuesta más grande que se ha dado a los ataques contra los militantes obreros, fue la que se realizó después de que tres activistas del PST

fueron torturados y asesinados en el norte de Buenos Aires a finales de mayo.

Sin embargo, las semanas que han pasado desde que Perón hizo su primer ataque contra el ala izquierda de su movimiento (por no apreciar "todo lo que hemos hecho"), han estado marcadas por un ascenso generalizado de la violencia.

El mismo PST ha sufrido una serie de ataques y amenazas, además del asesinato de cuatro de sus miembros:

La madrugada del 29 de mayo explotó una poderosa bomba en el local partidario de Córdoba, causando graves daños al edificio y a las casas vecinas.

En Mar del Plata, el 28 y 29 de mayo, dos miembros del PST fueron atacados a balazos en dos incidentes separados y el local partidario fue dañado por bombas.

El 29 de mayo, tres miembros de la Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (organización juvenil que está de acuerdo políticamente con el PST), que iban camino al local de su organización, fueron interceptados en una calle de Buenos Aires por cuatro individuos que gritaban "les matamos tres y todavía tienen ganas de joder". Mientras los jóvenes eran amenazados e insultados, se acercó una patrulla de la policía y ordenó a los miembros de la JSA que dejaran los carteles y se fueran. En el reportaje que hace *Avanzada Socialista* de estos acontecimientos, señala que los atacantes se quedaron platicando con los policías.

En la noche del día 30, ocho individuos armados secuestraron a tres miembros del PST en Lanús. Los amenazaron diciéndoles "ya les matamos a tres y ahora van a ser seis". Los golpearon, les vendaron los ojos y los llevaron a una casa donde siguieron amenazándolos y golpeándolos durante una hora. Luego los dejaron ir. Los matones dijeron que eran "de la gobernación" y de la "policía de Lanús".

También se han hecho ataques parecidos contra peronistas de izquierda y personas de otras tendencias. El 11 de mayo, el sacerdote peronista de izquierda Carlos Mujica fue herido cuando salía de la iglesia donde acababa de oficiar una misa. Murió poco tiempo después. Un amigo que estaba con él resultó gravemente herido.

Pocas horas antes de que se iniciara el Décimo Congreso Nacional de la Federación Juvenil Comunista (FJC), la primera semana de junio, uno de sus miembros, Rubén Poggione, fue asesinado en el norte de Buenos Aires, cuando estaba poniendo carteles para anunciar el congreso. Otro miembro del FJC que estaba con él resultó gravemente herido.

La residencia de un doctor miembro del Partido Comunista y dos locales de ese mismo partido fueron bombardeados el fin de semana anterior.

También se informó sobre:

—Aproximadamente cincuenta ataques contra grupos peronistas de izquierda y sus locales, en los meses de abril y mayo.

—Amenazas de muerte contra dirigentes del Frente de Izquierda Popular y el PRC, dos partidos pequeño-burgueses que no están en el movimiento peronista. La amenaza contra el diputado federal Horacio Sueldo, del PRC, ocurrió después de que había estado impulsando una campaña en la Cámara de Diputados para denunciar la tortura a que son sometidos los peronistas de izquierda que son arrestados.

—El arresto de 250 personas que manifestaban frente a la prisión de Villa Devoto, el 25 de mayo. Los manifestantes exigían la libertad de los presos políticos.

—El arresto de sesenta personas que estaban en un acto en Córdoba, el 29 de mayo, en conmemoración de la semi-insurrección que tuvo lugar en 1969 en esa ciudad.

EL PST PROPONE

En el funeral de los miembros del PST que fueron asesinados, el partido explicó los pasos que hay que dar para proteger a los obreros y a los movimientos de izquierda contra esta violencia.

Juan Carlos Coral y Nahuel Moreno, dirigentes del partido, los resumieron de la siguiente manera:

"... si en un plazo de quince o treinta días no hay un resultado concreto en la prometida investigación de estas actividades terroristas, nosotros nos daremos por notificados de la complicidad del gobierno con las bandas asesinas de la derecha. En estos tiempos de pactos de transacción, de acuerdos clandestinos, de

trenzadas y contubernios, nosotros convocamos a un Pacto de Unidad de Acción para la defensa de las libertades públicas. Y al General Perón, que aparece comprometido en tantos acuerdos contra los trabajadores y el pueblo, lo invitamos también para que se comprometa expresamente en esta acción que debemos iniciar sin demora para asegurar el ejercicio de los derechos democráticos. Y exigimos finalmente la constitución de una comisión parlamentaria, con atribuciones para detener e interrogar, que cuente con el aporte de todas las organizaciones agredidas por el terrorismo fascista y de todos los sectores gremiales que hayan sufrido la violencia del matonaje burocrático", dijo Coral.

Hablando a nombre del Comité Ejecutivo del PST, Moreno expresó la necesidad de formar brigadas y piquetes antifascistas, obreros y populares para defender el movimiento contra los ataques constantes.

El llamado del PST para que se forme un frente unido en torno a este punto ha recibido un apoyo sin precedentes. *Avanzada Socialista* citaba las reacciones positivas que ha encontrado la proposición entre los voceros del Bloque de Base y del Peronismo de Base, el Sindicato de Farmacia, la Lista Marrón Metalúrgica de Villa Constitución (tendencia clasista en el sindicato metalúrgico), UDELPA (Unión del Pueblo Adelante), el Partido Intransigente y el Partido Comunista. □

If 'Terms' of Negotiations Are Changed

Palestinian Group Approves Geneva Talks

"Analysts here," reported *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent John K. Cooley in a June 10 dispatch from Beirut, "see in the decisions of the Palestine National Council session of June 1-9 in Cairo the start of a double offensive—diplomatic and military—to get the Palestine question on the agenda at Geneva."

The council is an appointed group of some 180 members that functions as the parliament of the Palestine Liberation Organization. It voted overwhelmingly June 8 for the political program (printed in the Documents section of this issue) presented by PSO leader Yasir Arafat.

The most important point in the program—and the one that served as the focus of much of the week-long debate—authorizes the PLO leadership to take part in the Geneva talks provided that the other delegations agree to discuss Palestine as a national question rather than a "refugee problem."

In practical terms, correspondent Henry Tanner wrote in the June 9 *New York Times*, this means the PLO will take part in the talks "if the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—who are co-chairmen of the conference, invite the Palestinians as a national delegation and

make it clear that what they term Palestinians' national rights are a topic that will be discussed."

Despite the militant tone of several other points in the program and the passage of a separate declaration ordering the PLO leadership to step up military actions in Israel and the occupied territories, the decision to seek representation at Geneva is a major concession by the Palestinian leadership.

The Geneva conference is a joint Washington-Moscow project aimed at cementing the détente in the Arab East by imposing a "peaceful solution"—i.e., a compromise with Israel that would recognize the settler state's legitimacy in return for certain territorial concessions. No matter what verbal changes are made in the terms of the conference, Palestinian participation implies a pledge to accept and promote this compromise.

The threat was that if a Palestinian delegation did not take part in the talks, Washington, Moscow, and the bourgeois Arab governments would make an even harsher settlement over their heads. The promise on the part of Moscow and the Arab states to support the demand for a Palestinian ministate was the sweetener thrown

in to coat the pill.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the PFLP-General Command opposed participating in the Geneva talks as a "defeatist" measure. Spokesmen for these groups charged that despite the talk of "fighting and negotiating at the same time," Arafat's program really boiled down to abandoning the goal of overthrowing the Israeli state and establishing a democratic, secular Palestine.

This did not prevent either group,

however, from accepting seats on the new PLO Executive Committee, which was enlarged to fourteen members to make room for four West Bank representatives who favor negotiating with Israel. Only half the members of the new committee represent resistance organizations. This makes it the first Executive Committee since the 1967 war not to have a majority from the guerrilla groups.

One of the new West Bank members is the former pastor of the Episcopal Church at Ramallah. The three others

are members of the recently formed Palestinian National Front, a group that spoke out at the Cairo meeting against the "negative attitude" of some delegates toward negotiating with Israel.

The resistance organizations included on the new Executive Committee are Fateh (two members), the Syrian-backed As Saiqa, the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the PFLP, the PFLP-GC, and the Iraqi-backed Arab Liberation Front. □

Promising Something for (Almost) Everybody

Nixon-Kissinger Road-Show Draws Large Crowds

By Michael Baumann

From a propaganda standpoint, Nixon's tour of the Arab East, which was designed to demonstrate the enthusiasm of the Arab masses for U.S. imperialism's plans to impose a "peaceful solution" in the area—and to distract the U.S. public from Watergate at the same time—must be rated as largely a success.

"Great crowds of Egyptians cheered President Nixon with unreserved enthusiasm today when he arrived on the first stop of his tour of the Middle East," wrote *New York Times* correspondent John Herbers in a June 12 dispatch from Cairo.

"For about 10 miles along a motorcade route from the Cairo airport, President Nixon, who rode in an open-top car with President Anwar el-Sadat was proclaimed in chants and on banners as a peacemaker in a new era of friendly relations between the United States and Egypt.

"For President Nixon and his party it was a sudden and welcome shift of emphasis in only one day. Yesterday Secretary of State Kissinger's controversial news conference on wiretapping had centered attention on scandals in the Administration. Today Mr. Nixon once again was a world leader drawing popular acclaim."

The day Nixon left Cairo, reported *Washington Post* correspondent Jim Hoagland in a June 14 dispatch, he "was wildly cheered for the third consecutive day by jubilant Egyptian

crowds that implored him to continue the American peace initiative in the Middle East."

A smaller, more subdued crowd turned out in Damascus the next day. "President Nixon was given a large, friendly welcome here today," wrote Herbers June 15, "and for the first time since the Arab-Israeli war of 1967, the American flag flew in this ancient capital of Syria.

"Thousands of smiling, curious but mostly silent Syrians jammed the streets, balconies and housetops to see Mr. Nixon, who rode in an open car with President Assad."

Simple curiosity, a day off with pay, and massive publicity campaigns in the government-controlled press undoubtedly played a big part in bringing out the crowds. But these factors alone are not enough to explain the friendliness of the reception in two countries where U.S. imperialism has for nearly three decades been synonymous with oppression by Israel.

Two illusions—carefully nurtured by the Egyptian and Syrian regimes—were decisive: (1) the belief that improving relations with Washington would bring enough diplomatic pressure to bear on Israel to secure with-



"Newsweek" cartoonist had skeptical view of goals of Nixon's trip.

drawal from the occupied territories; and (2) the belief that the promised influx of U.S. capital and technology would improve the living standards of the Egyptian and Syrian masses.

In an effort to bolster these illusions, Nixon came equipped with a number of well-publicized promises. These included some concrete pledges of economic aid and technical assistance, along with considerably more vague statements about seeking a "just peace" in the Arab East.

Cairo, the first stop on the seven-day junket, received a renewed pledge of economic aid, additional help in clearing the Suez Canal and in rebuilding the bombed-out cities along its banks, and a commitment that U.S. nuclear technology would be made available immediately.

The latter was considered especially significant in view of India's recent test of a nuclear explosive device. The nuclear assistance was made conditional upon agreements on "safeguards" to rule out the possibility of Cairo's constructing a nuclear bomb; to even things out, however, it was made clear that Israel would receive the same aid.

Kissinger cautioned reporters not to make too much out of the nuclear-energy agreement, pointing out that the reactors Egypt would receive were quite small and that the United States had similar arrangements with twenty-nine other countries.

In an appearance before television cameras with Sadat June 13, Nixon modestly proclaimed that he had no "instant solutions" for the Arab East. The joint declaration he signed with Sadat proved that for once he was telling the truth.

The declaration, wrote *New York Times* correspondent Henry Tanner June 14, "appeared to be a compromise between the Egyptian and American positions. It said that a just peace would 'take into due account the legitimate interest of all the peoples in the Middle East, including the Palestinian people.'

"The American delegation shied away from the term 'legitimate rights,' which is used by the Palestinians and the Arab countries. 'Legitimate interest,' which is much weaker and does not have the connotation of 'national legitimacy' that the Palestinians are seeking, has been used in Soviet-American communiqués at the insistence of

the Americans. The Russians long ago recognized the 'legitimate rights' of the Palestinians."

Verbally, that is. For none of Nixon's current maneuvers would have been possible without tacit Moscow support. The Kremlin's announcement that Nixon would pay a friendly visit to Moscow June 27, little more than a week after his current junket ends, amounts to the Soviet bureaucracy's seal of approval to the Nixon-Kissinger road-show.

Like Sadat, Syrian President Assad was rewarded for his part in making the Nixon tour possible. In return for the publicity buildup giving the visit the Baath regime's backing, Syria received diplomatic recognition from Washington, pledges of economic aid, and assurances that U.S. capital would begin to move into Damascus. Syria is less important than Egypt in Nixon's plans, however, and will not receive as much in the way of repayment.

"Western diplomats here," wrote *New York Times* reporter James F. Clarity in a June 14 dispatch from Damascus, "do not expect that a major American aid program will be initiated. Mr. Kissinger has suggested that the United States might provide funds for the reconstruction of Syrian towns damaged during the war with Israel last October."

In addition, Syria will be expected to make amends for past actions. "Other matters that must be settled when relations are resumed," Clarity reported, "include relatively small sums Syria owes to several American companies for property she nationalized 10 years ago, and frozen funds the United States is owed from past grain shipments."

In the two-day stop in Saudi Arabia sandwiched between his visits to Cairo and Damascus, Nixon made no new public commitment, limiting himself to reaffirming the broad economic and military pact reached with King Faisal earlier in the month.

With the now public pledge for nuclear-energy equipment, Israel too may have already received what it can realistically expect from Washington at the moment. Nixon's commitment earlier this month to provide the Zionist regime with military aid on a long-range basis made clear Washington's intention to continue backing Israel to the hilt. Previous military aid had

always been negotiated on a yearly basis.

It is only a matter of time until Nixon's promises are revealed to the Arab masses for the hoaxes they are. No amount of diplomatic maneuvering can erase the central fact that there will be no peace in the Arab East until the Palestinians are able to return to their homeland.

This can be accomplished only by overthrowing the Israeli state and replacing it with a democratic, secular Palestine in which both Arabs and Jews can live. No deals with the Arab bourgeoisie and no empty promises to the Arab masses can serve for very long as a substitute.

The editors of the *New York Times*, who speak for somewhat longer-range interests than Nixon's effort to gain a breathing spell from Watergate, warned June 16 of the "air of unreality" that hung over Nixon's trip.

The fear in some U.S. ruling circles was that Nixon, because of his Watergate difficulties, might go too far to win the applause of the crowds. The trip, after all, was not really necessary in a diplomatic sense: All the agreements had been worked out beforehand. And might not fostering a mood of too much expectation in the Arab masses cause an angry explosion later, when the inevitable disillusionment sets in?

"Mr. Kissinger's Middle East diplomacy was successful," wrote Bernard Gwertzman in the June 10 *New York Times*, "because he encouraged the Arabs to think that he would regain for them their lost lands while he kept Israel satisfied that her security was not being endangered.

". . . At some point, however, a final deal will have to be struck and Israel will probably want to keep some of the occupied land.

"What happens then?" □

A Jacksonville, Florida, woman has been denied a driver's license on the grounds that she is dead. Geraldine Herring says that she passed the driving examination and filled out all the necessary forms. But when the examiner put her name through the state computer, it coughed back a March 1973 obituary on her. "I'm sorry to have to tell you this," said the examiner, "but you're dead." Herring strongly disagreed and insisted that the information be run through the computer again. The computer again insisted that she was dead and could not be issued a driver's license. The "deceased" Geraldine Herring is still without a license.

Why Kissinger Threatened to Resign

By Allen Myers

"The art of resigning from political office—whether to slip or sneak away or go out with a bang—has declined rather seriously in recent years," *New York Times* columnist James Reston wrote in the June 14 issue. "The people who should resign won't, and the people who shouldn't, threaten to do so."

Reston's treatment of Henry Kissinger's June 11 threat to resign was a bit more lighthearted than most commentaries in the capitalist press, but Reston, too, could not refrain from pointing out that the issues raised concerned a very serious matter for the U.S. ruling class.

"... if Mr. Kissinger thinks he should resign unless his credibility and character are restored at once by the Congress, what does he think President Nixon should do facing much more serious and prolonged charges about *his* credibility, character, and violation of the spirit and letter of the Constitution?" (Emphasis in original.)

What Kissinger demanded during his surprise press conference in Salzburg was that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee publicly whitewash his role in the 1969-71 wiretapping of thirteen government officials and four reporters. Since the same committee had done precisely that at the time of Kissinger's confirmation hearings last September, he could be confident that his demand would be met.

In fact, the Senate as a whole raced to endorse Kissinger's "honesty" without even waiting for the "investigation" that he had asked the Foreign Relations Committee to make. By June 13, fifty-two of the 100 members of the Senate had become co-sponsors of a resolution asserting that his "integrity and veracity are above reproach."

Of course, having the Senate of the United States attest to one's integrity is an honor on a par with having Richard Nixon assert a subordinate's innocence of Watergate crimes. But Kissinger appears to place high value on such forms and ceremonies: It will be recalled that he did not even show

embarrassment when he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for having explained to Hanoi's negotiators the conditions under which Nixon would agree to stop the genocidal bombing of Vietnam.

But despite its overall tone of low farce, Kissinger's latest performance was meant seriously. Kissinger explained its purpose at his press conference when he said, "... it seems to me that our national debate has now reached a point where it is possible for documents that have already been submitted to one committee to be selectively leaked to another committee without the benefit of any explanation, where public officials are required to submit their most secret documents to public scrutiny, where unnamed sources can attack the credibility and the honor of senior officials of the government without even being asked to identify themselves."

And in response to a question, he added: "It is impossible and incompatible with the dignity of the United States to have its senior official and to have its secretary of state under this sort of attack in the face of the dangers we confront and the risks that may have to be run and the opportunities that may have to be seized. This is a fact. This is not a threat."

Kissinger was thus warning Nixon's critics in Congress and the capitalist press that Watergate and the atmosphere resulting from the scandal are, in his opinion, seriously undermining the ability of the government to fulfill the tasks assigned it by the U.S. ruling class.

That Watergate has made Nixon a liability rather than an asset to U.S. imperialism is hardly a revelation; recognition of that fact is behind the desire of influential sectors of the ruling class to impeach Nixon or force his resignation. But by raising the possibility of his own resignation, Kissinger was saying in effect that the Watergate disclosures are going too far, creating problems that will not be solved by the removal of Nixon.

Kissinger appears particularly con-

cerned over the fact that Watergate has contributed to a widespread and justified public suspicion that the chief aim of government secrecy is the concealment of one variety or another of "dirty tricks," and to the resulting climate in which any disgruntled government bureaucrat feels safe in leaking secrets to the press.

Kissinger's remarks were, of course, seized on avidly by spokesmen for the conservative ruling-class circles who feel that the restoration of "public confidence" can be more easily achieved by a whitewash of Nixon and suppression of further disclosures than by calling Nixon to account for some of his crimes to show that "the system works." For these circles, the chief culprit is "the media." Columnist Joseph Alsop, for example, wrote on June 14:

"If the U.S. government loses the invaluable services of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, the enormous, Watergate-induced self-importance of the American press will be to blame.

"If the U.S. dollar . . . loses a lot of its value on the world market; and if American foreign policy also joins American economic policy on the dung-heap of disorder, you can thank your friendly media."

Weighed in the balance against such dangers, Kissinger's lying under oath to a Congressional committee seemed completely insignificant to Alsop:

"Dr. Kissinger has in fact been accused of 'dissembling,' and has even heard the word 'perjury' hurled at him, because of a crucial national security matter involving less than a score of wiretaps. Under the law, such wiretaps are entirely permissible for national security purposes.

"One wonders, then, why it was so shocking for a servant of the Nixon administration to worry about national security to the extent of knowingly approving under a score of wiretaps. After all, national security wiretaps were very much more numerous in the Truman administration, and they were vastly more numerous in the administration of President Kennedy."

On the floor of the Senate June 12, Barry Goldwater showed even more indignant concern for the "national security," which was being threatened by traitors who made it possible for U.S. citizens to get a glimpse of what "their" government was up to:

"Apparently anything goes nowa-

days. Any government employee with any kind of information apparently feels free to hand it over to the nearest *Washington Post* reporter he can find. The motivation is something of a puzzle. Do these government employees sell the information or do they just enjoy the privilege of performing acts of a traitorous nature while the Nixon administration is in office? . . . [Kissinger] apparently found himself confronted by a situation in which highly secret information of an international nature was being leaked and he took necessary steps to have it halted. Personally, I believe he would have been derelict in his duty if he had not done everything in his power—including suggesting the imposition of wiretaps—to discover the source of dangerous leaks in the government. . . .

"In most of the accounts I have read about Dr. Kissinger's testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee, very little attention is ever given to the overriding reasons why security measures had become necessary. It was a time when the climate was such that a man named Ellsberg could steal top-secret papers from the Pentagon and distribute them to newspapers without the kind of public condemnation such as a treasonable act deserves. It was a time also when information was being supplied to the press from sources obviously within the White House or offices closely connected with the White House. And in my opinion, these two conditions required action to find out who was guilty in every case where leakage of sensitive information took place."

The "national security" of U.S. capitalism is indeed damaged when the public is allowed to read in the *Pentagon Papers* an account of how three successive administrations plotted to initiate and escalate the Vietnam war. In the interests of accuracy, however, it should be pointed out that the wiretaps in question were initiated two years before the publication of the *Pentagon Papers*. The leak that prompted Nixon and Kissinger's concern for "national security" in 1969 was a *New York Times* story reporting the "sensitive information" that U.S. B-52s were bombing Cambodia.

The major bourgeois newspapers seemed to have been taken by surprise by Kissinger's press conference and showed some uncertainty as to how seriously his threat and all that

"Oops, Oop, And Away"



it implied should be taken. The *Wall Street Journal*, which more than other influential papers has urged a cautious approach to dealing with Nixon and Watergate, in an editorial June 13 pointed out, in rather abstract language, that the continuing disclosures tend to destroy the "credibility" of all government officials.

". . . at the moment," the *Journal's* editors wrote, "we are in the grip of an alchemy that seizes on any available ambiguity and presents it in the worst possible light. . . ."

"Everyone naturally interprets new events in the light of experience, and our recent experience has been Watergate. . . ."

"When the stereotype of duplicity is applied to high officials it highlights some truth, but it also has an especially destructive potential. For the very purpose of high officials is to deal with questions that are both weighty and ambivalent. Even if miraculously there were no mistakes, there will always be ambiguities that can fit the theme of dishonesty. The stereotype can easily acquire an existence of its own, sooner or later carrying us beyond reality and obscuring more than it reveals."

The editorial concluded with the hope that Kissinger might be a suitable Mr. Clean to lead a crusade against further disclosures of information that reinforces the "stereotype" of government criminality:

"Admittedly it is difficult to tell precisely where reality does end, and perhaps the charges against Mr. Kissinger do deserve more exploration. But of this we are quite sure: At some point a corrective will be necessary, and this cannot take place until someone like Mr. Kissinger starts to fight back."

The *Washington Post* was willing to admit that perhaps feelings of vindictiveness had occasionally resulted in disclosures that went beyond what was needed to serve its view of ruling-class interests. But in the June 12 issue, the editors argued that the solution lay not in Kissinger being given a license to lie openly without being contradicted, but in Nixon and his accomplices putting together a convincing story:

"There is no disguising that this is a grim time. No one who appreciates Dr. Kissinger's diplomacy can want to see him resign. But there cannot be established a double standard of truth-telling and public accountability. Among some in Washington, it is true, there is a certain sense of blood in the water, a feeling that the mighty, and especially those relatively unmarked among the mighty, must be brought down regardless of the actual scope of their alleged flaws. We deplore this feeling. But we would argue that there is a relatively simple and straightforward way to deal with it. And that is for those involved—principally the President, Dr. Kissinger and General Haig—to clarify the facts of the matter once and for all."

But the most striking demonstration of the advantages of liberalism was provided by the *New York Times*, which engaged in a display of "evenhandedness" that placed it squarely on all sides of the question.

In a June 11 editorial, written before Kissinger's public complaint, the *Times* complained that "Secretary Kissinger seems to be vulnerable to the charge of dissembling about his role in this distasteful affair."

The next day's editorial was entitled "Time for Caution." It cautiously warned, "Restraint and caution are essential . . . to avoid interference with the Secretary's diplomatic functions during President Nixon's current Middle Eastern tour and the forthcoming visit to Moscow." What was needed was a "comprehensive investigation," preferably one conducted by the Senate committee that had previously whitewashed Kissinger's role in the

wiretapping, and the longer such an investigation took, the better:

". . . until such an investigation is concluded—and it cannot be carried out in a hurry or under pressure from any source—the national interest requires that the Secretary of State be encouraged to continue the peacemaking efforts that stand as the brightest achievements of the Nixon Administration."

The paper's columnists meanwhile engaged each other in a debate on the question. Anthony Lewis wrote in the June 13 issue, "Doubt remains that Mr. Kissinger really perceives how nasty it is to initiate or condone spying on one's own colleagues and friends."

Kissinger's concern with leaks, Lewis pointed out, was based on his belief "that the President of the United States should have power to bomb another country without informing, much less consulting, Congress or the public."

Lewis was answered in the June 16 issue by C.L. Sulzberger, the son of *Times* chairman and president, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger.

"The real issue raised by Secretary Kissinger's threat to resign," he wrote, "was that of U.S. national security. What means, it is inferentially asked, can justifiably be used to insure that state secrets are not leaked at the expense of the nation's safety or at the risk of embarrassing relations with allies or negotiations with foreign governments?"

Wiretapping is really quite common in the United States and other "open societies," Sulzberger pointed out, and therefore "that Mr. Kissinger and other officials of the executive branch, especially those concerned with foreign and defense policies, should have been disturbed by leaks of secret information that could jeopardize our relations abroad is neither startling nor ignoble."

Nixon and his dwindling band of supporters naturally tried to capitalize on the sudden bad repute of news leaks to score some points against the House Judiciary Committee, which is expected eventually to recommend his impeachment.

"The Nixon Administration," Bernard Gwertzman reported in the June 13 *New York Times*, "seemed to seize on the Kissinger affair to step up criticism of the House Judiciary Committee. . . ."

"Both Vice President Ford and Dean Burch, counselor to the President, charged the committee with having leaked derogatory information about Mr. Kissinger and said the committee should open its hearings to the public.

"Mr. Burch, who insisted that the leaks were coming from the committee, even though newsmen maintained this was not so, said that Peter W. Rodino Jr., the chairman, had lost control of his committee. . . ."

"The Vice President told newsmen, 'I think generally the people who are leaking this information are pro-impeachment.' Both he and Mr. Burch

said it would be a tragedy, a calamity, and catastrophic for Mr. Kissinger to resign."

But it seems most unlikely that Kissinger's complaint will do Nixon much good in the long run. The undermining of U.S. imperialism's top diplomat by Watergate-related scandals is not something that can be stopped by Senate resolutions or newspaper editorials. It will have already occurred to the more perceptive members of the ruling class that their best hope of salvaging something from the present situation lies in removing the criminal at the center of Watergate. □

CP Offers Its Help

Economic Crisis Shakes Italian Capitalism

By Dick Fidler

Italy's three-month-old coalition government, headed by Mariano Rumor, resigned June 10. It was the thirty-sixth government since the fall of Mussolini. But this was no routine ministerial crisis.

"There are deep divergencies on how to govern a country that is profoundly ill," said Luigi Preti, a Social Democrat who was transport minister in Rumor's cabinet. "This isn't just a government crisis. The real danger is the discredit and breakdown of our democratic institutions."

His comments reflected the profound unease of the Italian bourgeoisie, confronted with a deepening social, economic, and political crisis. Within the last few years, Italy, once the pride of European postwar capitalist recovery, has become a leading candidate for the title, "sick man of Europe."

The immediate cause of the government's fall was the deepening differences between the two main partners in the coalition, Rumor's Christian Democrats and the Socialist party, over how to deal with the serious economic and financial crisis confronting Italian capitalism.

With a trade deficit running at a rate of US\$13,000 million a year, Italy's economy is on the verge of bankruptcy. The already chronic def-

icit in the country's balance of payments has been enormously aggravated by the oil crisis. Italy imports 95 percent of its petroleum needs, and the bill for these imports is expected to be about \$10,000 million this year, a *fourfold* increase since 1972.

To finance the growing deficit in its balance of payments, the Italian government has been borrowing heavily abroad. The governor of the Bank of Italy, Guido Carli, recently revealed that Italy borrowed US\$10,800 million abroad during the last two years and that it is paying \$700 million annually in interest on this sum. Italy has the largest foreign debt among major imperialist powers.

Moreover, the rate of inflation in 1973 was 12.4 percent, compared with 6 percent the previous year, and prices are now rising at an annual rate of 20 percent, seriously undermining the competitive capacity of Italian goods and drastically lowering the real wages of the working class.

The extensive loans from foreign banks and governments have put heavy pressure on the lire, which is today worth 18 percent less than its international value in February 1973, when it started to float; there are widespread rumors that the lire will soon be devalued by about 20 percent—cutting still more deeply into the

masses' living standards.

A June 9 dispatch from Rome in the *New York Times*, citing "diplomatic sources" (a euphemism the *Times* uses to refer to the U.S. embassy), reported that "Italy is ur-



MARIANO RUMOR

gently seeking a big loan—possibly of more than \$1-billion [millard]—from the United States or West Germany to bail her out of a grave financial crisis." A June 10 dispatch in the *Times* from Basel, Switzerland, cited unnamed "leading central bankers" as saying that they "were prepared to arrange for large credits for Italy" but on condition that its government "agree to harsh restrictions on her economy to restrain domestic demand and reduce imports other than oil. . . ."

Even a loan of \$1,000 million would barely cover Italy's present balance-of-payments deficit for one month. The real solution, for both the Italian bourgeoisie and the international bankers, is a staged recession, involving the application of severe "austerity" and a drastic cut in the real wages and living standards of the Italian workers.

New York Times correspondent Paul Hofmann wrote from Rome June 8 that "the majority of the Christian Democratic party wants to fight inflation through tight curbs on bank credit for private business, state-owned enterprises and local govern-

ments." It was the Socialist party's opposition to these credit restrictions, on the grounds that they would lead to mass unemployment within a few months, that led to the breakup of the cabinet.

How to pull together a viable governmental combination that can implement an "austerity" program—that is the question preoccupying the Italian bourgeoisie.

Today's economic and political crisis is the latest phase of a prolonged process of continuing economic difficulties and governmental instability that began in the late 1960s, when a slowing of the country's rapid economic growth in the postwar period coincided with a massive upsurge of the labor movement. While the bourgeoisie survived the prerevolutionary crisis of 1969, the growing strength of the workers' movement seriously undermined the stability of the "center-left" formula of government that had been utilized since the beginning of the 1960s. According to this formula, the Christian Democracy, the main party of the bourgeoisie—while called "center" it is really a conservative party, with very close ties to the Catholic hierarchy—ruled in a coalition with other conservative parties and parties of the Social Democratic left.

The Italian bourgeoisie adopted a two-pronged strategy. On the one hand, it made increasing efforts to integrate the trade-union bureaucracy into a "democratic perspective" of collaboration in incomes policy and attempts to "rationalize" the economy. At the same time, a growing offensive by right-wing elements was tolerated and even encouraged, with the complicity of sections of the bourgeoisie and state institutions (in the first place, the army intelligence service).

Bomb attacks by the extreme right wing were used to intimidate less radicalized, weaker sections of the workers' movement, to demoralize militants, and to provoke a massive reaction among the petty bourgeoisie in support of capitalist "law and order." And the attacks served to increase pressure on the union bureaucrats to acquiesce in moves to restrict the freedom of the trade unions and civil liberties in general.

But although evidence has accumulated that sectors of the bourgeoisie were even toying with the idea of a

Greek-style coup and the establishment of a right-wing authoritarian regime under military control, such a project would have been made extremely dangerous by the continued mobilizations of the masses. Each successive government, whether "center-right" or "center-left," came to grief as the workers repeatedly mobilized in massive numbers—usually without any national leadership—to defeat concerted plans by the government and employers to implement an incomes policy or wage guidelines.

Following the formation of a previous government headed by Rumor in July 1973, the leadership of the Communist party (Italy's second biggest), seeing its chance to play a role in resolving the problems of Italian capitalism, advanced a proposal for a "historic compromise"—advocating a bloc (its exact nature was left unspecified) between the CP and the parties of the governing coalition. This class-collaborationist perspective was passed off by the CP leaders as "opposition of a different type."

This proposal looks increasingly attractive to the Italian bourgeoisie today, as it searches for ways out of the growing crisis.

There are two extreme options being debated today by the Italian ruling class. Confronted with the declining usefulness of parliament as an instrument to mediate class conflicts, and the urgent need to carry out a rationalization of the economic infrastructure, it may decide to move to install an authoritarian regime. On the other hand, faced with the continuing mobilization of the masses, it can attempt a different approach, by concluding an alliance with the traditional workers' organizations, including the Communist party—that is, accept the "historic compromise" and try to repeat the same kind of operation that existed through the bloc of workers' parties and bourgeois parties that governed Italy between 1944 and 1947. Either option includes obvious risks.

The results of the May 12 divorce referendum indicated the obstacles confronting the bourgeoisie if they attempt the first course of action. The right wing had hoped to use the struggle for repeal of Italy's three-year-old divorce reform as a means of constructing a bloc of conservative forces with

a mass base, to show the viability of a right-wing alternative. But the attempt failed miserably, with over 60 percent of the population voting against repeal. The pro-divorce vote was highest in the urban working-class centers, underscoring the radicalization of the workers' movement and the weakening of the Catholic church's influence—and with it, the influence of the Christian Democracy, which had thrown itself into the struggle for repeal of divorce.

The only other major party campaigning against divorce was the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI). The fall of the Rumor cabinet in part resulted from the shifts in the relationship of forces between the major parties in the wake of the divorce referendum.

Another indication of the lack of popular support for a right-wing authoritarian solution was the huge turnout of hundreds of thousands of workers in demonstrations across Italy, to protest the fascist bomb attack at Brescia May 28. (See *Intercontinental Press*, June 17, p. 773.)

In this context, there is increased talk in bourgeois circles of the need for collaboration among the parties of what is called the "constitutional arc"—that is, the parties that have pledged to respect and uphold the constitution of the bourgeois republic, from the Liberals on the right to the Communists on the left, including the Christian Democracy and the various Social Democratic parties, and excluding the MSI.

The idea, of course, is to involve significant sectors of the reformist bureaucracy of the labor movement in administering new austerity policies, through some form of governing formula—whether this means direct Communist party representation in the government, or simply establishment of formal consultative mechanisms that can serve the same end.

Giovanni Agnelli, president of Confindustria (the Confederation of Industrialists), warned in a recent speech that Italy had only "a margin of several months to try to get going on a serious recovery process." Agnelli proposed that political and trade-union forces join in a "new social contract" to "redefine the national objectives of the Italian people," similar to the "social contract" signed in April 1945, when the Communist party was in

the government.

Other prominent ruling-class spokesmen have voiced similar views. Addressing a meeting of the Christian Democratic party leadership only a week before the fall of the Rumor government, Secretary-General Amintore Fanfani stated that the only way out of the current crisis was to combine an "anti-inflationist policy" that would limit expansion for some time, with a development policy requiring "collaboration among the social forces."

In a three-hour speech to the Central Committee of the CP on June 3, the party's general secretary, Enrico Berlinguer, described as "pre-mature" the proposals by some leading members of the CP that the party ask to participate directly in the government, but stated that "it is absurd to think that the economic situation can seriously be confronted without the contribution of the Communists." He called for closer collaboration and cooperation between the "center-left" majority and the CP deputies in the parliament "not only on specific issues and isolated measures, but on general political orientations."

Berlinguer is reported to have repeated these proposals to President Leone following the resignation of the Rumor government. It would be "intolerable," he told the press after his 45-minute private consultation with Leone, if a new cabinet were formed without "tangible innovations" in Italy's "political process."

Italy's crisis has aroused great concern within the international bourgeoisie because of its possible ramifications. "Their situation is, of course, anything but unique," wrote Leonard Silk in the June 12 *New York Times*. "They are the first major casualty of the oil crisis because their balance of payments was weak even before the oil crisis. However, such other countries as Japan (with an estimated oil deficit this year of \$18-billion), France (\$12-billion), Britain (\$12-billion) and the Netherlands (\$8.5-billion) also appear vulnerable to the oil threat."

Silk suggested that Italy's economic crisis "could be only the first in a series of disasters that might rip through Europe and the world economy.

"If the Italian economy (earlier viewed as a postwar 'miracle' almost on a par with West Germany's 'miracle') were to founder, this could be

a blow at the soft underbelly of Europe. George Ball, former Under Secretary of State, notes that the entire Mediterranean tier of Europe—Italy, Portugal, Spain and Greece—is on the verge of economic and political upheaval."

The Italian bourgeoisie gained a slight, temporary reprieve this month when the "Group of 10" finance ministers, with the Italian crisis uppermost in their considerations, decided to let any nation in need of foreign exchange borrow currency from other governments or banks, by using its gold stocks—at whatever value the lender will accept—as collateral on the loan. This opened the way for Italy to help finance its debts with its gold reserves, which are valued at \$3,500 million at the official rate of \$42.22 an ounce but worth \$16,000 million at present prices in the free market.

However, in the longer term, such measures can only aggravate an already serious inflation problem, resulting in a further drop in the masses' living standards.

Whether the Italian bourgeoisie chooses at this time to accept the CP's offer of a class-collaborationist "democratic turn," or whether it falls back on some new variant of class-collaborationist coalition with the Social Democratic parties, it is clear that the working class faces an intensified attack on its living standards and rights in the next immediate period. Analyzing the situation following the divorce referendum, the May 20 issue of *Bandiera Rossa*, the fortnightly organ of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (Revolutionary Communist Groups), the Italian section of the Fourth International, stated:

"Today it is necessary to relaunch a generalized struggle to defend the employment and buying power of the wage earners and to develop effective instruments of workers' control that can prevent the rationalization of the capitalist apparatus that the bourgeoisie is rigorously seeking to impose on the back of the working class. Today it is necessary to exploit to the maximum the obvious crisis of bourgeois institutions and to put forward as an alternative a workers' government based on organs arising from real struggles, rejecting all collaboration with the bourgeoisie and its parties." □

Student Anti-Racist Demonstrator Killed

By Tony Hodges

London

JUNE 16—Kevin Gately, a 21-year-old student from Warwick University, was killed here yesterday, a victim of a premeditated assault by hundreds of police against a 1,000-strong demonstration. Gately, who had never attended a demonstration before, was struck unconscious by a blow on the head during the police attack and died four hours later of a cerebral hemorrhage.

He had marched through central London with other supporters of Liberation, a colonial freedom group whose president is Lord Brockway, to oppose an anti-immigrant demonstration held the same day by 1,000 supporters of the extreme right-wing National Front. The anti-National Front march was backed by the International Marxist Group [British section of the Fourth International], the International Socialists, and the Communist party.

The police attack came at London's Red Lion Square outside Conway Hall, where the National Front was to hold a rally protesting a decision of the Labour government to grant an amnesty to persons deemed illegal immigrants under the racist 1971 Immigration Act.

This is how Jackie Stevens, a member of the IMG who marched beside Gately into Red Lion Square and was a fellow student at Warwick University, described the events that led to Gately's death: "We turned into Red Lion Square, our arms linked together. We came across a line of police, and behind them were mounted police. When we tried to get through to Conway Hall, the police drew their batons and charged. . . . I fell and was trodden on by a horse and beaten on the head. Our arms became unlinked and I didn't see Kevin again. There was blood all over the place and teeth lying on the ground. The police were screaming and shouting. We were all bunched up with horses on top of us. It was an absolutely horrific scene."

Tony Gilbert, a spokesperson for

Liberation, declared after the march: "When you get police diving in with truncheons and horses and somebody is killed in circumstances like this, I would call it murder. I have seen fascist demonstrations in the 1930s, but I have never seen the police act in such a brutal manner as they did on Saturday."

Sydney Bidwell, Labour member of Parliament for Southall and chairman of the London council of Liberation, accused the police of attacking a small group of demonstrators "with great ferocity" and announced that he would put down a private member's question in the House of Commons, for Home Secretary Roy Jenkins. "Mounted police," Bidwell said, "were driving people before them. I had to nip out of the way myself. I narrowly escaped being trampled by a horse."

Fifty-five anti-National Front demonstrators were arrested. Many face trumped-up charges of assault, when their only crime was to be caught in the midst of a police riot. The right-wing Tory press and the police have attempted to place the blame for yesterday's violence on the demonstrators and those who marched to oppose the race hatred and violence of the National Front. The real criminals are the government and the top officialdom of the police who ordered the attack.

The IMG, which has been mounting a nationwide campaign to throw back the racist attacks of the National Front, stated late last night: "Today's use of massive violence against a march sponsored by many leading figures and organisations in the labour movement must have been sanctioned at senior levels of the police or the government. The police were cooperating with the National Front marchers and had obviously been briefed to use exemplary violence not seen since the 1920s."

Brian Hehren, a spokesperson of the IMG, said today: "We did not start the trouble. It was the police, waiting and beating people over the heads with their truncheons, that started it

all. Our supporters moved forward with arms linked. There was the usual pushing and shoving against the police, but no violence on our side."

By contrast with the vicious attack on the demonstration organised by Liberation, the treatment accorded to the National Front was one of complete cordiality and cooperation on the part of the police. Once inside Conway Hall, the National Front marchers, some of whom wore black shirts, were told by racist demagogue Walter Barton, "It is time our young men were let loose on the reds." National Front chairman John Tyndall was drowned in cheers when he said: "You will probably read in the press tomorrow that the police kept order between the National Front and the left wing. My version of this is that the police this afternoon saved the left wing."

The IMG has called for an inquiry into the murder of Kevin Gately, to be organized immediately by the trade union and labour movements, and for the Labour government to ban a march scheduled for Birmingham by the National Front and the Ulster Defence Association on July 13. The IMG is proposing that a giant rally be held by the Labour party and the trade unions in Birmingham on that day. The Warwick University students union is calling a mass rally in Warwick for June 21 in commemoration of Kevin Gately and is planning to hold a national demonstration on June 22 to protest his murder.

Messages of support and financial contributions to the defence campaign can be sent to: National Union of Students, 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1, Britain. □

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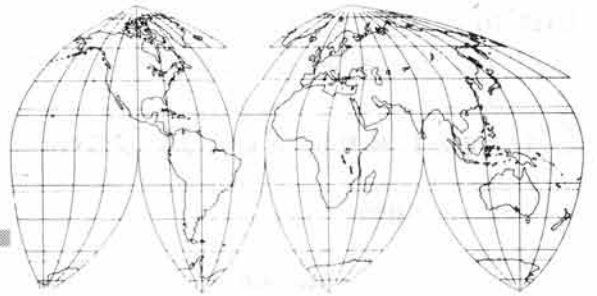
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AROUND THE WORLD



Thousands March in Funeral Procession for IRA Member

Dublin

Michael Gaughan of the Provisional Irish Republican Army died June 3 in Pankhurst Prison on the Isle of Wight, England. He had been on a hunger strike for sixty-five days, demanding political-prisoner status. He was 24 years old.

In London the funeral march attracted thousands of mourners as it passed through the Irish districts of the city. It was flanked by IRA men in uniform.

In Dublin on Saturday night [June 8], there were similar scenes. About 15,000 persons lined the route as the coffin was brought into the city. On Sunday the body was taken to Gaughan's home town of Ballina in the west of Ireland. Crowds of mourners joined the procession in every town and in many villages as the coffin was carried across the island. In all, in one place and another, about 100,000 persons marched.

At the funeral itself, an incident occurred when the priest said that not everything the English had done in Ireland was bad. Many leading Provisional republicans, including Daithi O Conaill, the reputed chief of staff of the Provisional IRA, who gave the memorial oration, walked out of the church.

Every wall in Dublin has a picture of Gaughan with a cross underneath and the inscription: "Gaughan was murdered by the British Government."

In the British parliament at Westminster, questions were asked about the wearing of paramilitary uniforms in both Britain and Ireland. Roy Jenkins, the United Kingdom home secretary, replied that prosecutions were being considered; he implied that he would outlaw the IRA if the police requested. He also expressed annoyance at the Dublin government for not taking any action against the military-style funeral, since the IRA is banned here. But it is generally agreed here that the government could not take such action for fear of reinforcing the sympathy for the Provisional republicans.

U.S.-China Trade Increasing

U.S. trade with China reached \$441 million in the first four months of 1974, surpassing by some \$100 million U.S. trade with the Soviet Union during the same period. Trade with China is ex-

pected to reach \$1,250 million by the end of the year and \$4,000 million by 1980, according to U.S. Commerce Department estimates.

The National Council for U.S.-China Trade reported June 3 that the United States is now China's third largest trading partner, after Japan and Hong Kong. In 1973, China's trade with Japan totaled about \$2,000 million, with Hong Kong \$800 million, with West Germany \$430 million, and with the Soviet Union \$265 million.

Jackson Invited to Peking

U.S. Senator Henry Jackson announced June 12 that he would visit China the first week in July at the invitation of the Chinese government. Jackson, who is thought likely to seek the Democratic party nomination for president in 1976, is a critic of some of the terms of the Washington-Moscow detente, arguing for a policy of seeking even greater concessions from the Kremlin.

Report Jewish Emigration From USSR

According to the Geneva-based Intergovernmental Committee for Migrations in Europe, 7,260 Jews left the Soviet Union in the first four months of 1974. The figure for the same period last year was 9,505.

Book Describes Thieu's Prisons

"The Americans have stopped brutalizing the Vietnamese countryside. But here, in this prison without light, nothing has changed. It is always dark, we are always thirsty and sick, afflicted with mosquitoes, beset by terror. . . . It is still America."

So writes Tran Hue, one of the hundreds of thousands of political prisoners in South Vietnam. They are the subject of a massive work recently published in Paris by a Vietnamese organization led by Abbey Nguyen Dinh Thi, from which the above quotation is taken.

The French-language book provides detailed documentation on the detention camps, internment centers, the use of torture, and living conditions in the prisons of Thieu's regime. It contains testimony by numerous prisoners, as well as a chronology on repression in South Vietnam

and an extensive bibliography.

The title is "Saigon, un Regime en Question: Les Prisonniers Politiques." It is published by Editions Sudestasié, 17, rue du Cardinal-Lemoine, 75005 Paris, and sells for 29 francs (US\$6).

Army Coup in Yemen

A ten-man military junta took over the government in Yemen June 13, following the resignation of the president and the two other members of the Republican Council, as well as the speaker of the legislature. The new junta is headed by Colonel Ibrahim al-Hamidi, deputy commander in chief of the armed forces. The other members of the junta, or "command council," were not identified but are believed to be junior officers.

The former president, Abdul Rahman al-Iryani, had held office since 1967. His nephew, army commander in chief Colonel Mohammed al-Iryani, was out of the country at the time of the coup.

The new junta suspended the constitution, dissolved the legislature, and ordered the disbanding of the only legal political party. It promised to restore civilian rule "as soon as possible."

New Novel Praises Stalin

The May and June issues of a Soviet magazine for youth have printed two installments of a new novel highly sympathetic to Stalin. The excerpts from *War*, by Ivan Stadnyuk, appeared in the mass-circulation *Molodaya Gvardiya*.

The novel contradicts accounts by former officers who have described Stalin as weak and indecisive in the face of the Nazi attack in the second world war. The dictator is portrayed as a brilliant strategist and leader, fully in command of the situation.

The novel also justifies the Stalin "personality cult," quoting Stalin as saying that it was fostered so that he could lead the masses "if the necessity arises to go to the barricades."

Furtseva Restored to Soviet Post

The Kremlin leaders appear to have reversed an earlier decision and decided to allow Yekaterina A. Furtseva, the minister of culture, to remain a deputy to the

Supreme Soviet.

When nominations to that body were officially closed May 12, Furtseva, who had been a deputy for twenty years, was not listed as a candidate. Stories published in the West reported that she had been reprimanded for being caught using state funds to build herself a lavish dacha outside Moscow.

Apparently embarrassed by this publicity and unwilling to confirm the account of corruption by demoting her, the government informed Western journalists that Furtseva had in fact been assigned an election district.

Marcos Offers Amnesty to Rebels

Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos on June 12 offered an amnesty to any Muslim rebels in the country's southern islands who would lay down their arms. In a Manila speech marking Philippine Independence Day, Marcos said he would create a commission of Christians and Muslims to negotiate with the rebels.

"I hereby proclaim," he said, "complete and full amnesty to all those who shall deal with this commission. We will accept them as brothers and forget whatever they have done."

Mozambique Prison Rebellion

Some 100 prisoners were able to escape from Comarca prison in Lourenco-Marques June 11 in the course of a rebellion. An indication of the harshness of prison conditions there was given in a recent report by the commission of inquiry set up by the Mozambique Democratic party. The commission found that at least 900 prisoners had died in Mozambique jails over the past eight years.

Thai Workers Threaten to Call General Strike

Five thousand textile workers went on strike in Bangkok June 12 demanding higher wages, better working conditions, and changes in the labor laws. According to a June 14 Agence France-Presse dispatch from Bangkok, this is the first strike in Thailand's history to have the support of the entire organized labor movement. Labor associations representing 400,000 workers have sent the government an ultimatum threatening a general strike if immediate changes are not made in the labor code.

Israeli Reprisals Against Civilians Reported to Rise

The Israeli army has destroyed 9,000 Arab homes in the occupied territories since 1967, according to a memorandum sent to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim in April. The May issue of *Israel & Palestine* reported that the

demolitions, a reprisal against those "suspected of being the relatives of terrorists," had increased considerably since the October war.

Shah Ups Order for Fighter Planes

The Iranian government has reportedly increased the number of F-14A jet fighter planes it intends to purchase in the United States. Earlier this year the shah's regime ordered thirty of the planes, at a total cost of \$900 million. The order is now reported to have been increased to eighty planes.

The F-14A is a swing-wing plane that can fly at speeds up to 1,600 miles an hour.

Naxalites on Hunger Strike

Demanding that they be granted the status of political prisoners, thirty-eight Naxalite prisoners in West Bengal went on a hunger strike May 17. They are among the thousands of young Maoist militants who have been arrested and held without trial in India since the late 1960s.

In addition to their demand for political-prisoner status, they called for the abolition of the Defence of India Rules and the notorious Maintenance of Internal Security Act. When West Bengal Jail Minister Gyan Singh Sohanpal visited the hunger-strikers June 2 to ask them to end their protest, he said that he would refer their demands to the "appropriate authorities." The prisoners decided to continue their strike. All but one of the hunger-strikers has been force-fed.

Yevtushenko Denies Attacking Solzhenitsyn in New Poem

Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko charged June 14 that Western newspapers had misrepresented one of his recent poems by interpreting it as an attack on exiled novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. The poem in question, "There Is No Poet Outside the People," was published in May. It ridicules a Russophile poet who "sings mournfully into his beard" about czarist times.

Yevtushenko said that he had written a letter to the *New York Times* categorically denying that this was an allusion to Solzhenitsyn.

Bukovsky Reported Transferred

Dissident sources in Moscow have told Western reporters that imprisoned activist Vladimir Bukovsky has been moved from a labor camp in the Perm region to Vladimir prison near Moscow.

Bukovsky was arrested in 1971 because of his role in exposing the use of psychiatric hospitals as jails for dissidents. In a letter to Amnesty International ear-

lier this year, his mother protested the plans to transfer him to Vladimir, pointing out that in his present condition, weakened by rheumatism, a heart condition, and a liver ailment, Bukovsky could not be expected to survive the harsh conditions in the prison.

Former South Korean President Arrested Secretly in Protests

Yun Po Sun, a former president of South Korea, is reported to have been secretly arrested on charges of aiding antigovernment student demonstrators. He is said to be accused of having given students the equivalent of about US\$1,000 to pay for leaflets and mimeographing materials.

Yun became president in 1960 after student demonstrations led to the overthrow of Syngman Rhee. After Park Chung Hee's 1961 coup, Yun remained in the then figurehead post of president until he broke with Park and resigned in 1962. He ran against Park for the presidency in 1963 and 1967.

Spanish Censors Seize Magazine

A special issue on Portugal published by the Spanish monthly *Cuadernos para el dialogo* was seized by the Franco regime June 7. The issue contained some twenty interviews with Spanish and Portuguese intellectuals on the significance of the Portuguese military coup.

Spanish General Ousted

Lieutenant General Manuel Diez-Alegria was removed as Spanish chief of staff June 15. A short government decree announced that he would be replaced by Lieutenant General Carlos Fernandez Vallespin.

Diez-Alegria is considered a liberal, and in the aftermath of the April 25 Portuguese military coup, some observers had considered him a candidate for the role of a Spanish Spinola.

Bonn Decides to Ignore June 17

The West German government decided June 12 that this year it would not mark June 17, which is usually commemorated as a "day of unity." June 17 is the anniversary of the 1953 workers' uprising against the bureaucracy in East Germany. Deliberately obscuring the nature of the uprising, which was a rebellion in favor of socialist democracy, West German politicians had made the day a symbol of their hopes for German reunification under capitalism.

A recent opinion poll in West Germany disclosed that 33 percent of the public did not know why June 17 was celebrated and 53 percent thought the observance should be ended. East and West Germany are scheduled to open official diplomatic relations on June 22.

SALT--Encubre la Carrera Armamentista

Por Dick Roberts

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "SALT Talks—Cover for Nuclear Arms Race", que apareció en la edición de *Intercontinental Press* del 10 de junio].

* * *

El problema del balance del poder nuclear entre Estados Unidos y la Unión Soviética parecía haber sido relegado a un segundo plano de la política mundial. El interés por la carrera armamentista declinó en la prensa americana, especialmente después del acuerdo general al que llegaron Washington y Moscú a principios de 1972. Incluso, cuando el Presidente Nixon puso al mundo al borde del holocausto nuclear durante la Guerra de Octubre en el Medio Oriente, muchos no tomaron en serio la amenaza.

Recientemente han aparecido algunos signos de desacuerdo entre Washington y Moscú. Algunos políticos norteamericanos los han utilizado como temas para sus campañas electorales.

Cuando Henry Kissinger visitó Moscú a fines de marzo, prometió lograr un "cambio cualitativo conceptual" sobre la política nuclear. Evidentemente, no lo logró. "Los Estados Unidos y la Unión Soviética no están ni remotamente cerca de llegar a un acuerdo para limitar el armamento nuclear, y hay serias dudas sobre la posibilidad de que se llegue a ese acuerdo en la conferencia cumbre que está planeada para el verano", informó el *Washington Post* el 29 de marzo.

La prensa soviética ha lanzado una avalancha de críticas. El 9 de mayo, el periódico militar *Krasnaya Zvezda* publicó un artículo en el que el General Viktor G. Kulikov, Comandante en Jefe del Ejército, atacaba al Pentágono. "En los principales países capitalistas", escribió Kulikov, "se sigue intensificando la preparación material para una nueva guerra, acumulando y perfeccionando armamento, especialmente nuclear. Ultimamente, algunos dirigentes del Pentágono se han dedi-

cado a investigar variables 'aceptables' en las que se podría lanzar una guerra nuclear".

El pronunciamiento se produjo sólo unos días después de la visita del Senador Edward Kennedy a Moscú, en la que se la trató como a un rey. Moscú le "dió una dacha y un avión del Kremlin, filmó toda su visita y asignó a un alto ayudante de Brezh-



SCHLESINGER

nev como su acompañante", informó el 10 de mayo el *Washington Post*. A su regreso, Kennedy informó que los soviéticos le habían prometido que en la reunión cumbre de junio se llegaría a un acuerdo EUA-URSS que prohibiera las pruebas secretas de armas nucleares.

Más allá de estos desarrollos superficiales, está el complejo problema del verdadero balance mundial del terror entre las dos superpotencias. Una observación atenta de la política nuclear de los EUA nos ayudará a comprender que el peligro de una guerra nuclear todavía amenaza a

la humanidad y demostrará las limitaciones del acuerdo general URSS-EUA, que en algunos círculos es considerado como el medio para evitar una guerra nuclear.

SALT I

En noviembre de 1969 se inició en Helsinki la primera parte de las "Pláticas para la Limitación de las Armas Estratégicas" (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks—SALT) entre los Estados Unidos y la Unión Soviética. Se llevaron a cabo continuamente durante treinta meses y en mayo de 1972, en la reunión cumbre entre Nixon y Brezhnev, se firmaron los primeros acuerdos.

Ninguna otra operación de los gobiernos de los EUA y de la Unión Soviética está envuelta en tanto misterio. "La mayor parte de las negociaciones internacionales se llevan a cabo en secreto, pero las pláticas sobre el armamento que han tenido lugar entre las superpotencias son particularmente misteriosas", escribió John Newhouse, experto en política exterior de los Estados Unidos, en *Cold Dawn: The Story of SALT* (Holt Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1973). Newhouse, que fue miembro de la Institución Brookings, considera que la diplomacia del armamento fue uno de los factores que llevaron a la concentración de poder en el Ejecutivo durante la administración de Nixon. "La celebrada burocracia, erigida por Nixon y Kissinger para fortalecer su control sobre las medidas de seguridad nacional, contribuye en gran medida a preparar y mantener opciones que sólo puede resolver la decisión presidencial. Pero frecuentemente no se la consulta sobre lo que deben hacer el Presidente y su principal consejero. Como no tiene acceso al Presidente, debe basarse en lo que Kissinger le dice . . ."

Según Newhouse, el Estado Mayor norteamericano se mantuvo en la sombra durante los primeros desarrollos de SALT.

En primer lugar, ¿por qué han iniciado Moscú y Washington estas pláticas tan secretas? No se puede dar una respuesta definitiva, pero la opinión de Newhouse es valiosa. Destaca dos factores:

"Las pláticas fueron planteadas no por un deseo común de reducir el armamento, sino por la mutua necesi-

dad de solemnizar el principio de paridad — o, en otras palabras, cada lado aceptó que el otro puede responder con medidas que generalmente serían inaceptables, en caso de que sea atacado con armas nucleares.

"Por toda una serie de razones de política interna y externa y de prioridades de defensa, las dos potencias deseaban estabilizar sus gastos de armamento".

Newhouse también revela que Washington no consideró que la invasión de Checoslovaquia en 1968 fuera un impedimento para las pláticas. Cuatro días después de esa invasión, el gobierno de Johnson seleccionó a quienes lo representarían formalmente ante SALT.

"El giro decisivo en la política soviética y en las relaciones soviético-norteamericanas ocurrió a principios de 1971", escribe Marshall D. Shulman, soviétólogo de la Universidad de Columbia. "Fue entonces cuando Brezhnev se encargó personalmente de las relaciones con los Estados Unidos y la República Federal Alemana, así como de las posiciones soviéticas en las negociaciones de SALT. Se abrió un canal de comunicación confidencial entre Nixon y Brezhnev, que habría de llevar al acuerdo de mayo de 1971, con el que se rompió el impasse en el que había caído SALT. Vietnam, a su modo dialéctico propio, empezaba a enfriarse". (*Foreign Affairs*, octubre de 1973). De esta forma, el hecho de que Brezhnev brindara con Nixon mientras las bombas norteamericanas llovían sobre Vietnam, junto con la anuencia de Washington para que continuara la dominación del Kremlin sobre Europa oriental, permitió a SALT lograr un acuerdo tentativo y temporal para limitar las armas nucleares. Nixon lo firmó en Moscú en mayo de 1972, en la tan anunciada reunión cumbre.

El razonamiento que llevó a los acuerdos de SALT I ha sido correctamente caricaturizado por sus opositores con el nombre de MAD, "mutual assured destruction" (destrucción mutua asegurada).¹ Si cualquiera de los dos lados llega a contar con un poder nuclear que le permita absorber un "primer golpe" del otro y contestar con fuerza devastadora, el otro no atacará.

1. En inglés, *mad* quiere decir "loco". — IP

En consecuencia, SALT I limitó las armas defensivas. Si uno de los lados tratara de resguardar sus ciudades, esto sería considerado como transgresión de MAD, como un preparativo para dar el primer golpe. Uno de los acuerdos a los que se llegó, limita a 200 el número de cohetes antibalísticos defensivos con que puede contar cada una de las partes.

SALT I también limitó durante cinco años la cantidad de lanzadores de cohetes que se pueden construir, dejando a cada lado el potencial aéreo y naval suficiente para destruir al otro varias veces. A los Estados Unidos se les permitió tener 1,000 lanzadores terrestres y 710 con base en el mar. A la Unión Soviética se la permitieron 1,410 lanzadores terrestres si no construía más de 950 con base en el mar.

El hecho de que se tomase como base los lanzadores en vez de los cohetes, se debe a que es casi imposible saber cuántos cohetes están escondidos, mientras que los satélites pueden tomar fotografías con las que es muy fácil determinar cuántas plataformas y puertos submarinos hay. A la Unión Soviética se le permitió tener un potencial mayor porque cuando se firmó el acuerdo su tecnología para construir cohetes ofensivos estaba muy atrás de la de los Estados Unidos.

SALT II

Los acuerdos de SALT I, consecuentemente, no sólo no "desarmaron" en lo más mínimo a ninguno de los dos lados, sino que, en realidad, desde el punto de vista militar, necesitan acelerar la carrera para desarrollar la tecnología de los cohetes nucleares ofensivos. En este campo, las armas más importantes son los MIRVs, cohetes de varios objetivos y entrada múltiple. Son la parte del cohete que contiene las cabezas nucleares que pueden apuntarse hacia objetivos individuales una vez que el cohete llega al área deseada. Un solo cohete puede llevar varios MIRVs y su exactitud es mayor si lleva más de una cabeza nuclear.

Los Estados Unidos van adelante en esta carrera. En marzo de 1974, el Secretario de Defensa James Schlesinger reveló que el número total de armas nucleares con que cuentan los Estados Unidos es de 7,940,

contra sólo 2,600 de la URSS. Los Estados Unidos planean tener 10,000 MIRVs en 1,710 cohetes para la fecha en que expire el acuerdo de SALT I, en 1977.

Moscú no probó su primer MIRV sino hasta 1973. Los militaristas rabiosos hicieron un gran escándalo, considerando que esto probaba la existencia de la supuesta conspiración soviética. Pero el desarrollo del MIRV soviético no sólo fue previsto en SALT I, sino que el tratado lo garantizaba. Vale la pena mencionar los comentarios que hicieron los editores del *New York Times* sobre el MIRV soviético el 19 de agosto de 1973: "Lo único inesperado que ha tenido este anuncio es el tiempo", dijeron. "La gran pregunta que se han estado haciendo los estrategas norteamericanos durante varios años no ha sido si los rusos podrían desarrollar MIRVs, sino por qué les había tomado tanto tiempo. Los EUA realizaron los primeros vuelos experimentales de MIRVs en 1968; cerca de 600 de estas sofisticadas cabezas nucleares están ya instaladas en los cohetes terrestres Minuteman III y en los submarinos Poseidón".

Los editores del *Times* señalaban también que "En la reunión cumbre que tuvieron en Washington el mes de junio pasado (1973), el Presidente Nixon y el líder del Partido Comunista Brezhnev, se fijaron la meta de lograr, para fines del año que entra, un acuerdo que limite las armas ofensivas. Ambos lados consideran que es deseable — en realidad, necesario — que se incorpore al tratado un acuerdo que frene la fabricación de MIRVs".

Los problemas técnicos de este acuerdo se están discutiendo en SALT II, que comenzó a reunirse en Ginebra en noviembre de 1972 y lo ha seguido haciendo con interrupciones.

Mientras tanto, ha habido nuevos avances en el arsenal nuclear de los EUA y en la política del Pentágono. Estos están relacionados con el Secretario de Defensa, pero ya estaban en camino antes de que Schlesinger tomara posesión del cargo. Los expertos militares de los Estados Unidos comenzaron a preguntarse si no se podría realizar una guerra nuclear "limitada". Supongamos que el primer golpe se diera contra determinados objetivos militares, ¿deberá el

otro lado llevar al mundo a su destrucción total para contestar la agresión? MAD empezó a ser cuestionado.

En diciembre de 1972, Schlesinger pidió públicamente armas que pudieran golpear ciertos objetivos militares soviéticos, y no "sólo ciudades o centros industriales", informó el *Washington Post* el 1 de diciembre.

Juan Cameron describió de esta manera la política de Schlesinger, en el número de diciembre de la revista *Fortune*: "Schlesinger considera que los rusos necesitarán cuando menos siete años para eliminar toda interferencia en estas armas tan complejas [MIRVs], para luego construir con ellas una fuerza de combate. Pero después de esos siete años, el balance general entre los dos países se puede haber vuelto desfavorable para nosotros . . .

"Schlesinger trata de evitar esta eventualidad impulsando la creación de nuevas armas, cuyo desarrollo puede ser acelerado o frenado conforme la URSS vaya perfeccionando sus armas nucleares. El primero en la lista de este 'menú de opciones', como él lo llama, es el submarino Trident. Es más rápido, más silencioso y dos veces más grande que nuestros actuales submarinos nucleares; costaría mil millones de dólares y podría llevar veinticuatro cohetes, con sus respectivos MIRVs, capaces de alcanzar objetivos a 6,000 millas de distancia, aproximadamente el doble de la capacidad de nuestros cohetes Polaris y Poseidón. Esto quiere decir que el Trident podría utilizar como plataforma casi todos los océanos del mundo, y el enemigo se enfrentaría a un problema casi irresoluble para detectarlo. Schlesinger también considera necesario construir bombarderos B-1, con un costo de 42 millones de dólares cada uno, para substituir a la menguante flota de los B-52".

De hecho, el Congreso ya aprobó los programas Trident y B-1, y ya se está trabajando en ellos. John W. Finney, del *New York Times*, describió de la siguiente manera las muestras de oposición de los demócratas liberales, cuando se presentó al Congreso el presupuesto de guerra, en septiembre: "El debate anual del Senado sobre el presupuesto de defensa fue la gran batalla de los demócratas en lo que se refiere a las prioridades de gastos", escribió Finney el 30 de septiembre.

"Sufrieron una derrota aplastante, demostrándose una vez más que, cuando se trata de armas, el Congreso no quiere ni puede cuestionar el juicio de los militares o del Presidente . . .

"Casi rutinariamente, y generalmente en un sala casi vacía, un senador demócrata pide que se suprima o reduzca tal o cual programa militar de varios miles de millones de dólares. De forma también rutinaria, se rechaza su proposición. 'Nadie escucha', decía un senador demócrata . . . comentario que se puede aplicar tanto a sus colegas liberales como a todo el Senado".

La revista *Business Week* informó el 11 de agosto de 1973 que "la Marina quiere construir inicialmente 10 Tridents, con un costo total de aproximadamente 13 mil millones de dólares — 'quizás mil millones más, quizás mil millones menos', dice el Almirante R. Y. Kaufman, coordinador del programa Trident. A largo plazo, sin embargo, la Marina espera expandir su flota de Tridents hasta contar con 25 ó 30 submarinos, que tendrían un costo total de 30 mil millones de dólares, o más".

En una reunión conjunta de dos subcomités senatoriales de relaciones exteriores, el 4 de abril de 1974, Schlesinger dijo que Washington necesita "mayor flexibilidad en su arsenal nuclear".

"Por flexibilidad, el gobierno entiende todos o algunos de los siguientes elementos", explicó en el *New York Times* Leslie H. Gelb, experto en política militar: "Capacidad para bombardear objetivos que no sean ciudades soviéticas, planes programados por computadoras para determinar objetivos, planes para disparar diferentes cantidades de cohetes, procedimientos de control que aseguren que se están cumpliendo las órdenes que se dan, cohetes que resistan un ataque soviético y cohetes más precisos y con mayor campo de acción".

Schlesinger dijo a los senadores que ya se ha realizado una gran parte del punto de este nuevo plan que se refiere a los objetivos.

Los demócratas trataron de desligarse de estos proyectos. Stuart Symington, senador demócrata por Missouri, dijo que esta política "pone al mundo al borde la guerra nuclear". Edmund Muskie, senador demócrata por Maine, dijo que estas medidas ha-

cían "más utilizables, más respetables" a las armas nucleares.

Pero estas críticas son sólo para el público, para ganar más votos. En realidad, da igual que el Senado discuta o no la política imperialista de guerra, ya que ésta la elaboran los expertos del Pentágono y otros burócratas (el Departamento de Estado, la Agencia de Control de Armas y Desarme y el Consejo de Seguridad Nacional, que son las tres oficinas militares). El Congreso no hace más que ponerles el sello oficial.

Las críticas del Kremlin a Schlesinger son de la misma calaña que la "crítica" liberal. Para cubrir sus tratos secretos con Washington, Moscú trata de hacer creer que se opone a la política militar norteamericana.

El Kremlin pretende, y con él todos sus seguidores, que hay sectores de la clase dominante "que no son tan malos". Mima públicamente a los demócratas liberales como Kennedy, mientras ataca a Schlesinger en la prensa.²

Eso es para el público. En secreto, los expertos de Moscú negocian con el equipo de Schlesinger, y quizás saben más sobre la situación militar de los EUA que la mayoría de los senadores. Lo más probable es que los problemas militares que han empantanado a SALT II se refieran a cuestiones muy finas de detalle y no a los planes del Pentágono para construir armas sofisticadas — cosa que nunca ha dejado de hacer.

También es muy posible que SALT II haya sido obstaculizado por razones muy diferentes. Por ejemplo, Wash-

2. Uno de los blancos favoritos de los stalinistas es Henry Jackson, senador demócrata por Washington (ver *Intercontinental Press*, 13 de mayo, p. 600). Cosa interesante, Jackson es un ardiente defensor de que se reduzca la cantidad de cohetes. "Considero que la fuerza estratégica de ambas partes es superior a lo que debiera ser . . . propongo que invitemos a los soviéticos a considerar un acuerdo en el que se limite a cada lado a tener 800 cohetes balísticos intercontinentales y no más de 560 cohetes con base en submarinos, que equivalen a 35 submarinos del tipo Poseidón", dijo recientemente. (*Congressional Record*, 23 de abril, p. S6066).

ington puede estarlo utilizando para presionar a Moscú para que se lleve a un acuerdo sobre el Medio Oriente que sea aceptable para los imperialistas. En cualquier caso, la Guerra de Octubre, con su amenaza de una confrontación nuclear, influyó sobre los estrategias de ambas partes.

III GUERRA MUNDIAL

Los preparativos de Washington para una guerra mundial nuclear van más allá de los programas MIRV, Trident y B-1 que ya hemos mencionado. En un artículo titulado "Visions of the next year", que apareció en *Newsweek* el 22 de abril, se indicaban algunas posibilidades. "Para el público norteamericano, agotado por una década de guerra inconclusa en Vietnam", decía *Newsweek*, "la idea de una 'próxima guerra' en un futuro no muy lejano, es inconcebible. Sin embargo, el Departamento de Defensa está planeando gastar en los próximos diez años, la abrumadora cantidad de un billón de dólares para prepararse—por si acaso—para su siguiente guerra. Una cuarta parte de esa cantidad será destinada a comprar y desarrollar nuevas y más mortales armas".

Newsweek sugiere la siguiente escena. (Desde luego, la Unión Soviética ataca primero; todo el mundo sabe que los Estados Unidos son incapaces de hacer tal cosa). "Esto tiene lugar a principios del decenio del 80. El Presidente está sentado ante el tablero electrónico de mando en un local subterráneo de Fort Ritchie, Maryland. La Unión Soviética, en un ataque relámpago de 48 horas, ha tomado Berlín occidental. Han muerto mil soldados aliados. Después, el Kremlin devuelve los heridos y los prisioneros de guerra a Alemania occidental y comunica a los Estados Unidos que, por su parte, el incidente ha terminado. El Presidente exige que se retiren los soviéticos. El Kremlin no acepta. El Presidente está determinado a demostrar a los dirigentes soviéticos que no dará un paso atrás—que se están jugando una guerra nuclear. Ordena que se proyecte la imagen televisada de una planta hidroeléctrica situada en una remota región de Rusia. Satisfecho porque una mini-explisión causará muy pocas bajas civiles, da la señal para

que se lance un solo ICBM (cohetes balísticos intercontinentales). Poco después, en la pantalla de televisión que tiene enfrente, observa como es destruida la planta hidroeléctrica".

"¿Imposible?", pregunta *Newsweek*. "En absoluto. Para la década del 80, los Estados Unidos contarán con una red de satélites para comunicaciones, estaciones espaciales y el sistema Survsatcom (Survivable Satellite Communications—satélite de comunicaciones capaz de resistir un ataque), que puede remitir al Presidente imágenes televisadas de cualquier parte del mundo".

Newsweek describe el siguiente paso que se dará en esa dirección. "Este año se han destinado 20 millones de dólares para el estudio del próximo gran paso—los MARVs (cabezas nucleares con sistemas de propulsión que les permiten maniobrar cuando están cayendo)".

También se está trabajando en un nuevo "Sistema de Cohetes X". Según informó *Business Week* el 9 de marzo, "los cohetes X aumentarán la potencia del motor de la primera etapa del Minuteman III, refinarán el cohete propulsor de sus etapas segunda y tercera, equiparán sus cabezas nucleares múltiples con un sistema de dirección inercial y, quizás, incluso aumentarán el número de cabezas nucleares que lleva". Ya están trabajando en este proyecto Boeing, Honeywell, Rockwell International, Thiokol y Hercules, según *Business Week*.

Los estrategias tratan de hacer creer que su requerimiento permanente de armas más sofisticadas se debe a que desean reducir el peligro de una guerra accidental. Pero esto es falso y claramente imposible, como admiten los mismos expertos cuando tienen algún momento de sobriedad. Fred Charles Iklé, que fue especialista de la Corporación Rand y que recientemente fue designado por Nixon para dirigir la Agencia de Control de Armas y Desarme, escribió en enero de 1973 en *Foreign Affairs*: "Nadie puede asegurar que nunca ocurrirá un accidente fatal o una acción que no ha sido autorizada. Este riesgo está fuera de nuestro control. Es inherente no sólo a la inevitable posibilidad de un defecto técnico, sino también al error humano que hay en toda orden y medida operativa . . . Los sistemas modernos de armamentos son tan in-

creiblemente complejos, tanto en sus mecanismos internos como en sus intrincadas interacciones, que es muy dudoso que los expertos puedan llegar a descubrir todas las ramificaciones inintencionadas, conocer todo peligro por indefinible que sea".

Iklé ofrece un ejemplo. "Drásticas limitaciones de las comunicaciones internacionales del Departamento de Defensa llamaron la atención de un subcomité del Congreso después del ataque israelí contra el barco norteamericano *Liberty*, en 1967. Cuando comenzó la Guerra de los Seis Días, el Estado Mayor decidió enviar el *Liberty* a aguas más seguras. En un lapso de 13 horas antes del ataque israelí se enviaron al barco cuando menos cuatro mensajes ordenándole que cambiara de posición. Dos de los mensajes se desviaron hacia las Filipinas y otro fue enviado a la Agencia de Seguridad Nacional, en Maryland, para archivarlo. Otro mensaje se envió por dos rutas diferentes para que hubiera mayor seguridad de que lo recibiría el barco. Uno de esos mensajes se perdió en una estación transmisora; el segundo llegó al barco muchas horas después de que había sido atacado. Esta falla en las comunicaciones de emergencia ocurrió en condiciones casi ideales: ninguna instalación había sido destruida, no había un enemigo que estuviera presionando y no había ninguna restricción sobre los medios de comunicación disponibles".

La necesidad de Washington de perfeccionar su armamento y ampliar su poderío militar, es un producto "inevitable" del imperialismo, de la misma manera que el peligro de una guerra nuclear accidental es una consecuencia inevitable del sistema militar imperialista. Se necesita una fuerza policiaca global para proteger y expandir las inversiones y, en la era nuclear, ante la existencia de sociedades postcapitalistas, esto significa *poderío nuclear*. El concepto de una "guerra limitada" está profundamente enraizado en la realidad de la lucha de clases mundial y es un aspecto clave del acuerdo general al que han llegado Washington y Moscú.

Washington ha visto en Corea, en el sudeste de Asia, en el Medio Oriente y en todas partes, que puede llevar a cabo una guerra limitada

para frenar la revolución mundial. "Guerra a través de representantes", en la que los Estados Unidos y la Unión Soviética se regalen armas uno a otro. Esto no es producto de la imaginación del Pentágono; ha sido una realidad en el sudeste de Asia por más de una década.

La deliberada restricción de la ayuda militar soviética a Hanoi, mientras que los Estados Unidos lanzaban el ataque más brutal de la historia, fue crucial para que las tres administraciones sucesivas de los EUA hayan podido estabilizar la dictadura de Saigón. Esto convenció a Washington de que un acuerdo general con la Unión Soviética ayudaba a la contrarrevolución mundial.

También la Guerra de Octubre fue una "guerra a través de representantes". Pero en esta ocasión pronto se volvió ilimitada. Nixon estaba dispuesto a apretar el botón de la guerra nuclear.

Una vez más los hechos están rodeados de misterio. Un subcomité del Congreso que trató de investigar las razones por las que Nixon ordenó la movilización militar, fue persuadido de que esa investigación perjudicaría los intereses nacionales.

Sin embargo, una cosa sí se sabe: Washington y Moscú estuvieron en contacto durante la crisis. Henry Kissinger había estado en Moscú precisamente antes de que Nixon tomara la decisión de dar la alerta general a las fuerzas norteamericanas para una posible intervención masiva en el Medio Oriente.

Nadav Safran, especialista en problemas del Medio Oriente, especula que en Moscú "Kissinger aceptó parar la lucha antes de que los israelíes derrotaran a los egipcios; pero a cambio de esto logró que los soviéticos y, al parecer, también los árabes, aceptaran las negociaciones . . .

"Cuando Kissinger regresaba vía Tel Aviv, los soviéticos se enteraron de que la lucha seguía a pesar del alto al fuego y de que los israelíes habían copado al Tercer Cuerpo de Ejército egipcio . . .

"Entonces los soviéticos sospecharon que, o bien Kissinger los había engañado, o los Estados Unidos no podían controlar a Israel". (*Foreign Affairs*, enero de 1974).

Dejando de lado el que la especulación de Safran sea correcta o no,

deja entrever lo falaz del razonamiento que llevó a los soviéticos a aceptar el acuerdo general. Este acuerdo general no puede eliminar la lucha de clases. No se puede imponer el *status quo* imperialista a los pueblos oprimidos. En realidad, la Guerra de Octubre era inevitable, como tuvo que admitir el gobierno israelí, que parecía haber sido "tomado por sorpresa".

Cuando estalla una guerra en la que están involucradas las superpotencias, no hay ninguna garantía de que será una guerra limitada. En último análisis, ni Moscú ni Washington pueden controlar todas las fuerzas participantes. Esta es, seguramen-

te, la lección más importante de la Guerra de Octubre.

Consecuentemente, el acuerdo general entre los EUA y la URSS no sólo no protege a la humanidad contra el peligro de una guerra nuclear, sino que *aumenta este peligro*, porque impulsa el concepto ilusorio de la "guerra limitada", que es, en realidad, la base sobre la que descansa. La solapada invitación de Moscú para que Washington siga cumpliendo su papel de policía contrarrevolucionario, siempre y cuando no viole las "esferas de influencia" soviéticas, no hace sino pavimentar el camino hacia la guerra. □

Canada

Socialists Present Candidates in Election

Canada's League for Socialist Action announced June 4 that it will present a candidate in the July 8 federal election. Kate Alderdice, a 28-year-old worker, will be the LSA's candidate against External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp, a Liberal, in the central Toronto constituency Eglinton. The LSA, with its Québec counterpart, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (Socialist Workers League), is the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

The LSA has chosen to run against Sharp "to expose the criminal foreign policy of the Trudeau government," Alderdice said. The government "has virtually closed Canada's doors to refugees from Chile, after giving backhanded support to the coup that established a brutal military dictatorship there." Of the more than 12,000 applications from refugees to enter Canada, more than 94 percent have been refused by Ottawa. Most of those admitted are on "special permits," which can be revoked at any time.

The LSA campaign is also emphasizing the Canadian government's complicity in imperialist aggression in Indochina and the Mideast. It calls for an end to Canada's participation in "peacekeeping" forces aimed at stabilizing the imperialist status quo, and for immediate withdrawal from the imperialist alliances NATO and NORAD

(North American Air Defense Agreement).

Other major themes in the LSA campaign are the need for anticapitalist measures to fight inflation and unemployment, defense of the national liberation struggle of the Québécois people, and full support to the demands of the women's liberation movement. (See the LSA/LSO election statement published in the Documents section of this issue of *Intercontinental Press*.)

The LSA is using its campaign to support protests against repression in Chile, and to build the movement in defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Montréal physician facing life imprisonment for performing abortions. The revolutionists will campaign in support of strike struggles taking place during the election.

While campaigning in support of its own candidate in Toronto-Eglinton, the LSA/LSO is giving critical support to the New Democratic party, Canada's labor party. "We are calling for an NDP vote in other ridings across the country, and for the election of an NDP government," Alderdice said. "Across Canada, LSA members are participating in the NDP campaign, and we call on the labor movement and all left forces to work for an NDP victory July 8.

"But the NDP campaign has failed

to propose socialist solutions to the burning problems working people face in Canada today. That's why we will call on all NDPers, trade unionists, and socialists to support the LSA campaign in Eglinton—so the socialist alternative will be on the ballot in one riding in the July 8 elections."

The LSA candidate appealed to the NDP constituency association in Eglinton to support her campaign and not to nominate a candidate of its own in that constituency. Alderdice noted that the LSA's campaign would not jeopardize the NDP's chances of winning that seat. In the last election the NDP candidate received only 12 percent of the vote.

Also running candidates in the election is the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. The RMG candidates are Bret Smiley in Toronto-Greenwood and Murray Smith in Winnipeg-North Centre, both running in seats held by the NDP; and Linda Peevers, running in Peterborough, a seat now held by the Conservative party.

In a special election issue of its newspaper, *Old Mole*, the RMG stated:

"We are not participating in this election with any illusion that we will be elected. We think that the working class movement faces new problems and fundamental choices at this time. Our goal is to popularize a perspective which can broaden and extend the struggles of the working class and avoid a serious defeat. At this time, our vote will undoubtedly be a small one. But this vote will be cast in favor of class struggle, of workers power and socialism. We therefore think it will have a significance beyond its numbers, a significance which will be felt in the struggles of the months and years to come. And where today there are hundreds, tomorrow there will be thousands."

Calling for a struggle "to re-orient the labour movement towards socialist objectives," the RMG urged a class vote for the NDP despite the reform-

ism of its leaders:

"Politically, the NDP has repeatedly betrayed the interests of the working class. NDP MP's unanimously voted to smash the rail workers' strike last fall. Its liberal program offers no positive perspective for working people. In British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, NDP governments are the loyal servants of capitalist interests. Militant workers and socialists must wage a sharp struggle against

Chile

Unidad Popular Leaders on Trial

Former leaders of the Chilean Unidad Popular government went on trial in early June in Santiago. As in many of the other trials being conducted by the junta, they are accused of "crimes" relating to their participation in the Allende government—"crimes" committed before the junta came to power.

The following list of defendants and the positions they held in the Allende government was published in the French Communist party daily, *l'Humanité*, June 6:

Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Communist party; Clodomiro Almeyda, minister of foreign affairs; Benjamin Teplinsky, leader of the Radical party; Anselmo Sule, president of the Radical party; Fernando Flores, minister of finance and economy; Pedro Felipe Ramirez, minister of housing.

Jorge Tapia, minister of justice and education; Jaime Tohá, minister of agriculture; Carlos Matus, minister of economy; José Cademartori, member of the Political Committee of the Communist party, minister of economy; Luis Matte Valdés, minister of housing and urban affairs; Orlando Letelier, minister of defense.

Daniel Vergara, leader of the Communist party, undersecretary of the interior; Arturo Girón, independent, minister of health; Enrique Kirberg, rector of the State Technical University; Tito Palestro, leader of the Socialist party, mayor of San Miguel; Carlos Morales Abarzua, leader of the Radical party, deputy.

Hugo Miranda, leader of the Radi-

cal party, senator; Sergio Bitar, leader of the Left Christian party, minister of mines; Osvaldo Puccio, private secretary to Allende; Osvaldo Puccio, Jr., dentist to Allende; Carlos Jorquera Tolosa, Allende press attaché; Orlando Cantuarias, minister of mines; Jaime Concha Lois, administrator of Santiago.

Hernán Soto, undersecretary of mines; Wladimir Arellano, leader of the Socialist party; Anibal Palma, leader of the Radical party, minister of education, minister of housing and urban affairs; Miguel Lawner, leader of the Communist party; Alfredo Joignant, general director of the presidential security service; Sergio Vuskovic, mayor of Valparaíso, head of sociology department of the University of Chile in Valparaíso.

Andrés Sepulveda, leader of the Socialist party, deputy; Leopoldo Zuljevic, leader of the Communist party, general director of the customs office; Luis Vega, leader of the Movement for United Popular Action; Maximiliano Marholz, leader of the Socialist party, member of the Valparaíso city council; Ariel Tacchi, leader of the Socialist party, member of the city council of Viña del Mar. □

Correction

The article "Police Uncover Right-Wing Terrorist Plot," on p. 773 of our June 17 issue, stated: "More than a million persons marched through the streets of Brescia [Italy] . . . in the funeral procession for the victims of a fascist bomb attack." This sentence should have read: "More than half a million persons. . ."

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The Fall of the Dictatorship and the Revolutionary Upsurge in Portugal

[The following statement was adopted May 30 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The Salazarist dictatorship in Portugal has collapsed under the deadly blows of the African national liberation fighters.

The background to the military coup that overthrew the decrepit and moth-eaten fascist regime of Caetano and company was the crisis within the bourgeoisie created by the development of a sector of finance capital that favors a neocolonialist solution in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola, a move toward the European Common Market, and a modernization of the country's economic and social structures. This sector is represented, for example, by the Portuguese banker António Champalnaud and by the Companhia Vinão Fabrol trust. Unlike the Spanish bourgeoisie, which fears even the slightest liberalization because of the degree of mobilization, organization, and combativity of the working class, important sections of the Portuguese big bourgeoisie considered it possible to open a bourgeois-democratic interlude "in order and discipline" without running the risk of revolution in the short term because of the (relative) political and organizational backwardness of the working class in Portugal.

For the moment, there is no doubt that the April 25 military coup has opened the way for a rapid and surprising mass upsurge that is threatening to transcend the limits set down by Spínola and the bourgeoisie. The lifting of the lead weight of fascism has released enormous quantities of energy that had been held back by half a century of dictatorship. The bourgeoisie was caught unawares. In the absence of any alternative political apparatus, it was obliged temporarily to cede the foreground of the political

scene to the Communist and Socialist parties. Its reasoning is nearly the same as that of the Italian and French bourgeoisies after the fall of fascism in 1944. The intent is to neutralize and contain the mass movement by integrating the CP into coalition governments with the "democratic" bourgeoisie.

What role are the reformists playing in this situation? The Social Democrats, led by Mario Soares, are unconditionally supporting the government of "national union," which extends from the CP to the bourgeois liberals. The Portuguese CP, which because of its prestige in the anti-fascist resistance has hegemony within the working class, is also prepared to sacrifice everything on the altar of national unity and is avoiding any action that contradicts the junta's orientation. In its May 5 demonstration, for example, the CP did not say one word about independence for the colonies. Instead, it denounced "adventurism," going so far as to oppose the "illegal" overthrow of the fascist municipal governments that are still functioning (which is beginning to happen nearly everywhere, in spite of the CP). Both the SP and the CP are basing their whole policy on unity between the "people" (including the bourgeoisie) and the "armed forces" (as a whole).

One of the most important aspects of the Portuguese explosion has been the politicization and radicalization within the army. Several tendencies can be discerned within the officer corps:

1. The top hierarchy, fascist in the past, which is trying to quickly establish "order and discipline" while at the same time purging its most compromised elements. (A few days ago, dozens of generals and admirals were kicked out.) As the leading force in the Junta of National Salvation, the top hierarchy is issuing many warnings, appeals for order, and veiled threats, while at the same time giving

ground in face of pressure from the young officers and the mass upsurge.

2. The career captains, advance guard of the April 25 movement, petty-bourgeois democrats who could move sharply to the right when confronted by a "red danger."

3. The "militia" captains (nonprofessionals), the numerical majority in the army, strongly influenced by the SP and the CP and even by far-left currents.

As for the soldiers and sailors, they were seen in the streets on May 1 marching arm in arm with the workers and students, with red banners bearing the hammer and sickle flying from their trucks. The radicalization was especially intense in the navy, where in 1936 there had been a red rebellion in favor of the Spanish republic. Attempts at self-organization are beginning in the barracks and on the ships.

The most pressing task and the most difficult one for the provisional government is ending the colonial war.

The revolt against the continuation of the war is practically unanimous among both the civilian population and the soldiers and sailors. That was the immediate cause of the fall of the Caetano regime. Now, soldiers are refusing to board ships headed for the colonies. Antiwar discontent is appearing among many young officers as well. Militants opposed to the war are no longer deserting but are instead organizing opposition in the barracks; and they are getting a good response. The time has come for a revolutionary effort aimed at accelerating the disintegration of the bourgeois military apparatus. The continuation of the colonial war can create the conditions for a massive penetration of the army by revolutionaries calling for the formation of soldiers and sailors councils opposed to the war.

The bourgeoisie and the provisional government are fully conscious of the situation. What they fear above all is the total decomposition of the army, which would deprive them of their only political weapon of any effectiveness under the present circumstances. But they also know that granting immediate formal independence to the colonies could precipitate a revolt against this "policy of abandonment" by a section of the professional overseas army, supported by the colonies of

Mozambique and the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, and even by Franco. Furthermore, it is not at all certain that all the nationalist forces in the colonies would accept the neocolonialist solution that the sectors of the bourgeoisie backing Spínola are trying to bring about. That is why the provisional government is above all trying to gain time by proposing to the liberation forces fighting in the colonies a cease-fire followed by long negotiations. The bourgeoisie's aim is to obtain a broad consensus in favor of the neocolonial solution among the army and the Portuguese colonies, as well as among the African fighters.

The other major difficulty confronting the provisional government is the aggravation of the economic situation, which is characterized by greater and greater inflation and by the refusal of the toiling masses to tolerate the conditions of superexploitation that existed under fascism, the only conditions under which accumulation of capital could have been carried out in Portugal during the past decade.

The powerful explosion of strikes, in spite of the frantic efforts of the CP to divert the masses toward class collaboration aimed at "national reconstruction," places on the agenda the tasks of winning the vitally needed minimum wage of 6,000 escudos [approximately US\$250] a month, the forty-hour workweek, four-week vacations at full pay, and the establishment of the principle of equal pay for equal work for women and young workers. The unity of the workers' front and the establishment of a trade-union movement strongly rooted in the factories and enjoying a solid foundation of workers' democracy will be forged through direct action for these unifying objectives.

The Portuguese revolutionary Marxists of the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (Internationalist Communist League), who have already played a role in raising and popularizing these demands, will fight resolutely to win them by means of larger and larger class actions culminating in generalized strikes and, if necessary, a general strike.

Clearly, the tasks of the hour are not limited to defending the immediate material interests of the toiling masses, however important that may be. For revolutionary Marxists, it is a matter

of counterposing a total political orientation to the reformist projects of class collaboration and partial and timid reforms and to the shilly-shallying and vacillations of the CP and SP leaderships.

Against the provisional government's stalling maneuvers on the colonial question, revolutionary Marxists will fight to support the armed struggle of the liberation movements and for immediate, total, and unconditional independence for the colonies. Not one ship must sail for Africa! Not one soldier, not one penny, not one drop of blood for continuing the dirty colonial war! Immediate withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Africa!

Against attempts to postpone general elections and to keep power in the hands of the military junta, for which the provisional government is only a facade, the revolutionary Marxists will mobilize the masses especially around these slogans:

— Immediate liquidation of all fascist institutions and their replacement by democratically elected bodies.

— Punishment of all the executioners and fascist agents of the PIDE [secret police] and the other repressive bodies by popular courts elected by and responsible to the masses.

— Extradition of Caetano and Admiral Tomás so that they may be tried by the Portuguese toiling masses for the crimes they have committed against the people.

— Immediate repeal of the penal code and of all repressive legislation passed during the reign of the Salazar and Caetano regimes.

— Immediate and unconditional amnesty for all deserters, without their incorporation into the armed forces.

— Immediate and definitive repeal of all censorship of the press, radio, and television; unlimited right to strike for all wage earners with no legal restriction or arbitration; complete freedom of association, freedom to demonstrate, and freedom of the press.

— Immediate election—by universal suffrage of all men and women over eighteen living in Portugal—of a sovereign Constituent Assembly and the right of all organizations without restriction to participate in those elections. Revolutionary Marxists call on the CP and SP ministers to leave the government of "national union" and to struggle to replace the junta with

what comes out of this Constituent Assembly.

— Creation of trade unions of all wage earners based on rank-and-file democratic assemblies in the factories and offices, and the federation of those unions in order to assure broad possibility of control and final decision-making by the rank-and-file organizations.

— Election of workers-control committees in the factories, workshops, banks, insurance companies, large-scale commercial institutions, and the transport system.

— Election of committees of soldiers and sailors who must immediately enjoy all democratic political rights.

— Application of a radical program of agrarian reform in order to cement the worker-peasant alliance.

In the contemporary epoch, there is no place whatever for a process of "democratic revolution" or for a "democratic stage" of the revolutionary process in Portugal. The urgent resolution of democratic tasks posed by the incomplete character of the old bourgeois revolution in the country and by the necessity of liquidating the remnants of fascism must be combined from the very beginning of the revolutionary process with the exacerbation of the class struggle and the pressing necessity of organizing the industrial and agricultural proletariat completely independently from the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state in order to make it possible for the proletariat to fight to the end in defense of its immediate and historic interests.

What can unfold in Portugal is not a utopian "democratic revolution" but a process of permanent revolution; that is, a process that begins from the struggle for the immediate aspirations of the masses (as described above) and leads to a generalized test of strength, at the conclusion of which the proletariat, organized in its democratically elected councils and armed against the bourgeoisie's increasingly intense attempts at repression, destroys the bourgeois state apparatus and takes power. The outcome of this process will be determined by the growing intervention of the revolutionary vanguard, the modification of the relationship of forces between that vanguard and the reformist leadership that today still commands the allegiance of the majority of the workers,

and the establishment of a powerful revolutionary party as the section of the Fourth International.

If this revolutionary process is not followed through to its ultimate conclusion, the danger of a right-wing counteroffensive will become increasingly real. Basing itself on the career officers in the army, who are already becoming ever more frightened by the mass upsurge, such a counteroffensive could take an especially violent and bloody form, since the bourgeoisie is concerned about preserving its power and privilege. The revolutionary Marxists, stressing the still fresh lessons of Chile, must solemnly warn the toiling masses against any illusion that "tolerance" or "goodwill" can

be purchased from capitalist reaction at the price of pursuing a conciliatory course and of pushing aside the socialist objectives of their struggles. The danger of a forcible return to fascism will not be eliminated until all political and economic power has been seized from the hands of big capital.

The precipitous rise of the mass struggle in Portugal is being accompanied by a clearer and clearer polarization of class forces in several countries of capitalist Europe, notably France, Italy, and Great Britain. It is also being accompanied by a growing instability of the senile Francoist regime, whose fall it can accelerate. The Portuguese upsurge will stimulate all these tendencies and will itself re-

ceive fresh, powerful impulses from them. The task of internationalist revolutionaries is to encourage with all their might the international extension of the hopes and battles of the Portuguese proletariat.

For active international solidarity of the workers of all countries with the Portuguese proletariat!

For internationalist socialist unity between the workers of Portugal and the colonies!

Long live the socialist revolution in Portugal and the colonies!

Long live the socialist united states of Europe!

For aid to and solidarity with the Liga Comunista Internacionalista of Portugal from all revolutionaries! □

For an NDP Government With Socialist Policies

[The following is a statement on the July 8 Canadian elections by the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, Canadian section of the Fourth International. It is reprinted from an election supplement to the revolutionary-socialist fortnightly *Labor Challenge*.]

* * *

Soaring prices and lower real wages for working people, yet record profits for the giant corporations; housing that only the very rich can afford; almost 600,000 Canadians out of work; parliamentary strikebreaking of last summer's rail strike; refusal to grant job security to postal workers; failure to grant asylum to refugees from the Chilean terror; jailing of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, Canada's most prominent advocate of women's right to abortion.

These are among the key issues of this election campaign. They spell out the shameful record of Liberal party government in this country.

Yet there is growing indignation and opposition to these injustices. Quebeclabor has formed a common front against inflation, demanding contract reopeners and escalator clauses. These demands have spread across Canada, sparking a series of sharp labor struggles in recent months. Prominent individuals and organizations, from churches to trade unions, are demanding that Canada open its doors to refugees from the brutal military junta in Chile. Broad support for women's liberation has developed among Canadian women, especially for repeal of the restrictive abortion law and in defense of Dr. Morgentaler.

But still, Prime Minister Trudeau has the gall to go before the Canadian people and ask for another term in office. With

unmatched cynicism, he says he can't do anything about inflation. His finance minister, John Turner, predicts more of the same.

The Tories offer nothing better. Conservative leader Robert Stanfield calls for "wage and price controls"—in reality a law to prevent working people from keeping up with the cost of living.

Both the Liberals and Conservatives represent big business. Except for a few slight differences in their election promises—which they don't intend to keep anyway—they are alike as two peas in a pod. Liberal or Tory governments mean more oppression and exploitation.

But while there are no fundamental differences between them, their existence as separate organizations does benefit big business. One of several purposes—and a particularly important one—is to create the illusion of a choice at election time. This is the reason why the big corporations contribute huge sums of money to both parties.

It's time for change. Working people need to throw the big business parties out of office and form their own government, committed to policies that will fundamentally transform society.

For a Socialist Canada

Capitalism is everywhere in crisis. It cannot provide jobs for all or a decent standard of living for workers. Inflation is built into the system. The monopolists thrive on the superexploitation of the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. At home, they profit from the national oppression of the Quebecois and native people, and the oppression of women. They spend billions on the military, sending Canadian troops all over the world to protect the status quo, yet promote cut-

backs of needed social services in Canada. The government offers gifts, loans, and tax write-offs for the corporations, yet can't find the money to build public housing.

The system itself is bankrupt. The needs of the masses can only be met through creating a planned economy, where ownership and control of the means of production are taken from the tiny minority of capitalists and placed in the hands of working people.

Revolutionary socialists advance a program of demands that meet the urgent needs of working people today and that point the way forward to a socialist transformation. Among the key demands in this election are the following:

- Fight inflation with escalator clauses in every union contract, based on the real cost of living determined by union price-watch committees. A minimum wage based on union rates of pay. Cost-of-living escalators for all social security payments.

- Jobs for all through a shorter workweek. An immediate 32-hour workweek with no loss in take-home pay. Unemployment compensation at union rates of pay for the entire period a person is out of work.

- For a massive program of public housing, under tenants' control. Nationalize the land speculators and developers.

- Nationalize the oil industry, from oil well to gas pump, under workers' control.

- Nationalize the food monopolies, under workers' control.

- Nationalize the transport and communications industries, including the CPR and Bell Telephone, under workers' control.

- Stop the cutbacks in education and social-service spending. For student-facul-

ty-staff control of the schools and universities.

- Defend the right of the people of Quebec to self-determination, including the right of independence.

- Support the rights of native people. Stop the James Bay hydro project and the Mackenzie Valley pipeline.

- Support women's liberation. Free, 24-hour child-care facilities controlled by those who use them. Equal pay for women and preferential hiring to eliminate inequalities. Repeal the anti-abortion law. Drop the charges against Dr. Morgentaler.

- Open Canada's doors to victims of repression in Latin America and elsewhere.

- A foreign policy that supports worldwide struggles for liberation and socialism. Immediate withdrawal from the aggressive nuclear alliances NATO and NORAD. No participation in so-called peacekeeping missions—forces that are designed to reinforce the status quo and crush liberation struggles. Withdraw Canadian forces now from the Mideast.

NDP to Power With Socialist Policies

The NDP [New Democratic party] represents a historic break from the domination of political life by the parties of big business. It is a labor party. The NDP is controlled and funded by the trade-union movement, not by big business. It has the allegiance of those workers who see the need for independent working-class political action.

Thus, there is a class confrontation in this election, between the NDP and the big business parties. And, as in all class battles, revolutionary socialists cannot remain neutral. We call for an NDP government, committed to socialist policies. We demand that the labor movement get behind the NDP campaign. No scabbing at the ballot box—workers and oppressed people should support, campaign for, and vote for NDP candidates in this election.

But the NDP leadership's strategy and program are not anticapitalist. While David Lewis presents many effective exposes of big business rule, his "solutions" fall far short of what is needed. The NDP program on inflation, for example, fails to challenge the source of inflation, the system itself. The NDP leaders offer a prices review board when a fight for escalator clauses is called for. They call for an "excess profits tax" when only nationalization and a planned economy can solve the problem.

The NDP stands for piecemeal reform, instead of real solutions in the interests of working people. Its aim is to make capitalism work, rather than to create a socialist society. While some useful reforms may be won under NDP governments, these are not secure as long as capitalism remains. The brutal coup in Chile shows both the instability of reforms and the inability of reformism to defend the gains of working people.

The NDP Record

The NDP holds power in three provinces, yet provincial NDP governments pass laws that restrict the rights of the labor movement. They fail even to implement policy adopted at NDP conventions, such as child care, abortion facilities, and support for native rights. They have failed to challenge the rights of big business. Instead, they obey the dictates of big business, and administer the capitalist state on behalf of the bosses.

In the federal parliament, the NDP caucus kept the Liberals in office for a year and a half. They supported increases in the price of oil; they called on railway workers to obey the government's strike-breaking law; they voted for legislation to maintain the army and police forces. They subordinated the independence of labor to "making parliament work"—while even Lewis admits that big business, not parliament, rules Canada.

Their record in parliament shows that the NDP leadership is not serious about fighting for power—that they accept their role as a junior partner to one of the capitalist parties.

The NDP's undemocratic structure reflects the conservatism of the labor bureaucracy, not the real needs of working people. The bureaucrats, who seek to conciliate and mediate the class struggle, control the NDP.

These bureaucrats fail to make the NDP an effective vehicle for working-class action. They have even failed to win most union members—let alone unorganized workers—to support of the NDP. In the past two years, the number of union locals affiliated to the NDP has dropped from 809 to 743. There are far too many workers who have not yet come to the conclusion that they need their own party. Too many workers vote for the big business parties.

South Vietnam NLF Looks at Watergate

[Watergate has tended to be something of an embarrassment for the ruling bureaucracies in both Moscow and Peking, both of which have shown signs of concern that the U. S. president whom they wined and dined in the midst of the Indochina war will now be driven from office, perhaps as a convicted felon.

[Chinese government figures have yet to comment publicly on the scandal, while the infrequent commentaries in the Soviet (and East European) press are written from an attitude of defending Nixon, often suggesting that the moves toward Nixon's impeachment are part of a reactionary plot

This situation is in large measure attributable to the reformist NDP and trade-union leadership. Labor officials sell out strikes and compromise with the bosses at every opportunity. The NDP leadership sacrificed the principle of independent labor political action by entering the alliance with the Liberals in the last parliament. This leadership has made the NDP little more than an electoral machine for handpicked candidates in provincial and federal elections. They fail to challenge the Liberals and Tories' stranglehold on municipal politics.

No wonder that many workers are cynical and see the NDP as little different from the Liberals and Tories!

Support the NDP

However, despite its bankrupt program and leadership, the NDP is the only party that offers working people a class choice in most constituencies. It is the mass political party of the English-Canadian labor movement. It is the only force in the working-class movement that can challenge the big-business parties for governmental office. That's why big business and its media are almost unanimous in their opposition to the NDP in this election. They prefer to rule through their own political parties.

We of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, call for an NDP government with socialist policies. In supporting the NDP in this election, we do not give any support to its bureaucratic leaders, nor do we endorse their program. We call on rank-and-file trade unionists and NDP supporters to get into the NDP campaign, to help elect NDP candidates, and to fight for socialist policies against the reformist leadership.

And as revolutionary socialists, we aim to intervene in this election campaign to press forward the real issues and the socialist alternative for working people. □

to undermine the Washington-Moscow détente.

[We are reprinting below another view of Watergate, which appeared under the title "Nixon's growing fix" in the April 8 issue of *In Struggle*, the English-language "central organ of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation." The article was signed Van Duc.]

* * *

For a bourgeois politician, the vicissitudes of his career are occupational hazards and scandals in the political life in Western countries just

like diseases in a human body. But the scope and gravity of difficulties assailing Mr Nixon has now reached an unprecedented level. Nearly every passing day adds a new problem to his mass of pending ones.

The US President has been faced with problems at all stages of his political life, and in all fields of activity with which his name is associated. This was clear in his first Presidential tenure and is still clearer in his second one.

Early last year as the Viet Nam war came to an end, not a few columnists thought that his position would be strengthened inside America and he would have more elbow room to deal with foreign affairs, but this expectation has not come to pass.

The Watergate affair has become a real noose gradually tightening around his neck. Close subordinates who followed him into the White House and served him there in the first four years have been either sacked or put behind bars—something no one had foreseen following his landslide victory in 1972.

Among the once prominent figures in his administration, Maurice Stans, John Mitchell, Ehrlichman and Halde- man were brought to court, William Rogers and George Schultz resigned, nobody stayed on except Kissinger. Melvin Laird left his office to be Nixon's adviser, only to quit a second time and for good. John Connally was at one time a close aide but he too had to withdraw. Such a large-scale desertion did not happen under any of Nixon's 36 predecessors. And he himself is at present in danger of impeachment, not only on account of Watergate but also of other offences improper on the part of a national leader. He has been charged with tax fraud, false returns and misuse of power for his own enrichment. Enquiries are being conducted on his spendings, his property and the like. A very articulate speaker in his TV appearances, he now devotes most of his television time to refuting accusations against him. It is agonizing indeed for a man who made clear his intention to invite guests all over the world to the celebrations of the 200th founding anniversary of the United States.

The situation is really serious for Dick. This year will witness the mid-term elections in the USA—to fill the

House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate. The Republican Party is being torn apart by the Watergate scandal. In the recent four House by-elections, three seats were won by the Democratic Party, including the fortress hitherto held by Gerald Ford. Republican Party members are thus confronted with a difficult choice: will the candidates be bold enough to run in November on Mr Nixon's ticket, or will they just sacrifice their loyalty to a leader in difficulty to their own parliamentary seat. The lesson taught by the by-elections is evident to everyone: Watergate may stain any name linked with it. This would certainly contribute to increasing the number of those Republicans who approve of the impeachment of Mr. Nixon. In the present storm befalling the Republican Party, the thunder striking Nixon does not come only from the left. For people like Barry Goldwater and James Buckley, clamouring for Dick's resignation is not something motivated by ideological considerations but merely by concern over the fate of the Republican Party, not only in the 1974 mid-term elections but also in the 1976 Presidential race.

Unfortunately Mr Nixon holds very few trump-cards to deal with the present difficulties. If his policy of *détente* and his acceptance of troop withdrawal from Viet Nam did earn him some support in 1973, they have now lost most of their impact. Kissinger's several trips to the Middle East have in no way helped improve Nixon's situation at home. The energy crisis, on the other hand, is ranking among the first preoccupations of the American people. This reflects a new tendency in their thinking: achievements in foreign affairs, if any, cannot deviate them from home problems. After the Viet Nam war—so detrimental to the United States both materially and morally—the people are fed up with foreign adventures, and the home crisis has attained such a degree of gravity that foreign issues have almost lost their soothing effect. At present, contrary to the incurably optimistic forecasts of the White House, Congress has predicted a new recession for this year. Unemployment has hit 5.2 percent of manpower in the whole country—a real danger for the ruling Party in an election year, and personally for a President enmeshed in a scandal the size of Watergate.

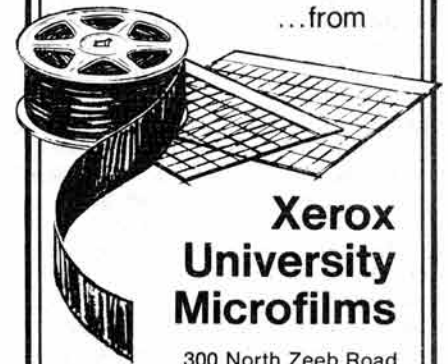
Mr Nixon's rosy evaluations on the economic situation are, by no accident, drowned in the sea of pessimistic assessments by economists at a time when recession is already looming large.

No American President has lost so much credit as Mr Nixon. Opinion polls after polls have highlighted the vertical fall of his political credibility. Only one-fourth of those interviewed still showed support for him. The proportion was just the opposite of that obtained in 1972 when Nixon was re-elected President of the United States. Millions of Americans have realized that they were deceived!

The US House of Representatives is now considering impeachment procedure. A majority vote is required by the Constitution for this and there should be an approval by two-thirds of the Senators to remove the President. This is no simple procedure. But even though Nixon might survive, he would not certainly be able to govern as before. And right now it is no exaggeration to call him a lameduck President. □

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The Continuing Persecution of Pyotr Grigorenko

[We print below two recent statements on the case of Pyotr Grigorenko, dissident communist in the Soviet Union who has been confined in a psychiatric hospital and in psychiatric hospital prisons since his arrest in May 1969.

[Both statements are signed by Zinaida Grigorenko, Pyotr's wife; and one is co-signed by Pyotr's son Andrei. Both statements were issued prior to the May 1974 decision of an official commission of Soviet forensic psychiatrists that Grigorenko "no longer needs psychiatric treatment." As a result of this May 1974 decision, Grigorenko's case reverts to the Soviet courts, which had previously (February 1970) condemned Grigorenko to an indefinite term of compulsory psychiatric treatment because of his activities in defense of the right of the Crimean Tatars to return to their homeland in the Crimea, from which they were deported *en masse* by Stalin in May 1944. Grigorenko had been tried under Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code ("especially dangerous crimes against the state").

[Grigorenko is, apparently, still being confined in the "ordinary" mental hospital at Stolbovaya. His condition is very serious. Not only has he suffered at least three heart attacks, but Zinaida reported that in April "he was attacked by a mentally disturbed person and wounded in the face," according to the May 8 *Le Monde*.

[Zinaida's evaluation of the visit of foreign psychiatrists to Grigorenko is particularly important because it is her first account of that event, which was widely reported in the foreign press. The visit took place October 14, 1973. On that day, Soviet bureaucrats allowed two foreign psychiatrists — one of whom was Denis Leigh, executive secretary of the World Psychiatric Association, a Briton — to "interview" Grigorenko as part of the bureaucrats' efforts to mitigate the international protest (which included protests from foreign psychiatrists and psychiatric and psychoanalytic associations) against the Kremlin's practice of confining dissidents in mental hospitals. Understandably, Grigorenko did not trust the official interpreters provided for the interview; be-

cause his demand for his own interpreter was not met, the interview never took place.

[It was on this day that one of the head doctors at Stolbovaya, Dr. Kozyrev, told the two visiting psychiatrists that Grigorenko was well and would be released the following month, November 1973. One of the psychiatrists, a Swede, reported this statement to the foreign press. The Serbsky Institute quickly and rather quietly intervened and warned the Stolbovaya doctors that they would have to take responsibility for Grigorenko's behavior if he were released, and then publicly denied that Kozyrev's statement was true. Dr. Leigh, backing up the Soviet bureaucrats, subsequently also denied that Kozyrev made such a statement. Leigh's action may be one of the reasons that the woman supervisor at Stolbovaya told Zinaida, according to the May 12 *New York Times*, that "the authorities now had the support of psychiatrists in the West."

[The translation for *Intercontinental Press* is by Marilyn Vogt.]

* * *

Five years ago, May 2, 1969, Pyotr Grigorevich Grigorenko left his apartment to act as public defender — as he was asked to do by 2,000 Crimean Tatars — at the trial of eleven fighters for the right of the indigenous inhabitants of the Crimea to return to their historic homeland. Instead of landing in a courtroom, however, Pyotr Grigorevich landed in a KGB basement. After that came long months of confinement, a hunger strike of protest, a beating by a prison guard, and two forensic psychiatric examinations whose conclusions as to his psychiatric state contradicted each other.¹

1. The first forensic psychiatric commission, in Tashkent (Uzbek SSR), August 18, 1969, declared that Grigorenko was sane. The second, a commission under the notorious Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow on November 19, 1969, declared that Grigorenko needed "compulsory treatment in a special psychiatric hospital" because of the "reformist illusions" he suffered from. It was this latter decision that the courts recognized as valid.

Then a trial at which he was absent but at which a very strange selection of witnesses were present. After that came three and a half years in a solitary confinement cell in what was formerly a Prussian convict prison and is now a special psychiatric hospital of a closed type, under the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR. After two doctors' findings on his discharge and after three trials, came the transfer to a hospital near Moscow, of an open type under the Ministry of Public Health.

Pyotr Grigorenko had to endure a lot during these years: from beatings, being denied paper and pencil, and being deprived of free access to the toilet, to attacks by aggressive patients.

Many hardships came our way as well. There was intimidation and blackmail. Those who were convicted in the trial of eleven Crimean Tatars had long ago been released. One of Grigorenko's associates, Mustafa Dzhe-milev, had also been released. A second, Ilya Gabai, had perished, tormented by the persecution of the three years he spent in prison.² However, the fate of our father and husband, as before, is in the hands of the Lunts and the Kozhemyakina³ — the crim-

2. Ilya Gabai committed suicide October 20, 1973. He had been a prominent fighter for democracy in the Soviet Union in the late 1960s. On May 19, 1969, he was arrested for his written appeals and for his activities in defense of the Crimean Tatars. *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR*, No. 4, September–October 1973 (Khronika Press, N.Y.), reports: "From the time of his release at the end of his [three-year] term in May 1972, Gabai was subjected to systematic interrogation by the KGB."

3. Professor D. R. Lunts was a key figure in the "psychiatric" commission that ruled Grigorenko insane. Grigorenko reports that "more than once" he had seen Lunts, head of the Special Diagnosis Department of Serbsky Institute, "arrive at work in the uniform of a KGB colonel." Lunts has been responsible for the confinement of numerous dissidents in psychiatric hospitals.

Aleksandra Kozhemyakina is a KGB specialist. According to the May 8, 1974, *Le Monde*, Zinaida named Kozhemyakina as the KGB official who warned the doctors at Stolbovaya that they would lose their positions if Grigorenko, when re-

inals in white coats.

The intimidation and blackmail continue as before. Declaring Pyotr Grigorevich ill, they proceed to treat him like a criminal. Thus, in A. Belov's and Kilkin's book, *Diversion Without Dynamite* (Moscow, Publishing House of Political Literature, 1972), on page 90 it was stated that Grigorenko was convicted for hostile activity and contact with NTS [an extreme-rightemigré group]. At a session of the Chernyakhovsk City Court on the question of releasing Pyotr Grigorevich from the prison hospital, Prosecutor Lebedev called Grigorenko a dangerous state criminal, an enemy of his native land.

In January 1974 during the certification of engineers, the Kharkov engineer Sofya Karasik was demoted to the post of technician for signing a 1969 letter in defense of Grigorenko.

Despite the fact that according to Soviet law a person who has been declared irresponsible does not bear either administrative or criminal responsibility, Pyotr Grigorevich was demoted to the ranks and deprived of his legal pension during the period of his time in the hospital.

What do they want from him? That he put an end to his life, like Ilya Gabai? Or that he suffer heart failure? One thing is clear: They do not want to free Pyotr Grigorevich, which means they want his physical annihilation. Death—this is the guarantee they are waiting for. This is the way out of the situation that, in the words of Kozhemyakina, "will suit everyone." Who she means by "everyone" is clear to one and all. Yes, it suits this particular "everyone" most of all so that no one will know anything about their business. That is why this "everyone" wants the coffin lid closed over Pyotr Grigorenko. Yes, the dead are silent.

Zinaida Grigorenko
Andrei Grigorenko

P.S. On April 4, Pyotr Grigorevich suffered a serious heart attack. The doctors in the section and the head doctor of Hospital N5, Kozyrev, submitted a written appeal to the city psychiatrist Orlov and to the Serbsky Institute about the need to discharge Grigorenko, because in view of the

leased, "created a stir." Kozhemyakina also threatened Grigorenko's son Andrei with a term in a work camp if his father "didn't behave himself."

patient's deteriorating condition, the setting of a psychiatric hospital worsens Pyotr Grigorenko's state of health, and they cannot bear responsibility for his life henceforth under these conditions.

Z. and A. Grigorenko

* * *

The arrival of Western psychiatrists to call on Pyotr Grigorenko turned into an unseemly spectacle. No interview took place. Why? Pyotr Grigorenko declared: "I am on your list of those who are incapable of functioning, but now must act as a diplomat, knowing that a conversation will be publicized. Therefore, I am requesting that the interview be postponed in order that there may be an interpreter, brought by my wife, whose translation will report my words and ideas as I wish. The Russian language is versatile and inaccuracies can creep into a translation."

These terms could have been readily

met; however, the organizers denied them, and the Western psychiatrists too failed to back up Pyotr Grigorenko. Who then didn't want a normal conversation, clarity and accuracy? Everyone, except Pyotr Grigorenko.

In response to a brief question from a psychiatrist as to how he felt, Pyotr Grigorenko said: "By comparison with Chernyakhovsk, here I feel better." Many have exploited this sentence, and on more than one occasion.⁴ In truth, it conveys the following: It has become a little easier for me to breathe, but I am still deprived of my freedom. And without freedom, it is impossible to feel good.

Z.M. Grigorenko
May 2, 1974

4. Dr. Leigh, one of the psychiatrists who was to interview Grigorenko on October 14, said (according to the account in the October 16, 1973, *New York Times*) that "in answer to a question, Mr. Grigorenko, who is 66 years old, had said that he was now being treated 'very well.'"

Program of Palestine National Council

[The following is the text of the political program presented June 2 at the tenth congress of the Palestine National Council, which met in Cairo June 1-9. The document, which was prepared by a committee composed of representatives of the major resistance organizations, was adopted by majority vote June 8.

[Two additional points were added during a week of debate. One stipulated that "in the event of the emergence of a decisive situation regarding the future of the Palestinian people, a special session of the National Council will be convened to discuss the matter." This was generally understood to refer to the possibility of an invitation to the Geneva conference.

[The second point, a separate declaration, ordered the Palestine Liberation Organization leadership to step up military action in Israel and the occupied territories.

[The text of the report was made available by the Palestinian news agency Wafa and printed in *Le Monde* of June 4. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

1. The Palestine Liberation Organization rejects [United Nations] Security Council Resolution 242, which ignores the patriotic and national aspirations of our people and considers the cause of the Palestinian people to be a refugee problem, as the basis for any negotiations, whether Arab or international—including the Geneva conference, which is based on this resolution.

2. The PLO will fight by all means at its disposal, by armed struggle in particular, to liberate the territory of Palestine and construct an independent and fighting people's national authority on any part of Palestinian territory that is liberated.

3. The PLO will fight against any plan or Palestinian entity that would entail recognition of the enemy, conclusion of a peace with it, and the renunciation of our people's historic right to return to their homeland and decide their own future.

4. The PLO holds that any measure of liberation is only a step toward the realization of its strategic objective, namely the construction of a democratic Palestinian state in conformity with the resolutions of pre-

vious sessions of the Palestine National Council.

5. In collaboration with the patriotic forces of Jordan, the PLO will fight for the construction of a Jordanian-Palestinian Front whose objectives will be organically linked to the Palestinian national entity that will be established through armed struggle.

6. The PLO will fight to attain unity in combat between the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples, as well as with

all forces of Arab liberation that support this program.

7. The national authority will fight to attain unity of all countries on the field of battle in order to achieve the liberation of all Palestinian territory, the first step toward establishing unity between all the Arab countries.

8. The PLO will fight to strengthen its links with the socialist countries and the liberation movements around the world, as well as to defeat all

reactionary Zionist and imperialist conspiracies.

9. Under the guidance of this program, the PLO will fight to strengthen Palestinian national unity and to bring it to a level that will enable it to accomplish its patriotic and national objectives.

10. Under the guidance of this program, the leadership will determine a tactic permitting the realization of the objectives that have been defined.

Rohan Wijeweera's Defense Speech in JVP Trial

[Rohan Wijeweera was the main leader of the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front) in Sri Lanka. He was arrested March 13, 1971, by the coalition regime of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, three days before the government declared a countrywide state of emergency. Within a matter of weeks the regime had arrested most of the leaders of the JVP.]

[The repression, which was backed by Peking, the pro-Moscow Communist party, and the renegade ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party (Ceylon Equal Society party), prompted the young rebels into beginning armed resistance in April. It took the regime months, even with major military operations in which thousands of youths were killed, to completely crush the uprising.]

[In an attempt to put the blame for the bloodshed on the rebels themselves, the Bandaranaike regime decided to hold show trials of some of the leaders and alleged members of the JVP. In April 1972 the draconian Criminal Justice Commission Act was pushed through the parliament, providing for special tribunals to try the arrested revolutionists, since the regular court system was deemed "inadequate."]

[The primary trial of forty-one defendants (other trials were held in the provinces) began June 12, 1972. The main defendant was Rohan Wijeweera. The show trials have continued since then, the first JVP leader in the primary trial being sentenced at the beginning of 1974. Rohan Wijeweera completed his own defense on January 30, but continued to appear before the commission in defense of the other defendants. Bala Tampoe, general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union and secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary), the Sri Lanka section of the Fourth International, has been defense attorney for a number of the defendants.]

[Rohan Wijeweera spoke in his own defense before the Criminal Justice Commission on November 2, 1973. A major excerpt from his speech was printed in the March-April 1974 issue of the London magazine *New Left Review*. We reprint that excerpt below.]

* * *

Chairman and Members of the Commission:

A representative of one social class is addressing the representatives of another social class. That is what is happening here. A representative of the exploited and oppressed proletariat is addressing the representatives of the exploiting and oppressing class. We should not forget that the living reality which transpires here is a struggle for the fulfilment and class interests of two opposed social classes. Although I have been designated the 'thirteenth suspect' by this Commission in the present inquiry, the Chairman himself has stated that I am the chief suspect. That being so, it will be necessary right at the beginning to tell you who I, the thirteenth suspect, am. I am a Marxist-Leninist. I am a modern Bolshevik. I am a proletarian revolutionary. Marxism-Leninism is a clear doctrine. In no way is a Marxist-Leninist a conspirator. I, a Bolshevik, am in no way a terrorist. As a proletarian revolutionary, however, I must emphatically state that I am committed to the overthrow of the prevailing capitalist system and its replacement by a socialist system.

To disown capitalism, which has turned grey, reactionary and obsolete in the course of human social development, to say that this system must be replaced with the new socialist system of production which has come to the fore as befitting the latest and noblest historical stage in the course of the development of human society, and to act accordingly, is in no way a conspiratorial act. I am not a conspirator in the context of the development of history. I am no conspirator in the context of the development of society and humanity.

Honourable Members of the Commission: May I make one request to begin with? I have been subjected to every possible indignity and harassment at the hands of the ruling class and have been for several years the target of numerous defamations, slurs and slanders, mudsling-

ing and character assassination—and all this without any protection from the law. The only request that I make of you, is to respect my right to express my innocence freely and without any let or hindrance. The ruling clique of capitalists will gag me for a long period, if not for all time. In these circumstances I do not wish to blame myself for not saying all that I have to say before you now. I beseech that I be not gagged.

This suspect, who is making use of his right to state the facts that will prove his innocence, does not intend under any circumstances to refrain from saying what he has to say. This capitalist institution has been used against me in a somewhat heavy way. I am not surprised. I know that the ruling class sets up its institutions to serve the needs of capitalism. Pleading my case before this Commission could be considered a futile exercise if it simply provided a legal cover for the unscrupulous and arbitrary decisions, and the disgraceful course of action, on which you have embarked. But I intend to explain the historical process which led to the most furious, the most barbarous and the most widespread human slaughter that has taken place in the recent history of our country.

Honourable Members of the Commission: "The noblest, the most valuable, the greatest and supreme treasure that a man has is his life. He lives only once. He should spend that life in such a way that at his dying moment he will have no cause for regret, repentance, shock or sorrow; in such a way that he could really be happy in the thought of having sacrificed his life advancing the development, the liberation and the victory of mankind—the people of the whole world." This is a Soviet writer's interpretation of life. I agree with this aspiration and do not wish to have any reason for sorrow should the capitalist ruling clique cut short my life in the prime of my youth.

The Charges Against Us

I have no regrets whatsoever about my life and the fate in store for me. I hope

to tell you everything concerning the history of the April incidents, without any qualms about possible reprisals against my person. The charges made against us are grave. We have been charged with the breach of Sections 114 and 115 of the Penal Code. According to the writ issued to you by the then governor-general, and also according to the indictment served on us, the period at issue is that between the beginning of 1968 and the end of 1971. It is said that during this period we "conspired against the Queen's government." It is said that during this period we conspired criminally to overthrow the government of Ceylon. It is said that we have "waged war against the Queen" or have abetted such acts. Similarly, the opening submissions of the state prosecutor have attempted to show that the birth of the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna was in itself tantamount to a conspiracy. What we actually said and did during this period is the crux of the matter; accordingly my own views and conceptions are as much the subject of inquiry as anything else.

Mr Chairman: There was a time when Ceylon was a direct colony of the British Empire on which, it used to be said, the sun will never set. When the second imperialist war was raging, these colonies were trampled under the yoke of Admiral Geoffrey Layton's war chariot; the colonial government engaged in a ruthless suppression of the leftist movement of this country after incarcerating the leaders and proscribing their parties (the Lanka Sama Samaja party and the United Socialist party); the masses were full of sorrow and racked by oppression; colonial troops were ransacking the island and autocracy was in complete command, with capitalists raking in more and more profits and revolutionaries languishing in jail. It was in such a sad and dark time, similar to the present, that I was born in Tangalle, in July 1943. I grew up in Kottegoda, a small village in the Matara district. I was admitted to the Godanda Government Primary Boys' School in the middle of 1947, where I received primary education until 1953.

When a whole country's progress is obstructed, when the forward march of an entire nation has been halted, when a whole people find themselves poised on the brink of a dark abyss, it is not difficult to understand why just and honest men will show no signs of fear as they enter prisons and suffer untold hardships, face constant harassment and even sacrifice their lives for the purpose of saving their country and their people from that national calamity. After the second imperialist war the administration of this country was handed over to the local capitalist class, as part of a neocolonialist stratagem, and the country continued along the same bankrupt path of capitalist development. In such an atmosphere my generation entered their youth. We inherited by this time a vast reservoir of experience from our parent society. It was this social experience that pushed us towards the path of revolution.

My Path to Marxism

In 1954 I was admitted to the Godanda Government Senior English School. That same year this school was transformed into a Sinhala language school. It was there that I obtained my secondary education. I found myself drawn towards the Communist party as a result of the massive agitational campaign against imperialism and capitalism conducted throughout the south by my political mentor, Comrade Dr. S.A. Wickremasinghe, the present general secretary of the Ceylon Communist party, and also as a result of the experiences I had gained from society. It was during these days that I first read the Sinhala edition of that historic document of Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, and also Liu Shao Chi's *How to Be a Good Communist*, though I must admit that at that time I failed to understand them correctly. I learnt the ABC of politics at the propaganda rallies and Youth League seminars of the Communist party. I am grateful to Comrade Dr. Wickremasinghe for this.

As a member of the Communist Youth League I took part in political activity for the first time in my life with a sense of feeling and understanding. In July 1959 when I was studying science for the GCE (O Levels) [General Certificate of Education, Ordinary Levels] I had to leave my school because of the shortage of science teachers and enter Dharmasoka College, Ambalangoda. In December of that year I passed the GCE (O Level) exam in science.

At the general elections of 1960, the Ceylon CP entered the fray with 53 candidates—the highest number it had ever put forward at an election in its entire history. As it was a small party, I had to focus all my endeavours on its election campaign. The experience I gained in this election campaign in remote areas like Aparakka, Dandeniya, Urugamuwa and Radampola was considerable. One day, after the elections, I read a news item in the magazine *Soviet Land* to the effect that the Soviet Premier, Khrushchev, who was on a tour of Indonesia in the middle of 1960, would shortly be opening an International University in Moscow for the benefit of youth from the colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. By this time I was finding it difficult to continue higher studies due to economic factors. During the 1947 general election, my father, who was organizing the election activities of the Communist candidate for Hakmana, Comrade Premalal Kumarasiri, found his jeep forcibly stopped by reactionaries. He was abducted and beaten up, an experience that left him a permanent invalid. My family found it materially impossible to finance higher education for me. At my own wish I applied for entrance to the proposed new People's Friendship University of Moscow.

On winning a medical degree scholarship, I left for Moscow on 25 September 1960. After the preliminary examination held there I was admitted to the Faculty of Philology on 1 October 1960, to learn the Russian language. At seventeen, I was

then the youngest student at the university and I cannot forget the great assistance my Soviet teachers extended to me. I studied Russian till June 1961. In addition, I attended the lectures on world history and historical materialism held there in the English language. I refer here with gratitude to the well-known Soviet historian Professor Metropolski. Had I not been his pupil, it is possible that I would not be here before you today. It was this great man's ideas that helped me to understand how I could be of greater service to mankind in this present era, by giving up my love for medical science and becoming a revolutionary rather than a doctor.

In June 1961 I passed with distinction the final examination in the Russian language and was accordingly selected a member of the university delegation that was to visit Soviet Georgia in August. In the meantime I spent the first month of the summer holidays (July 1961) in Soviet Moldavia. During that month I worked as an agricultural worker in a village in the Torspol District of the Soviet Moldavian Republic and also on a nearby state farm. This was the first employment I ever had. During this month we had the opportunity, every evening after work, to see the other farms, factories and electric power stations in the area. It would be completely true to say that it was here that I was convinced of the evil of the private property system and the value of the collectivized property system. It was here that I received the magnificent opportunity to live and work and exchange views with the Soviet working class and to see and understand the victories of socialism.

Impact of Sino-Soviet Dispute

On 1 September 1961 I commenced my medical studies. In the same educational year I studied, as additional subjects, political science and Russian literature at this university. In the same month I was elected deputy general secretary of the Union of Ceylonese Students in Russia and accordingly I had to engage myself in student welfare work too.

At the time of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU I witnessed the differences of opinion, which were boiling and brewing within the international Communist movement, burst its seams and spill out into the open. By this time we were feeling dissatisfied with the policy and programme of the Ceylon Communist party, of which we had become staunch followers due to our meagre knowledge of Marxism. We felt that rightist and Social Democratic tendencies had become the predominant force inside the Ceylon CP. We thought that the Ceylon CP was degenerating into a Social Democratic party and that to save the Communist party from this disaster we should launch an ideological rectification campaign within it. Together with the present national organiser of the Communist party, Comrade K.P. Silva, who

was then on a visit to the Soviet Union, and the late Comrade Dharmakerthi, I took the initiative of setting up a "Marxist Education Circle" for the benefit of Ceylonese students.

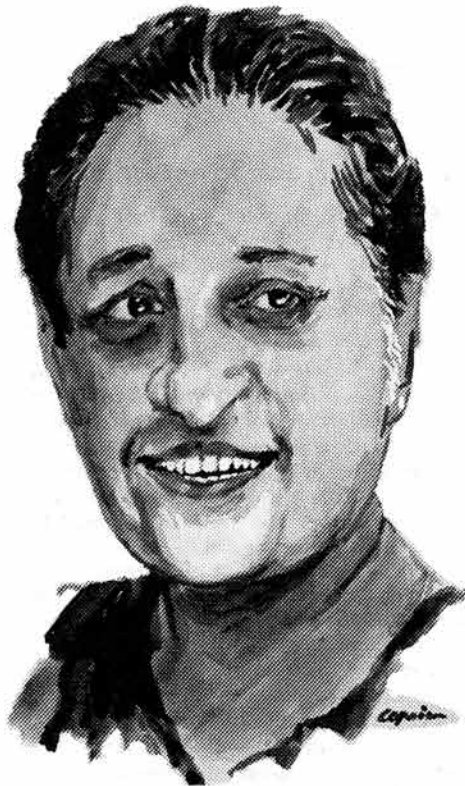
During the summer holidays of 1962, I came back to Ceylon, but returned to the Soviet Union with my confidence in the Communist party shattered still further. In September 1962, during my second year in the Medical College, my interest in politics came to the fore, pushing my interest in medical science to a secondary place. I had the opportunity of discussing the Chinese Communist party's position in the Sino-Soviet ideological conflict with comrades like Murad Aidit, a close friend of mine and brother of the then leader of the Indonesian CP, the late Comrade D.N. Aidit, and comrade Che Ali, who was an Indonesian students' union leader. As a result of these discussions I felt that I was in a position to agree with most of the views put forward by the Chinese CP and accordingly I found myself on the Chinese side in the Sino-Soviet dispute. This in no way means that I became anti-Soviet. This conflict appeared to us at the outset as a fraternal ideological struggle between the Chinese and Soviet parties with the common object of arriving at a correct programme. I did not then realise that it was to develop into a conflict between enemies. I thought it would remain a fraternal debate. I did not like the idea of having two conflicting and contradictory voices in the international Communist movement. However, I admitted the fairness of having two voices, one right and one wrong, rather than having only one voice and that one wrong. But what was most unfortunate here was that, though there were two voices, both these voices happened to be wrong.

At this moment I would like to raise a question which is of vital importance in relation to this trial, namely, the view of Marxists in regard to peace and violence. I do so because the question of violence is related to most of my evidence. The two most important issues of contention between the Soviet and Chinese parties were the following problems: the question of transition from capitalism to socialism and the question of relations between the capitalist and socialist systems in the present world. Members of the Commission, our view concerning the transformation from capitalism to socialism has become a subject of your inquiry. Therefore I will explain it in some detail.

The Question of Violence

Whether a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is possible has been the subject of keen and heated controversy within the world communist movement and the international working class for a fairly long time. It was suitably answered as far back as 1847 by the young Engels. In his treatise, *Principles of Communism* he poses this question as

follows: "Can private property be peacefully abolished?" and gives the following reply: "It would be desirable if this could happen, and the communists would certainly be the last to oppose it. Communists know only too well that all conspiracies are not only useless but even harmful. They know all too well that revolutions are not made intentionally and arbitrarily, but that everywhere and always they have been the necessary consequence of conditions which were wholly indepen-



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dent of the will and direction of individual parties and entire classes. But they also see that the development of the proletariat in nearly all civilized countries has been violently suppressed, and that in this way the opponents of communism have been working toward a revolution with all their strength. If the oppressed proletariat is finally driven to revolution, then we communists will defend the interests of the proletarians with deeds as we now defend them with words."

Engels's answer is quite clear. We who are Marxists, we who are revolutionaries, are most desirous of seeing state power peacefully transferred from the hands of the exploiter capitalist ruling class to the hands of the proletariat. We would be very glad to receive peacefully from the few owners of property the means of production and hand them over to the custody of the entire people. If a peaceful abolition of the system which is based on the exploitation of man by man could be easily and readily brought about, we would have no objection. If class distinctions in society can be abolished without

any conflict and in a friendly manner, we would have no reason to object. In fact we communists would most certainly prefer peaceful methods for the realization of our objects, for the fulfilment of our aspirations—for the establishment of communism on behalf of all mankind so that antagonistic class distinctions no longer exist, where the disgraceful process of man exploiting man no longer exists, where all the means of material production are vested in society as a whole and where the noble policy of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is actually practised. However, it must be emphatically stated that it is not proletarian revolutionaries who have to decide whether the proletarian socialist revolution will take place peacefully or will necessitate the use of violence.

Marx has shown clearly that the exploiting, property-owning class has never voluntarily abandoned its ruling power nor its privileges at any time in history. Not a single property-owning class can be picked out from the entire globe which has bowed its head peacefully when confronted with the verdict of history embodied in the needs and will of the majority and given up its privileges voluntarily. The class which holds state power in this society makes use of this state power to protect and consolidate its property system. In order to protect their property there will be no cruel or disgusting crimes against the oppressed masses which these capitalist ruling classes will not commit.

The capitalist classes make use of their unlimited power in this society to subordinate members of the oppressed classes to bourgeois ideology. If the threat of an independent ideological development is observed within the ranks of the proletariat, the ruling classes realize the danger and employ all their customary methods to destroy it. They will infiltrate their agents to mislead and entice it towards them and to win over degenerate and traitorous individuals within it. They will seek by every devious means ideologically to disarm this independent movement inside the proletariat. They will resort to disgraceful slanders in order to divide and humiliate it, its policies and its disciplined members. When all these efforts fail, they seek its destruction through capitalist laws, courts, prisons, repressive rules and regulations and, in the end, even resort to violent attacks and massacres. This is the truth, tested out in the annals of the class struggle.

The state machine is an institution brought into being as a result of the emergence of class divisions based on the system of private property and the resulting class conflict. It arose and developed as a powerful weapon necessary for the ruling class in power to repress and govern the proletariat it exploits. Without the assistance of this institution—the state machine—which is the creature of the class struggle, the ruling class cannot secure or improve its class needs and interests. It has never been impartial. In any so-

ciety where a class system exists the state machine safeguards the interests of one class. It serves one class. The state machine in a feudal society is the class weapon of the aristocracy. In a capitalist society it is the weapon of the capitalist class. In a socialist society, of course, the dictatorship of the proletariat is at the service of the proletariat. The entire history of present-day society bears witness to the fact that whenever the proletariat, together with other oppressed groups in society, tries to secure its rights or change the existing social system by peaceful means, the exploiter classes, which represent a tiny minority in society, always act to protect their property system by completely negating and annulling the peaceful struggle of the proletariat by the use of violence.

We Marxists are proletarian revolutionaries. We do not conceal this fact from anyone. We hope for a complete revolutionary change of the existing social system and act with that goal in view. Ours is not the role of sitting on the fence with folded arms waiting for the day when this capitalist system is taken for burial on the shoulders of others; this capitalist system has bequeathed suffering and oppression to the working class of this country, which is over three million strong. It has made poverty and want the sole inheritance of the middle and lower peasants who comprise more than half the population of this country; it has brought unemployment to the youth and malnutrition to the infant; it has become the fount and source of each and every contemporary social problem that the bulk of the nation suffers. The socialist revolution in a country can be hastened or delayed depending on the degree to which objective conditions are ripe and subjective conditions, i.e., consciousness, organization and leadership, have developed.

Counterrevolutionaries resort to violence. Therefore to ensure the safe delivery of the new social system, it becomes necessary for proletarian revolutionaries to resort to revolutionary violence against the violence employed by the capitalist class.

The fundamental issue is the question of state power. The main task in any social revolution is the destruction of the capitalist state and the creation of a proletarian state, in other words, the dictatorship of the proletariat. For us Marxist-Leninists the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship is the essential precondition for the transition to a socialist system. No socialism can be built without the proletariat first capturing and later consolidating state power. To retain state power the capitalist class will use violence. We Marxists are not preachers of violence. We only predict the certainty of violent acts in the course of the revolution. We prophesy that the decaying ruling classes, to prevent the forward march of society through a socialist revolution, will resort to counterrevolutionary vio-

lence and the proletariat will answer with its own revolutionary acts of violence.

Chief Justice Fernando: If a burglar comes to you for advice, you may tell him: "Well it may be necessary for you to carry a revolver because the owner of the house might also have a revolver." Under our law you cannot carry a revolver in those circumstances.

Thirteenth suspect: You have a good knowledge of your law. The knowledge that I have is of the views I hold and of the things I have said and done. What we have said and done has been presented here in a completely distorted form. But when the entire truth is made known, you will be able to take any course of action the law allows.

Departure From Soviet Union

After I was cured of an illness in February 1964, the doctor advised me to take leave for one term. I decided to spend this leave in Ceylon and arrived back on 24 March 1964. During the latter half of 1963 the Ceylon party split into Russian and Chinese wings. My political mentor, Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, remained in the leadership of the Russian wing, but I took the side of the Chinese wing in accordance with the policies and views I held. I even sent my congratulations from Moscow to the Congress of the Chinese wing.

Justice Alles: Would it be correct to say that you were refused a visa to return to Russia?

Thirteenth suspect: After my return to Ceylon I worked as a sympathizer of the Chinese wing. During this period I was invited by a number of student unions and other public associations from several districts to speak to them on socialism and about the Soviet Union. I was questioned by the audiences on the factors which led to the Sino-Soviet polemics and answered these questions from the Chinese point of view. For this reason the local leaders of the pro-Moscow party became angry with me. In August 1964, when I applied for a visa to return to the Soviet Union, the Soviet Embassy refused my application without giving any reasons. At that time I was taking a greater interest in political work in Ceylon. That is the answer to the question posed by Justice Alles.

Justice Fernando: Why did it surprise you? When they refused you a return visa, they treated you correctly. You came back from Moscow and you attacked Soviet Communism.

Thirteenth suspect: No. I am not anti-Soviet. Even today I admit that the Soviet Union is a workers' state. I will always defend it against the onslaughts of the capitalist class. But there are theoretical problems that divide the Soviet Union from us. They are family problems. If you attack the Soviet Union, I shall defend it. But I reserve the right to criticize openly and state the differences between the Soviet Union and us.

Origins of the JVP

In the middle of 1967, according to a prior agreement, a comrade whose name I cannot disclose and Comrade Sanath came to my mother's house in Hunnadeniya. We had a discussion there related to our future course of action. As a result of this, at the end of 1967 a discussion was held by several of our sympathizers and ourselves. The discussion was of historic importance, since it paved the way for the emergence of a new political movement—the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna. There was a special reason for conducting these discussions over this period. A new political trend had grown on an international level and was gaining ground even in this country.

After the killing of Comrade Che Guevara in Bolivia, and through the Tri-continental Congress and OLAS, this trend received worldwide publicity and had an important repercussion. The Cuban Embassy in Ceylon had various speeches and texts by Comrades Castro and Guevara printed in Sinhala and widely distributed throughout this country. Among these were Castro's *History Will Absolve Me* and *The Second Declaration of Havana*, *The Path the Latin American Revolution Should Take*, *Those Who Are Not Militant Revolutionaries Are Not Communists* and *From Moncada to Victory*. As a result of this, many of our sympathizers felt that Ceylon should take the same path and emulate the heroic example of Che. The essence of this view was that under present conditions the revolution can take place without a revolutionary party.

This view rejected the Leninist conception of the necessity of a fully fledged revolutionary organization for the victory of the proletariat and the socialist revolution. According to this view the betrayal of the old left movement in the face of capitalist repression had created a situation where a revolutionary party could not be formed; revolutionaries should commence the armed struggle so that the oppressed masses would be awakened by the sound of gunfire, a process which would rally them behind the revolution. The same comrades maintained that political activities, political classes, discussions, agitational campaigns and ideological struggles to organize the proletariat as a class and fight for the revolution were either impossible or unnecessary. Those who wanted to follow the Cuban road had not even properly understood it themselves. They held the mistaken view that the revolution was launched, fought and won by eleven men with guns. They did not realize that broad sections of the masses—the Llano organization and the July 26th Movement—had been mobilized against the cruel Batista dictatorship. This false concept was completely rejected at the Kalattawa discussion. We defeated the petty-bourgeois adventurism which had developed behind the

cover of the Cuban model and discussed what to do next. The innumerable negative examples we gained within the old left movement and the break-away pro-Chinese grouping, which claimed to be revolutionary, and our considerable experience of the international communist movement, became useful to us as the basis of our discussions.

Tasks of the Revolution

We held, first, that the views we had in regard to the development of the Ceylonese revolution when we were in the Chinese wing were incorrect. When we were in the Chinese wing, we held that the present stage of the revolution was that of struggle for a people's democracy. At the Kalattawa discussion we rejected that view. What was relevant for Ceylon was a socialist and not a people's democratic revolution. I must explain why we rejected the concept of the people's democratic revolution.

This concept was copied by the Ceylonese Party from the leadership of the former Third (Communist) International and from China. On an analysis of the present nature and stage of social development in Ceylon and the international nature of capitalism, we came to the view that the anti-imperialist and antifeudal tasks of the revolution in colonial and semicolonial societies can be carried out only by attending to the socialist tasks, since in the epoch of imperialism (the extension of capital internationally), no anti-imperialist task can ever be effectively completed without socialism. The uncompleted and neglected tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution, such as national independence, agrarian revolution and democracy, can only be accomplished through a socialist revolution. They can be carried out only by the proletariat.

To argue that a new democratic stage exists between the capitalist system and the socialist system is to ignore the principles of social development and mutual class relationships. World capitalism, taken in its entirety, has developed sufficiently to provide the objective conditions suitable for a socialist revolution on a global scale, and therefore socialist tasks are on the order of the day even in the undeveloped countries of the world.

At the same discussion we argued that a proletarian revolutionary party must be established. However, there cannot be a Marxist party without Marxists. What has the old left movement done during the course of thirty years and more to develop Marxists? It was quite apparent that the old left leaders had succumbed to capitalist ideology and paid scant attention to the question of providing the working class with a basic Marxist understanding. These old left leaders did not have the cadres who could have propagated Marxist ideas in Sinhala. Although they conducted a political class or two on certain subjects in a haphazard and irregu-

lar fashion, they did not provide the working-class vanguard with systematic political education. They took no serious steps to raise and maintain political consciousness within their own ranks. As a result, when they turned to the right, there was no strong group of Marxists to fight back effectively, and most of their members followed suit.

Political Education

I say all this to try to show you the context in which our five education classes came into being. Considering the negative experiences we had gained through the old left, we realized that to provide the people with a knowledge of Marxism, a correct, simple, established method should be adopted so that they would be able to grasp the subject readily. I am not going to conduct these five lessons here. I will only give you a brief introduction.

The first class was on the subject: "Economic Crisis." As it is the mode of production or the economy of a social system on which other structures rest, we realized the importance of making a fundamental analysis of the economy. We analyzed the economic situation, its crisis, its origin, its causes, its development, its future and its inevitable consequences. We explained that the economic crisis in colonial and semicolonial societies is in the process of being transformed into a political crisis; that before long it would result in a great national calamity and how the only way of escaping this calamity was to take the forward path of class struggle and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and hasten both socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture.

The second class was entitled: "Independence—a neocolonial stratagem." This provided a basic Marxist interpretation of the socioeconomic-political meaning of the changing of flags—the lowering of the Union Jack and the raising of the Lion—that took place on 4 February 1948. In this class we explained that what was received was neither full independence nor economic independence. We showed how the strategy of British imperialism necessitated a neocolonial device to protect its colonial investments and property from the rising tempest of anti-imperialist liberation struggles resulting from the change in the international relationship of forces at the conclusion of the Second Imperialist War. We maintained that political independence without economic independence was a sham.

The third class concerned the way in which Indian expansionism affected Ceylon. The idea of "Indian expansionism" was first put forward by the Chinese Communist party. The editorial board of this party's daily newspaper, *Renmin Ribao*, published two articles entitled "The Chinese-Indian Border Struggle and the Nehru Doctrine." These gave a lengthy expose of the class needs of the Indian ruling class, its basic philosophy, and argued

that the Indian capitalists aimed at spreading their economic and political dependence over their smaller neighbours. This process was named Indian expansionism. In our class we discussed how this affected our country. We explained the class needs of the powerful Borah capitalists in this country, the way in which these compare with Indian expansionism; the racist politics they engage in for the purpose of keeping the estate workers of Indian origin separate from the rest of the working class and under their own heel. We stated that the capitalist class had misled the estate workers of Indian origin and trapped them, and we determined to rescue these workers from the ideological grip of the capitalists. However, we had no cadres to do this. The many efforts we made to build cadres among comrades of the national minorities were fruitless.

The fourth class was on "The Left Movement in Ceylon." The purpose of this class was to learn the lessons from the unhealthy experiences of the old left and understand the reasons for its failure. Here we criticized the policies and programme of the old left from the 1930s onwards. This was done primarily so that we could learn the lessons of previous defeats.

The fifth class was the most important class. As there have been incorrect references to it, I expect to take some time to speak about it. It involved burning questions of the Ceylonese Revolution. The fifth class was originally referred to as "The Path to Socialism in Ceylon." Later on, after the text *The Path the Latin American Revolution Should Take* became well known, certain persons referred to this class as "The Path the Ceylonese Revolution Should Take."

After the publication of Che's *Guerrilla Warfare* certain of our sympathizers, as well as members of other groups, thought of seeking solutions to the prevailing economic crisis by similar methods. Two other books appeared in Sinhala at this time: Lin Piao's *Long Live the Victory of People's War* and Mao Tse-Tung's *Selected Military Writings*. Some sought to apply the remedies prescribed in these volumes. The Chinese wing and their supporters thought that the Ceylonese revolution should be a repeat of the Chinese revolution with protracted war moving from the countryside to the towns. There were others, especially those groups that broke away from the Lanka Sama Samaja party, who advocated the example of the Russian Revolution. It was these factors which led us to prepare the fifth class.

Our purpose was to defeat mechanical materialist concepts and show how incorrect and unscientific they were, and also provide our supporters with correct ideological tools. Through this class we intended to make a fundamental analysis of the experience gained by the international working-class movement in the class struggle starting from the Paris Commune of 1871 up till the present time. We explained the difference between social reform and social revolution and showed how reforms serve the capitalist

class and revolutions the proletariat. We showed how the path a revolution had taken in one country in a certain period and under certain conditions had been different in another country in a different period and under different conditions and how, therefore, socialist revolutions do not follow a single uniform path, but vary in their paths depending on the time, the place and the conditions peculiar to each occasion. In this way we demonstrated that the Chinese Revolution was different from the model of the Russian Revolution and the Cuban Revolution was different from them both and that therefore it was possible to see the emergence of a model different from previously cited experiences.

This class, like the other four, was political, theoretical and philosophical. If you want me to conduct these classes in full, I am ready to do it. It has been stated that there was something secret about these classes. Therefore if you want me to conduct the fifth class on its own in full I am ready to comply.

[Justice Fernando declines the offer. His words are not clearly recorded in the Court record.]

At the Kalattawa discussion we agreed that after these classes were held, those who showed political interest or keenness and were ready to go ahead should be further educated and that this should be done in educational camps where theoretical classes on Marxist economics and Marxist philosophy would be conducted. I want to make it clear that we did not expect anyone to become a Marxist by following these five basic classes. They were merely a bridge to draw people away from the influence of bourgeois ideology and closer to Marxism.

From 1968 onwards I began holding classes all over the country. They took place at the rate of two or three a day or night depending on the times at which people could attend. During this period I began to visit the Land Development Department [LDD] work sites in various parts of the country and hold classes for the workers there. We managed to start political work in the Land Development Department Workers' Union. For this reason, the first classes I held were mostly for worker comrades in that department. We also began classes for other worker comrades, peasants and sections of youth.

During the year 1968 I held classes in 80 different work sites of the LDD. At the same time I conducted political classes for workers and clerks in the Colombo office of the LDD and in many private places. With the increasing demand for classes there was a corresponding need for more people to conduct them. Towards the end of 1968 other comrades began to conduct political classes. One question needs to be explained at this stage.

A large number of persons brought before this Commission have been young. Why did these youths seek connections with the JVP? I will attempt to explain this. The new situation created by the general crisis of capitalism; the lessons

learnt via the Sino-Soviet ideological battle; the new echo of the Cuban revolution which resounded throughout the world after the death of Comrade Guevara, the clamour of OLAS; the struggle of the Indochinese people, in particular of the Vietnamese, as well as other circumstances generated a new wave which had repercussions not only in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but even in Europe and North America—the bastions of modern capitalism. This radicalism of youth was by no means limited to Ceylon.

The entire history of capitalism tells us that when the working class is passive and lethargic, other sections of society suffering under capitalism will find it necessary to protest against the existing social system. It is no secret that by 1968 the working-class movement had been misled internationally by a reformist leadership and left demoralized and dispirited before the capitalist system. It is no longer a matter of controversy that the working class of France and Italy were thrust away from the path of class struggle into the backwaters of class collaboration. They were ideologically disarmed by the decadent, increasingly reformist leaderships of the Communist parties in the face of a capitalist onslaught. What happened in colonial and neocolonial countries like ours was no different.

The leaders of the old left in Ceylon were reformists who had their heads filled with Fabian ideology. These leaders, though they called themselves Marxists, were in reality guided by the writings of Laski and Keynes, and invariably betrayed the aspirations of the workers. They tied the trade-union movement to their brand of reformist, parliamentarist politics. The final betrayal was the aban-

donment of the 21 demands which destroyed the United Workers Trade Union and the United Left Front by open collaboration with the capitalists. This historic class betrayal left the working class discouraged and demoralized. Under the UNP [United National party] government a generalized bitterness developed, and both students and young workers began to demonstrate their hostility. On several occasions during this period (1968-9) the Peradeniya University Students clashed with the armed forces. Students from Colombo University crashed into the Parliament building and declared that it was nothing more than a den of thieves. In 1968 a number of youths who had attended our classes entered the universities and by the end of that year we succeeded in winning over a large section of sympathizers of the Russian and Chinese wings inside the universities. At this point we started our classes inside universities and schools.

The Right to Rebel

As a Marxist I have held, and still hold, the view that a people has the right to rebel against an arbitrary government. This is not a view held only by Marxists. Throughout history, people believing in various ideologies and religions, have accepted the right of a community to rebel against a cruel administration. We are charged, before you, of rebelling against the Queen's government, of attempting to rebel, of abetting a rebellion and conspiring to rebel.

Honorable Chairman, some time ago I learnt that as far back as 1649 the people of Britain, led by Oliver Cromwell, rebelled against their monarch, Charles



Troops arresting suspected JVP during 1971 army crackdown.

I, an ancestor of the present Queen of England. They wanted him off the throne and they succeeded. On that occasion the British people held the view that to rebel against an oppressive regime was fair and just. No doubt you are aware of how in 1778 [sic] the American rebellion under the leadership of George Washington succeeded against the British empire. You are also aware of the 1789 events in France known as the French Revolution. What this indicates is that even before the advent of Marxism, people in various countries held the view that they had the right to rebel. In your capacity as Judges you may have had occasion to read *Vindicia Contra Tyrannos*, written under the pseudonym of Stephanos Junius Brutus, in which it is stated not only that there should be insurrections against autocratic governments, but even that they should be led by judges! The fact that liberal thinkers have supported the right to rebel is illustrated vividly in the French *Declaration of the Rights of Man*. A passage in it reads: "When a government violates the rights of the people, insurrection is for them the most sacred of rights, the most imperative of duties."

A glimpse into our own history will show how Mahawansa Chulawansa and other works record innumerable popular insurrections against cruel rulers. We are not the first to be charged with rebellion against the Queen's government. Similar charges were brought against Keppetipola Adikarama and others in 1848. This demonstrates that the right to rebel was accepted by the people of our own country. In the same way I, too, accepted the view that people have the right to rebel against an oppressive regime. I still hold this view.

The next question before you is whether we did rebel during the month of April 1971. I will give you my answer in detail.

In this social system the privileged classes are the imperialists and their local lackeys. In this system there are a number of problems that have been growing for a long time. You know that a free education system began in this country when we were children. A large number of us from both rural and urban areas had an opportunity of receiving education. The degree of educational opportunity is almost on a par with developed countries. This is obvious when you compare Ceylon with India, Pakistan and Nepal. This has given a considerable impetus to the development of a proletarian consciousness and a proletarian political education. According to government statistics the number of children attending school was 3,500,000 and of these 270,000 leave school in search of employment every year. 50,000 have had an education up to Senior level. To say that the remaining 220,000 had received a lesser education means that under this social system they have no prospects of employment above that of ordinary wage earners and labourers. Every year about 220,000 semieducated persons enter society as serfs and labourers. This process has continued since the end of the 1950s. Increasing-

ly many university graduates also found it difficult to obtain jobs, and there were instances where they, too, were compelled to become general labourers.

According to government statistics issued in 1969-70 there were 3,333,000 wage earners in this country. 56 per cent of these were rural workers and 26 per cent were estate workers working on the tea, rubber and coconut plantations. The urban workers numbered 18 per cent. Over the last seven years the economic, social and political problems confronting these three groups of workers have been increasingly acute.

The condition of the peasantry within this social system requires special attention. In the rural areas the lower peasants suffer from the problem of landlessness. An official report of the Kandyan Peasantry Commission appointed by the Bandaranaike government stated that 180 Kandyan families live in each two-acre zone. Ninety families would thus live on one acre. This gives you an idea of the enormity of the problem of landlessness in certain areas. Within this social system, utter misery and destitution have become the common lot of the villager. And we find that only 4,000 of the more than 2,000,000 families in this country have a monthly income of Rs 1,000 and over [1 pound equals 30 rupees]. Government figures confirm this fact. In brief 2 million families have a low income and lead a miserable life. It is under these social conditions that the political unrest arose which led to the April incidents.

The April Incidents

It is necessary to bring to your attention certain specific incidents which occurred in 1971. The Janatha Vimukti Peramuna was implanted in the rural proletariat, the lumpen proletariat and certain petty-bourgeois layers. In the urban working class and the estates the influence of the old left was still paramount. In the rural areas, before our intervention, the traditions of the Sri Lanka Freedom party [SLFP] were strongest. The SLFP won most of its seats in the rural areas. The worst massacres during the April incidents took place in the areas held by the SLFP. The SLFP politicians had shamelessly sown the germs of communal discord against the Tamil minority. In the 1956 elections the CP and the LSSP stood for parity on the language issue. But what did they do a short time later? They were not only against equal status for Tamil and Sinhala, but opposed even the granting of any lesser rights. It was in these conditions that we became disillusioned with them. That is why we struggled. If anyone willingly risks his or her life, or is prepared to be shackled as a prisoner, this can only be because there is no alternative.

Chairman, you are aware that after this government came to power, we started our political activities in the open and they were immensely successful. Look back and see the picture of our public meetings held

in various parts of the country such as Kandy, Kegalle, Kurunegala and Southern Province and Colombo—you will see the mass of humanity, thousands and thousands of people, that flocked round us, to see us and listen to us. And these were not people we had forced or cajoled with the use of guns to attend our rallies, nor had we supplied them with free lorries and buses, but people who had come of their own accord because of their interest in our politics. With every passing day we were moving forward.

This process continued while another parallel process was taking place: dissatisfaction with the UNP resulted, with our blessing, in the election of the United Front government, with over a two-thirds majority. The LSSP and CP had told the people that if they were brought into power with a two-thirds majority, they would amend the constitution, change the system of internal administration and open the way to socialism. The ordinary people took them at their word. They expected the new government to perform miracles, and that is why they put the cross against the star and the key and not against the elephant.

I have already mentioned that in the early days we were not strong in the urban working class. But by 1971 we had begun to spread out from the villages to the towns and, through our political agitational campaigns, our impact was beginning to be felt in the cities, specifically in certain sections of the working class. Young workers in factories and work sites were beginning to listen. It was then that the old left began to understand the threat we posed to them.

They attempted to devise a course of action to deal with us. The first method was branding us as CIA agents, but you are aware that this attack failed. Then they resorted to the second method. This can best be described in the words of Mr. Sarath Muttattuwagama, a leader of the CP. In a speech made at a CP mass rally in Ratnapura during the latter half of 1970, he stated that the repression of the Che Guevarists should not be left to the police. It should be the responsibility of the CP! During the same period the LSSP leaders also discussed the threat we posed. A meeting of their Politbureau issued instructions to their locals to unleash physical attacks against us. They asked for police protection to carry out this task. I have already mentioned these facts at our public meetings.

When the second method failed, they discussed the matter in the new cabinet and considered ways and means of suppressing the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna so that it could not become an effective political force. They decided, according to a recent statement by the prime minister, not to ban us, as it would have made heroes out of us. The capitalist class is well aware of the futility of banning a Marxist party. So this government suspected that even if they banned us we would carry on political activities

under another name. They devised an alternative scheme, which was and continues to be implemented.

You are aware that the country is facing a severe economic crisis. It is something which everyone admits. But the crisis has not materialized out of thin air. It existed on 5 April 1971. It was there before that date. At that time the government was not in a position to add to the distress of the people, to place the economic and social burden they have now placed on the masses with impunity, because there existed a revolutionary force that would have roused the people and led them to protest against these measures. It was necessary to destroy our movement before stern measures could be taken. And accordingly, they prepared their plans. After January 1971 things came to a head. Mr. S. A. Dissanayake, a former inspector general of police, was appointed additional permanent secretary to the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs with effect from 1 March 1971. Long before this, the CID [Criminal Investigations Department] had been using its full powers to investigate the activities of the JVP. A separate unit had been set up, which had gathered sufficient facts by April 1971 through raids and arrests of comrades from various parts of the country. They also planted agents inside the JVP rank and file.

By 1 March 1971 arrangements had been completed for the deployment of military units in various parts of the country to collect intelligence about our activities. Press reports in relation to these manoeuvres appeared between 1 and 5 March. In the same week police powers were vested in officers of the army. On 5 March the police rehearsed a plan in order to find out how much time it would take them when the alarm was sounded. This rehearsal was to test their alertness in an emergency, and it was conducted in Colombo as well as in other parts of the island. On the 6th there was an attack on the U. S. Embassy which supplied them with the excuse needed to repress the revolutionary movement. On 13 March I was arrested and on 16 March a state of emergency was declared. 4,098 people were arrested before 5 April 1971.

In April 1971 the revolutionary preconditions for the seizure of power by the proletariat and for an armed revolutionary struggle were absent. That is my view. In the absence of a revolutionary situation—i.e., both objective and subjective conditions—an armed uprising was not possible.

My view is that the conditions were not ripe for organizing an armed revolutionary uprising to seize state power. The objective conditions were maturing fast, but they were still unripe. It had not reached a stage where the masses saw no other solution but revolution. It is true, however, that then, as now, society was moving in that direction. The subjective conditions were also lacking: that is, the existence of a revolutionary party that

has steered itself, won the support of the masses and is fit to lead them in an armed struggle for power. The Janatha Vimukti Peramuna was developing and moving towards that goal, but had not reached full maturity. We had failed at that time to establish the JVP in the Northern and Eastern provinces and in the estate sector as a political force.

And then there was the question of mass support. It is true that out of the millions who voted for the coalition government, tens of thousands had by this time washed their hands of it. It is also true that this section was the politically developed section. They were abandoning the coalition government and moving leftwards towards the JVP. But there was a section which, although disgusted and frustrated, did not break away from the government during those eight months. In other words the JVP had not yet reached the stage where the masses could see it as a real alternative to the government, accept its leadership and join in the class struggle under its banner. In our Marxist conception, a revolution—an armed uprising—is not something done behind the backs of the masses.

Justice Fernando: Have revolutionaries in any part of the world never made mistakes?

Thirteenth suspect: Mistakes have been made. In fact they have learnt lessons from these mistakes. Mistakes can happen in the future as well.

Justice Fernando: I said a mistake. I meant a miscalculation.

Thirteenth suspect: There can be no revolution without the participation and active support of the people. That is our stand.

I told you earlier that I reject the position that it was a JVP decision to seize state power on 5 April 1971. I do not admit that. But as I discovered later, and something I do not deny, is that there have been instances when certain comrades of the JVP, in the face of intolerable repression, resorted to a struggle against such repression.

'More Buds Will Bloom. . . .'

In March 1971 a class need arose for the ruling class to suppress the revolutionary movements of this country, especially the JVP. They acted accordingly. The April incidents were the result. I interpret the process as one initiated by the counterrevolution.

This does not mean that anyone who acted against capitalist repression on April 5, or had mistaken a decision taken by others to be a JVP decision, or even decided on such a course on their own in the absence of another alternative, was thus a counterrevolutionary. A number of close comrades of mine are no longer living. The entire revolutionary leadership of the Matara district exists no more. Comrade Susil Wickrema, Comrade Jayatissa of Deniyaya, Comrades Piyatassa, Loku

Mahatmaya, Suraweera, Jayaweera, the two Bogahawatta brothers, were all both personal friends and fellow comrades. No one can speak about their fate. On inquiring from their homes, all I have learnt is that they are no longer among the living.

For me, Honourable Chairman, the April episode was an occasion when the capitalist class found its existence as a class increasingly threatened by the proletariat. It is a result of a counterrevolutionary course of action on which the capitalist class of the country embarked in order to save the capitalist system from the proletariat. It has been part of that course of action to ban the JVP today. A large number of persons connected with the JVP, but belonging to the leftist parties, have been murdered. A large number of persons connected with the JVP have been put in prison, as have many who had no connection with us. It has become possible to continue the repression of the JVP in particular and the revolutionary movement in general.

In conclusion this is what I have to say: I admit that the capitalist class has been temporarily victorious. But I do not see it as a defeat for the proletariat. This is only a big retreat for the proletariat; yes, I call it a big retreat. A retreat is not a defeat, but a phase from which it is possible to recover and march again to certain victory. No revolutionary movement has raced non-stop to victory in a straight line from start to finish. Forward marches followed by retreats are quite common in revolutionary movements. This is the position with which we are confronted today, and it is from this position that I have come to give evidence before you. I have not spoken here by stretching my principles for personal gain. I remain an unrepentant Marxist and what I am defending here are Marxist principles rather than my person. For as a revolutionary Marxist I have nothing else to defend.

Whatever the capitalist class may have expected to gain through the April incidents, their ultimate result has already been expressed by a revolutionary poet in the following stanza:

See these blossoms strewn on earth and withered lie.

Their fragrance shall abide, shall never die.

To raise its sweetness high to limits limitless,

More buds will bloom and bloom and multiply.

The poet expresses himself in clear and plain terms. The flowers of revolution have blossomed, but now they lie withered and dead. But their perfume has not ceased. To enhance that perfume and with that aim in view other buds will continue to bloom. In fact, gentlemen, the capitalist cause has no real reason to celebrate its success. For in the class struggle victory is a seesaw until the proletariat finally emerges victorious. That is our belief. I have concluded my evidence. □