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Portugal Spínola Orders Press Censorship



How Nixon Got Helping Hand

Role of Brezhnev, Mao in Vietnam Accords

Por qué Kissinger Amenazó con Renunciar

Widespread Use of Torture Charged

"Torture and other forms of ill-treatment are a regular practice—of that I have no doubt whatever," said Niall MacDermot, secretary general of the International Commission of Jurists, at a June 16 news conference in New York. MacDermot, together with a representative of Amnesty International, had visited Uruguay in May and investigated the treatment of political prisoners there.

The International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International, both of which have consultative status with the United Nations, released a joint report charging that the Uruguayan regime was using widespread torture to extract confessions from political prisoners. MacDermot said that he did not know precisely how many prisoners were being tortured, but that the lowest estimate he received from defense attorneys in Uruguay was about 50 percent.

He said that the treatment of political prisoners in Uruguay was similar to that in Chile, which he visited before going to Uruguay. Although Uruguay has legal provisions "on paper" protecting prisoners and allowing appeals to higher courts, the actual situation is "much worse than most people realize." Political suspects are often picked up without warrants by military agents, taken to military barracks or prisons, and held without trial for months.

MacDermot estimated that about 3,500 persons have been arrested since July 11, 1972, when a law empowering the military courts to try suspected "subversives" went into effect. He noted that at the time he was visiting prisoners in Uruguay, 1,160 had still not been brought to trial. Many of the political prisoners were accused of being Tupamaros.

The joint report released by Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists stated that torture included beatings, immersion in water, forcing prisoners to stand in one position for days, and application of electric shocks. □

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Portuguese Junta Institutes Press Censorship

By Gerry Foley

After crushing the postal workers' strike on June 20 with the help of the Communist party, General Spínola's government launched a new assault on the freedoms seized by the Portuguese masses in the wake of the April 25 military coup.

"The new Portuguese Government, faced with a continuing war in Africa and a faltering economy, today published severe restrictions on all news media," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger cabled June 22 from Lisbon.

"The restrictions, to be administered by a committee of seven officers of the armed forces, are more severe than had been indicated a few days ago."

The new regulations made it illegal "to incite military disobedience, strikes, unauthorized demonstrations, or to offend the President of the republic, members of the Council of State and the Cabinet."

The possible scope of the new censorship was indicated by the following provision: "Publication of 'false news' when done to counter the general objectives of the Government will be punishable."

Government spokespersons claimed, Giniger noted, that these rules were not intended to limit "the effective freedom of expression" nor the "change-over from the dictatorship that the armed forces overthrew in April" but were designed solely to prevent some unspecified individuals or groups from "perturbing public opinion by ideological aggression that might hinder its [the government's] program."

Not only were the new censorship regulations elastic enough to be used to suppress any expression the government might consider unhelpful; they were clearly discriminatory.

"Infractions of the new regulations," Giniger reported, "will be punished with fines up to \$20,000 and a suspension of the offending publication for 60 days. Individuals may also be liable to criminal prosecution in military courts."

Such fines and even temporary suspensions of publications obviously

will not fall as heavily on the well-heeled supporters of the ousted dictatorship, who will certainly be encouraged to resurface by every limitation of rights seized by the masses, as they will on the left groups and pro-working-class editors and reporters in the media.

Giniger noted that the issuance of these rules "emphasizes the continuing power of the armed forces despite the civilian Cabinet," a cabinet which, he explained, "includes Communists, Socialists and center-left politicians. Among them is the Socialist Minister of Information, Raul Rego, who is also the publisher of *República*, Portugal's only opposition daily under the old regime." Under the new regime also, *República* remains the most liberal of the Lisbon dailies.

It will, of course, be supremely ironical if the publisher of the only daily that dared oppose Caetano becomes an accomplice and endorser of measures that can in fact outlaw any opposition to the new regime. But that seems inevitable if Rego remains in the provisional government. To the extent that this government is simply a front for the military junta, his position is still more compromised. He is in the position of taking responsibility for decisions over which he has no control. That is, not only does his remaining in such a government represent a betrayal of his stated political principles but it is a ridiculous self-deception, as well, of course, as a deception of the ranks of his party.

The Communist party's two cabinet ministers are, of course, also protected by the new regulations, just as are their Socialist and bourgeois colleagues. Thus, presumably, any left-wing group that denounced the CP ministers could suffer repression under the new rules for "ideological aggression" that might "hinder" the government's program.

There can be no doubt at this stage that the support of the Communist party is essential to maintain the bourgeois grip on the situation in Por-

tugal. This was amply demonstrated in the first general confrontation between the new regime and a key section of the working class that rose up to demand the rights it was denied by the dictatorship.

"The Communist party, which has two members in the Government—the party's secretary general, Alvaro Cunhal, Minister Without Portfolio, and Avelino Pacheco Gonçalves, Minister of Labor—led a campaign against the postal workers," Giniger wrote from Lisbon June 20. "Supporting the Government and the armed forces, the Communists warned workers against 'unrealistic' demands that played into the hands of 'reactionary forces.'"

"The Communists even organized a demonstration in front of the central post office last night.

"'Fascists,' the demonstrators shouted at the postal workers, 'go back to work, you are sabotaging democracy.'"

Indoctrinated in reformist notions as they are, most of the Communist party activists who mobilized to break the postal strike probably believed that it was these workers who were endangering democracy by making "unreasonable" demands on the "progressive" bourgeoisie and its government.

But it seems obvious now from the sequence of events that it was precisely the defeat of the postal workers that emboldened the junta to launch a new attack on the democratic freedoms the masses won as a result of the April 25 coup and the acute split in the capitalist class that it represented.

Spínola is obliged to move as rapidly as possible to try to restore some essential bulwarks of capitalist class rule that were breached by the mass upsurge. First of all, he has to restore the unity and authority of the officer corps.

For two months, the bourgeoisie has lacked a reliable military machine. In particular, groups of soldiers and sailors have asserted their democratic

rights by joining demonstrations against the colonial war and against the junta's first repressive actions. Since capitalist rule depends fundamentally on a disciplined body of armed men defending the interests of the privileged class, no bourgeois regime could long tolerate such a breakdown of arbitrary authority in the military.

The democratic ferment in the armed forces is all the more dangerous to the Spínola regime because of the continuation of the war in Africa. In these conditions, the sentiment for immediate withdrawal from the colonies that exists in the armed services could quickly crystallize into an organized movement that would not only make it impossible for the junta to maintain the vital interests of Portuguese capitalism in its so-called overseas provinces, but would also blow up any hope of restoring the military as an effective repressive force in Portugal itself.

Secondly, Spínola must restore the bourgeois political monopoly in the means of communication. After the armed forces, the second major bulwark of class rule is ideological domination. To maintain its position, the dominant minority must convince the majority of society that it is ruling in their interest, suppressing all facts and arguments that indicate otherwise.

Thus, no capitalist class can long tolerate the kind of democratic ferment and freedom of the press that has existed in Portugal since the coup. It cannot allow the working press to do its job honestly, reporting the views and activities of the left groups to a mass audience. Such freedom of the press is all the more dangerous since for the moment anticommunism and bourgeois ideology in general are profoundly discredited in Portugal, and there are no effective barriers to the masses taking an unprejudiced look at the ideas and programs of the revolutionists. In the interests of maintaining capitalist rule, these essential defenses of bourgeois society must be restored before the process of questioning penetrates too deeply into the masses.

The counterattack was started by General Galvão de Melo, a member of the junta, in a May 27 speech. "Freedom," the general argued, did not mean "releasing terrorists who have no fatherland and making them into

national heroes," nor did it mean the people rooting their old oppressors out of positions of wealth and power ("encouraging manhunts, gratuitous insults, physical abuse, sacking of houses"). It did not mean "shamefully and unrestrainedly biased reports in which the broadcasters themselves indulge in the most improper attitudes." It did not mean affronts to "the values of family and morality." In short, "freedom" did not mean anything that challenged the bourgeois order that Galvão de Melo and the rest of the junta were determined to defend.

At the same time, as representatives of capitalist class forces, the junta had to hold the wage gains of the workers to a minimum. Even the "progressive" capitalists were not prepared to grant the demands of the workers who were determined to take advantage of their new freedom to reverse the erosion of their living standard by the highest inflation rate in Western Europe, to say nothing of beginning to make up for the superexploitation they suffered over the long years of the dictatorship.

The workers demanded a statutory minimum wage of 6,000 escudos [approximately US\$288] a month. The government granted 3,000 and limited this to industrial and public workers, excluding workers in the private service sector and agriculture, very numerous categories in a backward economy like that of Portugal. Moreover, the new contracts granted to some key groups of industrial workers did not much exceed the statutory minimum.

For example, the Lisbon metalworkers were granted 4,500 escudos. This settlement was announced in a union meeting I attended in the second week of June. The "assembly" was very sparsely attended and completely dominated by a CP clique that had an absolute majority. The provisions of the contract were simply reported. They were not even put to a vote. The same clique rammed through a motion hailing the "Junta de Salvação Nacional" and its "program."

From Giniger's reports, it seems that the postal workers were simply raising the 6,000 escudo demand that was put forward by many categories of workers after the collapse of the repressive apparatus.

"The postal workers have been demanding twice that [the 3,000 escu-

do minimum]—and a work week of 35 hours. They were blocked on both demands."

The defeat of the postal workers probably cannot be attributed to the strength of the Communist party apparatus, which although growing rapidly is not yet overwhelming.

The reason the strike could not be maintained seems to be essentially the strength of the political authority of the junta and its reformist allies.

"What made them [the postal workers] back down," Giniger wrote June 20, "was the growing unpopularity of the strike throughout the country and the Government's threat to conscript them into the army and force them to work."

That is, as long as the political authority of the junta went essentially unchallenged, the postal workers could not help but succumb to their isolation and their own confusion.

On the other hand, since the junta is unable to grant the most deeply felt demands of the Portuguese masses, it is constantly in danger of losing its grip on the process, despite the all-out support of the CP. In particular, as long as a significant measure of democratic freedoms remains, there is the constant threat that some revolutionary group will give the necessary leadership to a mass mobilization that can explode the political contradictions of the junta and the provisional government.

The regime is particularly vulnerable on the question of the colonial war. Already a group of soldiers have written a letter published in the country's major illustrated magazine, *Flama*, calling on their relatives and friends to demand that the troops be brought home immediately. And the attitude of these soldiers, who know the "democratic" generals best, was not total confidence in the regime. "Any of our loved ones who read this should call on the Junta de Salvação Nacional (loudly enough to be heard) to withdraw our troops immediately."

On the basis of such an appeal, even a small revolutionary group could begin organizing a broad movement for immediate withdrawal that could have a powerful impact on the great masses of the Portuguese people.

Such a movement could serve as the focus for the discontent and questioning that has surfaced in the society. It could begin to offer a general challenge to the political domination

of the junta and drive a wedge into the contradictions of the class-colaborationist coalition government. It would forge an unbreakable bond between the masses and the ranks of the army and thus prevent the reimposition of arbitrary authority.

It could mount an attack on the political authority of the junta and the reformists at their weakest point and prevent them from concentrating their influence to break militant actions such as the postal workers' strike. □

Lisbon Maneuvers Between Liberation Groups

The Stakes in Angola: Iron, Diamonds, Oil

By Ernest Harsch

"The heads of the Portuguese army are very aware of, and are closely watching, the increasing unrest among the [Angolan] population," wrote Marcel Niedergang in a dispatch from Luanda published in *Le Monde* on June 11.

Just two weeks earlier, the commander in chief of the Portuguese forces in Angola, General Joaquim António Franco Pinheiro, outlawed all propaganda by the guerrilla movements and banned all street demonstrations. The restrictions followed clashes between Portuguese and Africans, and a demonstration in front of the governor general's palace by sev-

eral thousand Africans, demanding independence.

The June 8 issue of the Luanda weekly *Notícia* reported a strike by African dock workers in Luanda who were demanding wage increases and better working conditions. The assassination on June 4 in Luanda of João Pedro Bengé, a member of the Liga Nacional Africana (African National League), further heightened the tension in the Angolan capital.

Despite the simmering unrest among the African population and the ever present prospect of a mass upheaval in the Portuguese colony, Lisbon is determined—no matter what the jun-

ta's representatives say in public—to retain some form of control over Angola, the largest and richest of its African colonies.

In a June 11 speech outlining Lisbon's scenario for the future of the African colonies, General António de Spínola once again rejected independence for Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. "Immediate independence," he said, "would be a loud negation of the generally accepted democratic principles" of the Armed Forces Movement. Spínola did, however, mention that "independence" was one of the eventual possibilities. The other possible relationships between the colonies and Portugal that Spínola outlined were "federation, confederation, [or] commonwealth. . . ."

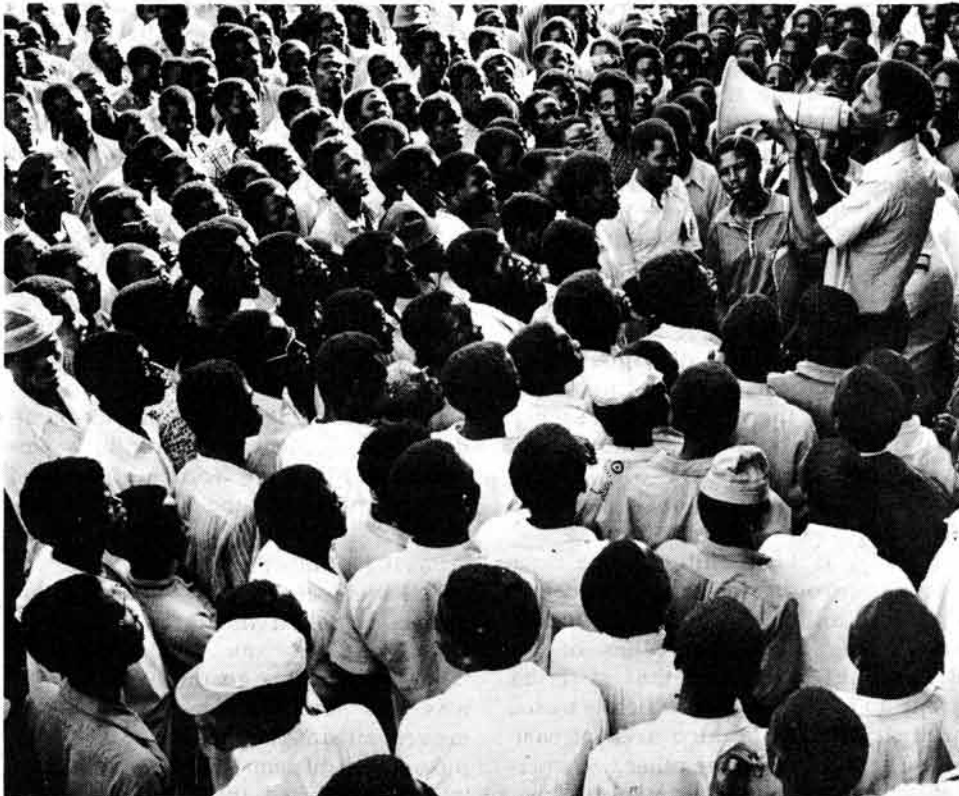
According to a June 11 dispatch from Lisbon by *New York Times* correspondent Marvin Howe, Spínola also described the junta's "program of decolonization." The four stages of the junta's plan, Howe wrote, were "the restoration of peace, accelerated reconstruction and development, the establishment of broad democratic organizations, and popular consultation to determine the ultimate political solution."

Spínola then added further conditions to the granting of possible "independence." "In the modern world," he declared, "true political independence exists only when it results from a genuine self-determination, and there can be self-determination only in a climate of freedom and perfect functioning of democratic institutions."

Howe also noted the Portuguese Communist party's support to Spínola's "program of decolonization": "The Labor Minister, Avelino António Pacheco Gonçalves, a Communist, gave tacit approval to General Spínola's declaration, saying that the broad principles had been agreed to by the parties in the Provisional Government."

The main factor spurring Lisbon to try out every political maneuver in its arsenal in order to hold on to Angola is the colony's vast natural wealth, which has helped enrich the coffers of the Portuguese imperialists for centuries.

Angola exports more than 7 million tons of iron ore and 2.2 million carats of diamonds each year. It is the second largest African producer of *robusta* coffee, and also exports



Striking Luanda dock workers discuss their demands.

cotton, sugar, and other agricultural products. Industry is more developed in Angola than in either Guinea-Bissau or Mozambique.

But most importantly, Angola has a vast oil-producing potential. The Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, a wholly owned subsidiary of Gulf Oil, already extracts 7.5 million tons of crude oil a year from the deposits off the coast of Cabinda, a small enclave north of Angola. According to *Le Monde* of June 7, this figure could jump to 65 million tons by 1978, and 100-150 million tons twenty years later. Other companies active in the exploitation of Angolan oil are Texaco, Compagnie Française des Pétroles, and Petrangol (Companhia de Petróleos de Angola—Angolan Oil Company, jointly owned by the Belgian Petrofina and the Portuguese administration in Angola).

It appears that Lisbon may be considering the idea of partitioning Cabinda from the rest of Angola if that becomes necessary to retain control of the oil fields there. In a dispatch from Cabinda published in the June 3 *New York Times*, Henry Kamm noted that some of the Portuguese in the oil-rich enclave were discussing "independence"—from Angola. "Among the 3,000 Portuguese in the enclave," Kamm wrote, "this appears a means of achieving Cabindan federation with Portugal." The Democratic Union of the People of Cabinda, a merger of two political groups formed since the April 25 Lisbon coup, has not yet decided, according to Kamm, whether it will aim for federation with Lisbon or "independence" for Cabinda.

But the leaders of the Lisbon junta do not yet envisage the necessity of partitioning Angola to retain some control. General Francisco da Costa Gomes, the Portuguese defense minister, expressed the determination of the junta to hang on to the entire country. Referring to the outcome of a Portuguese-controlled referendum sometime in the future, Costa Gomes said in an interview with the South African weekly *The Point*, published in the June 1 issue: "I am convinced that Angola will decide to remain Portuguese. It should strengthen its relations with South Africa and Rhodesia."

Lisbon is in a much stronger position to push through its neocolonial policies in Angola than in either of the other two colonies. Out of a pop-

ulation of 6 million, about half a million are Portuguese settlers. As correspondent Henry Kamm pointed out in the June 19 *New York Times*:

"In the city of Luanda alone, there are about as many Portuguese as there are in the whole of Mozambique [200,000], living with 300,000 Africans. This nearly balanced concentration of potentially hostile forces makes Luanda the flashpoint of Portuguese Africa, and the army is well aware of it."

The most important factor in Lisbon's favor in Angola is the disunity and weakness of the nationalist movement there. The three guerrilla forces operating in Angola are the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—National Front for the Liberation of Angola), and UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Front for the Total Independence of Angola).

Using the favorite imperialist maneuver of sowing divisions among its opponents, Lisbon appears to be trying to capitalize on the rivalries among the three guerrilla groups. According to *Le Monde* of May 24, Mario Soares, Portuguese foreign minister and head of the Portuguese Socialist party, said in an interview with the Paris weekly *Jeune Afrique*: "I am prepared to discuss with each group separately, while trying to bring together the different points of view."

The military authorities in Luanda broadcast a communiqué on June 17 stating that agreement had been reached between the colonialist forces and UNITA to cease hostilities "as soon as possible, in order to create a favorable atmosphere for the development of a political dialogue aimed at restoring peace." According to the communiqué, the accord was reached June 14 between four Portuguese officers and four leaders of UNITA, which is headed by Jonas Malheiro Savimbi.

UNITA is the smallest of the three guerrilla groups in Angola and first went into military action in 1966. Savimbi was a former leader of the FNLA, but split from that guerrilla group to form UNITA, which is based primarily in the Moxico area of eastern Angola. Unlike the other two guerrilla groups, which operate from bases in the People's Republic of the

Congo, Zaïre, and Zambia, UNITA has virtually no outside bases or support.

Although Soares, in the *Jeune Afrique* interview, recognized all three guerrilla groups as "representative movements," the Portuguese authorities in Luanda have begun to make a distinction between UNITA and the other two groups. Marcel Niedergang noted in the June 6 *Le Monde*:

"The new leaders in Lisbon have already stated that they would negotiate with those liberation movements 'actually present within the country.' While the supporters of UNITA are certainly within Angola, that is not the case, according to the military authorities in Luanda, with 'all the other armed groups dependent on the African liberation movements whose headquarters are in Kinshasa, Brazzaville, and Lusaka.'"

The FNLA, headed by Holden Roberto, has its headquarters in Kinshasa, Zaïre, and receives material aid from Zaïre President Mobutu Sese Seko. The MPLA operates from Brazzaville. Although the FNLA and the MPLA agreed, under pressure from the Organization of African Unity, to carry out joint actions in 1972, the agreement soon broke down; both groups, along with UNITA, often fight each other.

The divisions among the three guerrilla organizations have been further complicated by the emergence of a dissident grouping within the MPLA. This grouping issued an appeal May 11 in Brazzaville for a congress of the MPLA (the last MPLA congress was held in 1962).

The signers of the appeal included: Mario de Andrade, founder of the MPLA and its president until 1962; Gentil Viana, former adviser to MPLA President Agostinho Neto; Eduardo Santos, founding member; the Reverend Domingos da Silva, vice-president; Hugo Menezes, founding member; and Floribert Monimamba, chief of operations of the northern front.

Saying that "the principles of internal democracy are distorted," the appeal criticized the lack of "consultation with the rank and file" and the "absolutism" of Agostinho Neto, who was said to have "created within the movement an atmosphere of fear, suspicion, cynicism, and hypocrisy, which paralyzed the thinking of the militants." □

Political Prisoners Tell of Torture

With the release of about 1,000 political prisoners in Mozambique since the April 25 coup in Lisbon, numerous instances of torture and murder in the colonialist prisons have come to light.

According to a dispatch from Kenneth L. Whiting in the June 7 *Washington Post*, a group of lawyers in Lourenço Marques, the capital of Mozambique, has begun to take testimony and compile firsthand accounts of the treatment of political prisoners by the agents of the DGS (Direcção Geral de Segurança — Directorate General of Security, the Portuguese secret police).

Two ex-prisoners, Arlindo da Sousa Silva and Rafael Tenente, saw a fellow prisoner, known as Saturnino, tortured to death on the prison island of São Nicolau off the coast of Angola. Saturnino was beaten by fifteen guards in October 1968, put into solitary confinement for twenty days, and forced to eat mash sprinkled with broken glass. On November 19 his eyes were gouged out, and four hours later a guard cut his heart out. The guard killed several other prisoners the same way.

Manuel Pakavira spent more than twelve years in six different prisons for belonging to the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola — People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola). He said that at least ten of the 1,500 prisoners at Missombo prison camp died each month, mostly from malnutrition.

According to the lawyers, who call themselves Democrats of Mozambique, thousands of prisoners at the São Nicolau and Missombo camps have died since 1960 from starvation, overwork, bad food, and other causes. They also stated that thirty-five prisoners were tortured or starved to death since 1970 at Machava prison, near Lourenço Marques, which was publicized by the Portuguese authorities as a "model institution."

"We have no evidence of actual shootings at Machava," said Repaso Pereira, one of the lawyers, "but men would be locked in small rooms and left without food and water until they died. Others had their genitals pierced

with pins. Others were burned with cigarettes."

Until the weekend of June 8-9, the colonial authorities did little to round up the hated secret police. By dragging their feet, the Portuguese authorities allowed a number of DGS agents to flee, either to Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) or South Africa. As Pereira Leite, the head of the Democrats of Mozam-

South Africa

Racist Regime Forces Mass Migrations

The racist South African regime has forcibly removed between 300,000 and 400,000 Blacks from white-owned areas since 1970, according to a study conducted by the African Publications Trust and reported in the June 17 *Christian Science Monitor*. This figure reached an estimated 3 million over a ten-year period.

Entitled "Uprooting a Nation: The Study of Three Million Evictions in South Africa," the report used statistics collected from official South African sources and from estimates of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The author, Alan Baldwin, noted that between the census years of 1960 and 1970, the South African regime—implementing its policy of forcing the African populations onto "bantustans" (settlement areas designated by white rulers)—removed 340,000 tenants and 656,000 "squatters" from white-owned farming areas, 97,000 from "Black spots" (Black enclaves within white-dominated areas), and 400,000 from urban areas. This mass displacement pushed at least 1.75 million more Africans into the already overcrowded and impoverished bantustans.

One senior South African minister announced in 1972 that another 300,000 Africans would be removed from "Black spots" in Natal province alone.

The report also stressed that in addition to the mass displacements, the apartheid regime would extend its mi-

bique, noted, "They have passports and are free to travel. . . . We are certain many will try to leave the country."

On June 10, however, an official of the colonial administration in Lourenço Marques announced that over the weekend more than 500 agents of the DGS had been arrested and taken to Machava prison. He further stated that each case would be investigated individually. Those found guilty of "atrocities and torture" would be brought to trial. Those "cleared" of any charges, however, would be allowed either to leave the country or to rejoin the secret police. □

grant labor system. "Migratory labor is thus the reverse flow of mass removals: Workers who, with their families, are pushed out of the towns . . . are often allowed to come back to urban areas when work is available, but this time as migrants; they cannot bring their families with them," wrote Baldwin.

The dual process of forced removal and migrancy, Baldwin continued, is being used by the regime to transfer to the bantustan administrations "the problems of unemployment, overcrowding, poverty, and resettlement."

The situation in Namibia, which is controlled by the South African regime, is no different. "By removing individuals and communities into the reserves," Baldwin noted, "by eliminating reserves in the process of 'consolidating' the Bantustans, and by creating single townships to cater for the 'white' towns, the phenomenon of mass removals is as much an everyday reality of Namibia as it is of South Africa.

"Up to 150,000 are involved or threatened by such removals." □

Windfall for Windbags

Members of the Senate Watergate Committee have found rich rewards for their labors in the form of fees for public speeches. Committee chairman Sam Ervin took in \$27,900 in such fees last year, and vice-chairman Howard Baker got \$34,350.

Israelis Escalate Terrorist Bombing Raids

By Michael Baumann

"Israel sent dozens of warplanes into Lebanon today to bomb Palestinian camps for the third consecutive day," reported *Washington Post* correspondent Jim Hoagland in a June 20 dispatch from Beirut. "Unofficial reports said at least 20 civilians were killed. . . ."

"Newsmen who toured towns and rural areas hit by the Israelis earlier this week recovered parts of sophisticated phosphorous bombs that have set extensive fires in Lebanese olive groves and wheat fields, seriously damaging the harvest in progress. Fragments of American-made anti-personnel bombs were also recovered."

After an eighteen-day halt to avoid marring Nixon's reception in the Arab capitals, Israeli jets returned to Lebanon in four separate raids June 18-20, bombing, rocketing, and strafing more than a dozen villages and refugee camps.

The fear has been expressed in Arab diplomatic circles that the new raids are merely the opening step in a much broader Israeli drive that may include an invasion of Lebanon and an infantry assault on the Palestinian refugee camps.

"Many Arab diplomats and some Western ones," wrote Henry Tanner in the June 23 *New York Times*, "are convinced that Israel is seriously considering an incursion into southern Lebanon."

"The Israeli strategy, according to some Arab analysts, would be to let Mr. Kissinger bring about a Lebanese-Israeli disengagement agreement with a United Nations buffer zone that would seal the Lebanese border as effectively against the guerrillas as the Syrian and Egyptian borders are now sealed by similar international zones."

According to this view, an Israeli invasion would also be aimed at delaying the Geneva talks and strengthening the Zionists' bargaining power before they occur. A confirmation of Israeli invasion plans was seen in war minister Shimon Peres's charge June 21 that the Lebanese govern-

ment was permitting the resistance organizations to "violate Lebanese sovereignty." Such a charge implies that, by the same token, nothing bars Israeli troops from "violating Lebanese sovereignty" either.

The Israeli bombing raids that produced this climate were described by *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith as the "heaviest in pop-



"New York Times" map shows camps in Lebanon attacked by Israelis.

ulated areas of Lebanon since the October war." As of June 21, known casualties totaled seventy killed and hundreds wounded.

The bombing began shortly after Nixon left Amman, Jordan, the final stop in his Arab East tour. Thirty-six Israeli fighter-bombers took part in the first raid, which hit villages and refugee camps in southern Lebanon the afternoon of June 18. A second wave of bombers returned that evening, and a third struck the following day.

The heaviest raids came a little more than twenty-four hours later. "Today's late-morning raids," Hoagland reported in his June 20 dispatch, "were concentrated on refugee camps around Sidon and Tyre, 25 and 40 miles south of Beirut. Reliable witnesses said

that 12 bodies were removed from destroyed houses at the Ein al Helweh camp. Ambulances with sirens screaming were still rushing from the camp toward Beirut late in the afternoon.

"Camps at Rashidiya and Burj Ash-Shamali near Tyre and Miye Umieh near Sidon were also hit. Scores of refugee houses and huts were reduced to rubble by the bombing and strafing raids, which lasted for more than 90 minutes. . . ."

"In the Arqoub region of southeastern Lebanon, angry farmers showed visiting correspondents large burned-out areas of their fields that were hit by Israeli fire bombs Tuesday night [June 18] and yesterday morning.

"In the district capital of Marjayoun, local officials accused the Israelis of waging economic warfare against the farmers. Frightened villagers who gathered there told of a night of terror Tuesday, when Israeli planes attacking at night repeatedly dropped incandescent flares all across the region during the bombing attacks."

Israeli officials followed their usual custom and cited a pretext for the raids—a clash that had occurred in northern Israel June 13, resulting in the deaths of four Palestinian guerrillas and three Israelis.

After three days of bombing, however, they appear to have felt some additional explanation was in order. Thus on June 20, unnamed government sources told reporters that the raids had actually been part of a "new" Israeli policy of "pre-emptive" attacks on "guerrilla bases" (i.e., refugee camps). What was new about such attacks, or why Palestinian resistance organizations would set up headquarters in the middle of wheat fields at harvest time, the sources did not explain.

Israeli Chief of Staff Mordechai Gur had come closer to the truth when he described a similar series of bombings in May as an effort to make southern Lebanon "unlivable." The real purpose of the Israeli attacks is to demoralize supporters of the Palestinian resistance, drive a wedge between them and the Lebanese masses, and, if possible, force the Lebanese government to take action against the resistance organizations.

Washington has made clear its full support for this strategy through agreements to provide Israel with

long-range military and economic aid. U.S. officials also made a secret pledge—revealed May 30 by former Israeli Premier Golda Meir—to give political backing to future Israeli attacks in southern Lebanon.

Yasir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, charged that the pledge had in effect been reaffirmed in the U.S.-Israeli communiqué signed at the end of Nixon's visit to Israel. The document's reference to the Palestinian guerrillas as "mercenaries," Arafat said, amounted to a "green light for Israel to continue its barbaric aggression against Palestinians."

Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, who found himself in the unenviable position of having just told the Egyptian masses that close ties be-

tween Cairo and Washington would reduce Israeli aggression, is reported to have sent Nixon an urgent note June 21 calling for an end to the bombing. The resumption of Israeli attacks the day Nixon left the Arab East has shown, apparently much sooner than Sadat expected, just how hollow this promise was.

In addition, *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent John K. Cooley reported June 21 that some Palestinians in the heavily bombed areas blame the raids not only on Washington and Israel but also on Sadat and Syrian President Hafez el-Assad. "By agreeing to disengagement accords," one young Palestinian at Sidon told Cooley, "the Egyptians and Syrians have freed the hand of the Israelis to turn all their guns on us." □

Among the marchers were contingents from the Black Unity and Freedom party, the Transport and General Workers Union, the Portuguese Socialist party, the African National Congress of South Africa, and the Anti-Apartheid Movement. An IMG contingent marched with chants of "Solidarity with MPLA!" "Victory to Frelimo!" and "Down with the Military Junta, Forward to Workers' Power!"

Many demonstrators opposed the continuing collaboration of the British Labour government with the junta and its colonial wars. Wilson and Foreign Secretary Jim Callaghan have tried to use the "progressive" image of the new Portuguese government, with its Communist and Socialist ministers, to justify Britain's political, military, and economic support for Spínola.

Over 25 percent of foreign investments in Portugal are British-owned. More than 20 percent of Portugal's exports come to Britain. Now, with the change in regime in Lisbon, the British government is working to facilitate Portuguese capitalism's entry into the Common Market. And Britain, along with the other NATO powers, continues to allow the supply of war materials to the colonial regime. The British government still refuses to recognise Guinea-Bissau, even though eighty-four other governments have decided to do so. □

3,000 in London Demonstration

March for Freedom of Portuguese Colonies

By Tony Hodges

London

"No aid to Portuguese colonialism!" "Total independence Now!" "Full support for FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC!" "Recognise Guinea-Bissau!" These were the demands of a 3,000-strong march through London June 16, called by the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, and the Portuguese Workers Coordinating Committee.

The demonstration, which was backed by the International Marxist Group (IMG—British section of the Fourth International), the Communist party, the Labour party Young Socialists and the International Socialists, ended with a rally in Trafalgar Square addressed by Mariano Matsinha, a member of the central committee of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo—Mozambique Liberation Front).

Matsinha called for the total independence of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau, and denounced the manoeuvres of the Portuguese military junta. Other speakers included Jack Collins, a member of the national executive committee of the National Union

of Mineworkers, and António Martins dos Santos, a leader of the Portuguese metalworkers union.

Dos Santos attacked the neocolonial plans of the Spínola regime. "Five hundred years of colonial exploitation has shown beyond all doubt that the independence of a people cannot be negotiated; that the referendums and pseudo-self-determination proposed by the Portuguese junta of bourgeois salvation, supported by a choir of turncoats, hide behind an attempt to perpetuate exploitation, oppression, humiliation, poverty, disease, and slavery."

"Comrades. Frelimo, PAIGC, and MPLA will not be deceived by any referendums proposed by false democrats at the service of the same class that yesterday relied on the PIDE, the National Legion, and other lackeys to stay in power. Neither is the Portuguese working class prepared to accept these manoeuvres as a substitute for their demands for the withdrawal of troops and the total independence of the colonies. The peoples of the colonies and the people of Portugal still face the same enemy."

Forecast: Cloudy, Chance of Acid

According to a study by two U.S. scientists, the acidity of rain falling in the eastern United States and in Europe has increased 100 to 1,000 times its normal level over the last twenty years.

The acid is created when burning fuels release sulphur dioxide and oxide of nitrogen gases, which are converted into sulphuric and nitric acids. Ironically, "anti-pollution" devices on factory smokestacks are the cause of much of the increased acidity, according to the researchers. The devices remove solid particles from smoke, but do not trap sulphur and nitrogen oxides.

"Before the devices were used," a *New York Times* article on the study explained, "the solid particles, which are capable of neutralizing acids, entered the atmosphere and largely balanced out acids derived from the gases. Now they can no longer do so."

The researchers found that trees and garden vegetables sprayed with acid equivalent to the present average rain were stunted and deformed in their growth.

Coalition Agrees to Attack Living Standards

By Dick Fidler

Italy's governmental crisis was temporarily patched up June 19, when leaders of the four parties that had originally supported Premier Mariano Rumor's ministry reached agreement on a program of economic austerity. But the underlying financial and economic crisis, which had led the Rumor cabinet to submit its resignation nine days earlier, remains, and the wide-ranging attack on workers' living standards that is on the government's agenda ensures continued social instability in the months ahead.

No details of the projected austerity measures have yet been made public. However, *New York Times* correspondent Paul Hofmann reported from Rome June 19: "The package of emergency measures to fight inflation and curb imports that the coalition parties accepted in principle today will mean stiffer taxes for Italians.

"The already high price of gasoline will go up, fares of urban transit systems and tariffs for many public services will be increased, and all but basic consumer goods will become more expensive."

The purpose of this program was to reduce current consumption by some US\$5,000 million, or almost half the current balance-of-payments deficit that Italy faces this year.

These measures are certain to aggravate an unemployment rate that is already running at around 5 percent of the work force.

The Rumor cabinet submitted its resignation June 10 when the Socialist party members in the coalition refused to agree to an earlier austerity program proposed by Rumor's Christian Democrats. On June 13 President Giovanni Leone, in an unusual move, refused to accept the resignation, insisting that the need for emergency measures required the coalition partners "in the overriding interest of the country to make every effort to reach an accord."

The cabinet, comprising the Christian Democrats, Socialists, and Social Democrats, has governed with the parliamentary support of the Republican

party. The decision to continue with the present governmental formula signified a rejection, for the time being, of overtures from the Communist party for a voice in the government, whether through direct participation or in some consultative role, in ac-



ENRICO BERLINGUER

cordance with the CP's proposed "historic compromise" with the traditional parties of the bourgeoisie.

However, Rumor apparently indicated agreement with Socialist proposals that the CP be regularly consulted by the government before important decisions are made. The *New York Times* reported in a June 19 dispatch from Rome, "Participants in today's talks indicated that Premier Rumor has said he planned to consult 'with the opposition,' meaning the Communist party, whenever he deemed such contacts useful."

It remains to be seen if this "con-

sultation" will take the form of the close parliamentary collaboration being urged by CP general secretary Enrico Berlinguer. In a speech to the CP's Central Committee on June 3, Berlinguer called for close cooperation "not only on specific issues and isolated measures, but on general political orientations."

The collaboration of the CP leadership will be very much needed by the Italian bourgeoisie in the days ahead if the workers' militancy and radicalization are to be contained within "legal" reformist channels.

With a reported 1.6 million members and the support of some 9 million voters, the Communist party is by far the main political force in the Italian labor movement. And its electorate is growing, while support for the Christian Democrats, the main government party, declines. The results of the regional government elections held in Sardinia June 16-17 showed increased support for the CP (26.8%) and the Socialist party (11.7%), and a sharp drop in support for the Christian Democrats and the neofascist Italian Social Movement.

According to Guido Carli, governor of the Bank of Italy, much harsher measures than those already envisaged are necessary if Italy's balance-of-payments problems are to be surmounted. In a May 31 speech to leading industrialists and politicians, Carli outlined the program of the big bourgeoisie, calling for an increase in taxes sufficient to reduce consumer buying power by 4 to 5 percent a year, and an "incomes policy" to replace the sliding scale of wages won by workers in many industries.

Such measures would cut deeply into workers' living standards and add many more to the 800,000 unemployed, whose ranks are already swelling as emigrant workers are forced to return to Italy by the decline in job openings in Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland.

The depth of the continuing financial crisis was underscored June 21, only two days after the government coalition had reached its austerity accord, when the city government of Rome announced that it was suspending interest payments on its enormous debt. The decision was necessary, the budget commissioner reported, if the city was to be able to pay the salaries of its 25,000 employees. Other major cities, notably Naples and Palermo,

face similar problems. Rome has a debt of US\$4,500 million, to which \$3 million is added every day. The measures to tighten credit, imposed by the national government to meet the country's balance-of-payments crisis, have restricted loans from state

agencies; municipalities have thus been forced to turn to the big state-controlled banks for emergency credit, at much higher interest rates. State institutions like the electrical board and the hospitals face similar staggering debts, for much the same reason.

India

500,000 Stage Protest in Bihar

About 500,000 persons marched through the streets of Patna, the capital of Bihar state, on June 5 to demand the dissolution of the Vidhan Sabha (state legislative assembly). The demonstrators presented the governor with a petition containing 2 million signatures supporting the dissolution demand.

Addressing the mass rally that followed, march leader Jaya Prakash Narayan said, according to a report in the June 8 *Statesman Weekly* of Calcutta, that there would be peaceful picketing and satyagrahis (mass civil disobedience actions) outside the state assembly to press the dissolution demand and prevent members of the assembly and ministers from entering.

(As the marchers were leaving the rally, they were fired upon from a flat occupied by an organization called the Indira Brigade. Twelve protesters were injured by the shotgun blasts. After a few arrests were made, it was reported that the flat had been rented by Phulena Rai, a Congress party member of the state assembly.)

Narayan emerged from political retirement in April to call for mass civil-disobedience actions against corruption in the government. An old friend of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, Narayan had been a leader of the Congress party during the struggle for India's independence from Great Britain, a founder of the Congress Socialist party (a Social Democratic grouping formed within the Congress party in 1934), and a founder of the Praja Socialist party in 1952, after he left the Congress party.

Bihar has been experiencing mass unrest for three months. In March, students inspired by the mass upsurge that brought down the state govern-

ment in Gujarat initiated protests over the hoarding of scarce commodities, corruption in the state government, rising prices, inadequacies in the educational system, and unemployment. The protests, led by the Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti (Students Action Committee), quickly drew in other layers of the population and spread throughout the state. More than eighty persons died in March after the army, the police, and the paramilitary Border Security Force moved in to crush the demonstrations.

Since that time, the students have been waging a campaign for the dismissal of Chief Minister Abdul Ghafoor and the dissolution of the state assembly. On May 7 twenty-four members of the assembly — eighteen from

the Jan Sangh and six from the Samyukta Socialist party — resigned at the beginning of a week-long campaign organized by the Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti in favor of the dissolution of the assembly.

The student actions even pressured some Bihar Congress party legislators to call on Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to change the corrupt leadership of the state party. Gandhi refused, however, during a meeting with the disgruntled legislators in New Delhi May 24. She asked them to maintain the unity of the Congress party in the face of the continued "opposition challenge."

Prominent among the pro-Gandhi elements in favor of maintaining the state assembly under the present Congress party leadership has been the Communist party of India. According to the May 4 *Statesman Weekly*, the secretary of the state council of the CPI, Jagannath Sarkar, described the calls for dissolution of the assembly "sinister" and charged that the goal of the agitation was to establish a "reactionary dictatorship." The April 27 *Statesman Weekly* reported that the CPI-led student group, the Bihar Rajya Chhatra Naujawan Sangharsh Morcha, began a campaign of demonstrations, rallies, and other actions against the dissolution of the state assembly. □

Ten Killed as Assam Police Attack Students

Police opened fire on demonstrating students in several parts of Assam state June 10, killing at least ten persons and wounding more than 100. The clashes occurred on the fourth day of a five-day student satyagraha (nonviolent civil-disobedience action). Police attacked demonstrators with clubs at Dhing, killed at least four persons at Bhurbanda, and imposed curfews in a number of towns and villages in different parts of Assam.

Some of the clashes took place when students protested arrests made during previous demonstrations. At Barpeta about 500 students attempted to free their jailed comrades but were dispersed when police fired tear-gas shells. A day-long bandh (general strike) was observed in parts of the south Kamrup district to protest police attacks on students at Palasbari on June 8.

In addition to the indefinite curfews imposed in some parts of Assam, the army was put on the alert throughout the state, and the Border Security Force, Central Reserve Police, and Assam Police Battalion were put into action to deal with the unrest.

Despite these repressive measures, the students continued with their scheduled protest. More than 2,000 students defied arrest on June 11 by demonstrating outside government offices in several towns. A hartal (closing of shops and marketplaces) was observed in north Lakhimpur to protest the "indiscriminate arrest of students and the police atrocities."

The clashes between the students and the police followed more than a month of various actions and demonstrations organized by the All-Assam Students Union. On May 7 government offices,

banks, and railways were paralyzed in Gauhati, in central Assam, as students picketed to protest price increases and to press other demands. Students throughout the state launched a four-day "mass fast" on May 28 to back their demands, which included calling on the state government to supply all essential commodities to the population at low prices.

In addition to sending the police against the students, the state government, which is led by the Congress party, has enlisted the aid of the parliamentary opposition parties in opposing the unrest in the state. The May 25 Calcutta *Statesman Weekly* reported that on May 17 Assam Chief Minister Sarat Chandra Sinha met with representatives of the People's Democratic party and the Communist party of India (CPI) to discuss a joint program of action "to combat the present

agitational climate" in the state.

"According to present indications," wrote the *Statesman Weekly*, "it has been agreed that the respective parties will hold meetings, individually and jointly, at various levels to mobilize public opinion against agitations and wildcat strikes at a time when the State's lifeline is under strain owing to the railway strike."

As in Bihar and Gujarat, where mass unrest flared up during the past months, the CPI in Assam has charged that the student protests were motivated by "reactionary trends."

"Both the ruling party and Opposition groups," continued the *Statesman Weekly*, "feel, therefore, that the students' threat of continued picketing is politically inspired and calculated to bring about a situation which may bracket Assam with Gujarat and Bihar." □

young woman, Leyla Kassem—were condemned to death and executed.

The record of this Baathist dictatorship—a regime untroubled by any scruples—is clear for all to see. It has elevated to official government policy the use of gangsterism, public hangings, and physical liquidation of its opponents, murdering hundreds of progressives and Arab and Kurdish patriots.

In the face of this terror and threat of extermination, the resistance movement is being organized and strengthened in liberated Kurdistan—entirely under the administration of the Kurdish revolution—where more than 1.5 million persons live. Since the renewal

Kurdish Students Issue Appeal

Demand Halt to Iraqi Terror Bombing

[The following statement from the Association of Kurdish Students in Europe appeared in the June 11-17 issue of *Lutte Ouvrière*. Translation from the French is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Since the end of March the Baathist military dictatorship in Iraq has renewed its massive bombings of cities and villages in Kurdistan. In the space of six weeks, several cities—including Zakho (25,000 inhabitants) and Qala Diza (20,000)—and about 100 villages have been entirely or in large part destroyed by Iraqi MIG-17, MIG-19, MIG-21, and Tupolev-22 bombers, which have been thrown into a war of blind and total destruction.

The purpose of the bombing is to punish and terrorize the more than 2.5 million Kurds who refuse to submit unconditionally to the rule of this dictatorial regime, who have been struggling since 1961 for an autonomous Kurdistan within the framework of a democratic Iraq, and who remain more united than ever under the leadership of General Mustafa Barzani.

No population center, no civilian target—including mosques, churches, schools, and hospitals—was spared in these terrorist raids, which call to mind the sad memories of Guernica and Hanoi.

Faced with considerable losses in both men and matériel inflicted by the Kurdish guerrillas (eighty tanks, four planes, and four helicopters destroyed and several hundred Iraqi soldiers killed in a month of fighting), and faced with the impossibility of winning a military victory over the Kurds, the Iraqi army—in the classical and time-honored tradition of colonial warfare—is taking vengeance on the defenseless civilian population. In Qala Diza alone, 131 civilians, mainly women and children, were killed, and 300 were wounded. This is only one example among dozens of similar cases.

On April 14, eleven patriotic Kurds, members of the KDP [Kurdish Democratic party] who had been tortured in the jails of Baghdad and had had their limbs amputated, were hanged in the Kurdish city of Erbil in order to terrorize the population. On April 30, five Kurdish students at the University of Baghdad—including a



MUSTAFA BARZANI

of the bombing, 100,000 persons have left the cities for the liberated region. These include 4,000 teachers, 10,000 high-school and university students, 300 engineers, 100 doctors, several thousand soldiers and officers from the Iraqi army, a very large number of democratic and patriotic Arabs fleeing the repression, the leading members of the Central Committee of the pro-Chinese Communist party as well as members of the pro-Soviet CP, etc.

France is currently involved in negotiations with this criminal, repressive dictatorship over the terms of sale for arms and helicopters destined to

be used in Kurdistan.

We call on all young workers and students, on all democratic forces to organize everywhere in support of the Kurdish people's struggle for national liberation, for the liberation of the people, for democracy in Iraq, against

the criminal, arbitrary, and plundering regime in Baghdad—and to take action to prevent France from becoming an accomplice in these crimes.

*Stop the terrorist bombings!
Stop the merchants of death!* □

Canadian Doctor Convicted Under Abortion Law

Morgentaler to Be Sentenced July 10

Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Canadian doctor convicted of performing an illegal abortion, will be sentenced July 10. He faces a maximum penalty of life imprisonment. If he is refused bail, pending a hearing of his appeal by the Supreme Court of Canada, Morgentaler will be jailed immediately.

The Montréal doctor was jailed May 14 by a Québec court acting on instructions of the Québec Court of Appeals, which had earlier overruled his acquittal by a jury. He was released on bail ten days later, following a pre-sentence hearing.

Dr. Morgentaler has for many years been one of the most prominent and outspoken opponents of Canada's abortion laws. His clinic in Montréal pioneered in the use of the vacuum-aspirator method of providing safe abortions. In June 1970 he was arrested and charged with performing illegal abortions.

Other Canadian doctors have previously been prosecuted and jailed for performing abortions. But Morgentaler's case has become the focus of the government's attack on the movement for women's right to abortion. In the summer of 1973 his clinic was raided, and a series of further charges were placed against him and associated medical personnel.

At his first trial on one of these charges, Morgentaler acknowledged that he had performed the abortion in question; in his defense he argued that it was justified and that the law making abortion illegal was unjust. The twelve-person French-speaking jury, influenced no doubt by the widespread opposition to Canada's restrictive abortion law, acquitted him in November 1973. But on April 26 the Québec Court of Appeals overturned this decision, and instead of follow-

ing the usual procedure of calling for a retrial, declared him guilty.

When a lower-court judge refused to sentence Dr. Morgentaler, pending the results of an appeal by Morgentaler to the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeals ordered the judge to pass sentence.

Morgentaler's persecution by the government and courts has aroused shock and anger among Canadians. Delegates to the convention of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC—affiliated to the American AFL-CIO),

Austria

Nixon Met by Demonstrators in Salzburg

Some 200 to 300 persons demonstrated in Salzburg June 11 against Nixon and the role of U. S. imperialism in the Arab East. Nixon stopped briefly in the Austrian city on his way to Cairo.

The demonstration was organized on only five days' notice, after it was learned that Nixon would definitely visit Salzburg. It was organized primarily by the Gruppe Revolutionäre Marxisten (GRM—Revolutionary Marxist Group, Austrian section of the Fourth International) and the Kommunistischer Bund/Marxistischer Studenten Bund (Communist League/Marxist Student League, a Maoist group). The Communist party and Socialist party refused to mobilize for the protest, although the latter's student organization did participate.

In a leaflet distributed to build the action, the GRM pointed out the real significance of the so-called peaceful solution being pushed by U. S. impe-

rialism: meeting in Vancouver while Morgentaler was jailed, sent a telegram to Québec's Justice Minister Jérôme Choquette demanding that the doctor be immediately released, that all charges against him be dropped, and that the abortion law be removed from the Criminal Code of Canada. Among the signatories were CLC Executive Vice-President Shirley Carr and Secretary-Treasurer Donald Montgomery; and Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec (Québec Federation of Labor) President Louis Laberge and General Secretary Fernand Daoust.

On June 15, protest rallies and demonstrations raising similar demands were held in Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver, and other cities in Canada. And in New York City, some sixty persons held a noon-hour rally June 14 at the Canadian consulate to protest both the victimization of Dr. Morgentaler and the reactionary Canadian abortion law. The demonstration was sponsored by a subcommittee of the National Organization for Women. □

rialism:

"On this trip, Nixon wants to work out a 'peaceful' solution to the Middle East conflict. We know what that means: securing American domination over the raw materials and peoples of the Middle East.

"In order to achieve this, the U. S. imperialists must recklessly strengthen the power of the Israeli exploiting class and its military machine. At the same time, they support the bourgeois and feudal Arab regimes, which are increasingly friendly toward the United States, in their construction of a huge machinery of repression.

"The U. S. imperialists can exploit the riches and peoples of the Arab lands only so long as every liberation movement is brutally repressed and beaten down with the help of these regimes. The 'peaceful' solution will therefore be the bloodiest one possible for the Arab peoples and the Israeli working class." □

Role of Moscow and Peking in Vietnam Accords

By Dick Roberts

[The following article is reprinted from the June 28 issue of the revolutionary-socialist weekly, *The Militant*, published in New York.]

* * *

A new analysis of the events leading to the January 1973 Vietnam accords is contained in an article by Tad Szulc, a former *New York Times* correspondent, in the summer issue of *Foreign Policy* magazine. The article, on Henry Kissinger's behind-the-scenes diplomacy, confirms the role of Moscow and Peking in pressuring the Vietnamese to give in to Nixon's terms.

The Szulc article hit the newsstands the same week Kissinger attempted to steal the news with his sob-story news conference in Salzburg, Austria. The secretary of state claimed he was a man of "honor" and would never do such a thing as lie about his role in ordering secret wiretaps.

The contrast between the tearful Kissinger in Salzburg and the Kissinger in Szulc's article is striking.

Szulc reveals that Kissinger conducted secret negotiations concerning the course of the war in Southeast Asia beginning as early as 1969. The fact that the negotiations were even being held was kept secret until January 1972. They were so secret that only the highest U.S., Moscow, and Hanoi officials knew they were going on. South Vietnamese Premier Nguyen Van Thieu was kept in the dark, according to Szulc. In fact, Szulc says, Kissinger more than once lied to Thieu about the character of Washington's policies.

Kissinger also lied to cabinet officials, to the U.S. ambassadors to the Soviet Union and France, to the entire U.S. Congress, and needless to say, to the entire American and world public. But, he asks us to believe, he would never lie about orders to wiretap alleged opponents of the war!

Szulc's article falls into the growing trend of liberal Kissinger worship, as

though the man has finally been discovered who will make the world safe for U.S. imperialism. The "negotiation story," says Szulc, "offers a unique insight into the brilliance, stamina, and tactics of Henry Kissinger. . . . it is instructive to follow his steps—including his mistakes and deceptions—through the minefields of Paris and Hanoi, Saigon and Washington."

Kissinger, of course, was never in any battle zones. The "minefields" involved were mainly public opinion.

Three Lessons

This aside, the Szulc article is important, because it confirms from a new angle three central lessons of the U.S. attack on Southeast Asia and of the Paris accords:

1) The United States reached a point where it could not crush the Vietnamese revolution on the battlefield.

2) This was not only because the liberation forces outflanked the U.S. military machine—the mightiest ever employed against a colonial revolution in history. It was also because the antiwar movement in the U.S. restricted Washington's options. The war had to be "wound down" to appease the American public.

3) In order to do this, Washington had to get aid from Peking and Moscow. A diplomatic settlement leaving intact a pro-U.S. military bastion in Saigon required pressure on Hanoi from its main sources of military and economic aid, especially from Moscow. "The logjam was broken diplomatically by Kissinger's two Moscow performances in 1972," Szulc summarizes, "emphasizing, among other things, that the Soviets and then the Chinese were able to play a greater role in the achievement of the peace than Washington had [previously] given them credit for."

'Logjam'

According to Szulc, two major dis-

agreements held Washington and Hanoi apart in their secret Paris talks. The first was Washington's insistence on withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam, in return for U.S. withdrawal. The second was Hanoi's insistence that the Thieu regime be abandoned.

The turn on the first question came in May 1971, says Szulc, "against the background of increasingly hostile public opinion at home—the antiwar movement was at its apex by 1971—and in the context of Kissinger's conviction that the key to a Vietnam settlement was a détente with both the Soviet Union and China."

Kissinger secretly hinted that Washington would not insist on withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam if Hanoi would reciprocate by dropping its insistence on the removal of the Thieu regime.

Hanoi refused and the war continued. As Washington withdrew troops it escalated its bombing attack. Domestic pressure against the war heightened the anxiety in the White House to obtain a settlement. Kissinger's secret negotiations with Peking and Moscow had begun.

"Around January 20, 1972 . . .," says Szulc, "the White House became so alarmed both by the North Vietnamese build-up and Hanoi's continued silence concerning the resumption of the secret sessions, that the decision was made to 'go public' with the [formerly secret] October peace proposal and the disclosure that Kissinger had been intermittently holding private sessions with the Communists since August 1969. The idea of 'going public' had been considered for a number of months . . . because of growing frustration with Hanoi and, just as importantly, because of domestic public opinion. In White House parlance, the disclosure was made for the 'theater'—to confound criticism that the Administration was not actively pursuing peace in Vietnam."

On March 30, North Vietnam opened the dramatic offensive that, without Washington's massive bombing retaliation, could have toppled the Thieu regime.

Szulc writes: "When the scope of the Communist offensive was finally realized, a touch of panic developed in the White House. The fall of Quangtri during April deepened the concern, as well as the growing belief that the United States must intervene massively to save Saigon from collapse. Kissinger was portrayed by his associates as fearing that the ARVN [Army of the Republic of Vietnam] could not hold its own."

It was in this context, Szulc says, that "Nixon dispatched Kissinger to the Soviet capital to explore the situation with Brezhnev, and to enlist his support for convincing Hanoi to cease the offensive.

"The Kissinger mission to Moscow on April 20 was shrouded in total secrecy," and it was a success. Brezhnev agreed to transmit Kissinger's secret proposals to Hanoi and urge the Vietnamese to resume negotiations.

"But, meanwhile," Szulc writes, "the military situation in South Vietnam had deteriorated to such a point that Nixon and Kissinger began to plan retaliatory action against North Vietnam. . . ."

In the second week of May Nixon ordered the bombing of North Vietnamese cities and mining the port of Haiphong. Two weeks later he was greeted in Moscow; the Soviet officials wined and dined Richard Nixon as U.S. bombs poured down on the liberation fighters in South Vietnam. Communist parties around the world further helped to derail the antiwar forces with the false promise that Nixon's deals would soon bring peace to Vietnam.

According to Szulc, while Nixon was in Moscow, he listened to three hour-long speeches by the top Kremlin leaders. ". . . even Kosygin confined his protest to the danger of a Soviet ship being hit by American bombs. . . . None of the three Russians suggested that the continuing war in Vietnam was an obstacle to détente."

Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny was dispatched to Hanoi "as soon as possible to convey to the North Vietnamese the views Kissinger had expressed in Moscow."

Christmas Bombing

Hanoi shifted its position on Thieu in October 1972, according to Szulc. Now the North Vietnamese negotiators put forward secret plans for a settlement that, at least temporarily, left the Thieu regime in power, with a future, somewhat nebulous, coalition government to be worked out. It was the foothold Washington had been waiting for.

However, Szulc asserts, by December the North Vietnamese began to have some doubts about the settlement, as they saw the U.S. rush \$1-billion worth of military hardware to Thieu to beat the cease-fire deadline. They reportedly proposed changes in the text, one of which was to condition release of American POWs on the release of the hundreds of thousands of political prisoners held by Saigon.

Then in mid-December, Nixon unleashed the horrendous record-breaking bombing of Hanoi. Szulc believes that "the Administration realized that the bombings were not sustainable over an indefinite period, for international as well as domestic reasons. They were, therefore, a short-term proposition." He quotes one U.S. official as saying: "we are bombing them to force them to accept our concessions." Another official view of the reason for the Christmas bombing, says Szulc, was "to inflict the greatest possible damage on North Vietnam so that Thieu would be able to accept the Agreement."

Punishment

Szulc writes: "Evidently, Hanoi felt, early in January, that it had taken all the punishment it could take and proposed the resumption of the negotiations. Ironically, as the United States discovered from intercepted North Vietnamese tactical communications, Hanoi had only a two-day supply of SAM anti-aircraft missiles on hand when the bombings stopped."

The Vietnam negotiations are described by Szulc so as to highlight the "brilliance" of Kissinger's lies, manipulations, secret deals. But what the negotiations really reflected was a historical development in which Kissinger's role as an individual counted for little. What the negotiations represented was the thwarting of U.S. imperialism in the world class struggle, above all on the battlefields and by

the international antiwar movement.

Washington was forced to turn to Moscow, to use the counterrevolutionary foreign policy of the Kremlin. Through secret deals with Moscow, Peking, and Hanoi, the imperialists were able to salvage their main goal from the beginning—a proimperialist government in Saigon, which is still in power 15 months after the "peace" accords.

The information in Szulc's article confirms the correctness of the position taken by *The Militant* on the meaning of the Vietnam accords and the Washington-Moscow-Peking détente. In opposition to both the U.S. Communist Party and the Maoists of the *Guardian* newspaper, *The Militant* called the détente a betrayal of the Vietnamese by the two largest workers states which should have been its allies. And it called the Vietnam accords a violation of the right of Vietnamese to self-determination.

While the Stalinists of both the Moscow and Peking variety were campaigning for Nixon to "Sign Now" the nine-point negotiating position released by the Vietnamese in October 1972, *The Militant* counterposed the demand "U.S. Out of Southeast Asia Now!" In the Jan. 12 and Jan. 19, 1973, issues of *The Militant*, Barry Sheppard wrote:

"The Vietnamese, of course, have the right to negotiate with the imperialist bandits who are conducting a genocidal war in their country.

"But if the American antiwar movement were to call on Nixon to sign the accords negotiated with the Vietnamese, then we would be saying that the U.S. has the right to conduct such negotiations. . . ."

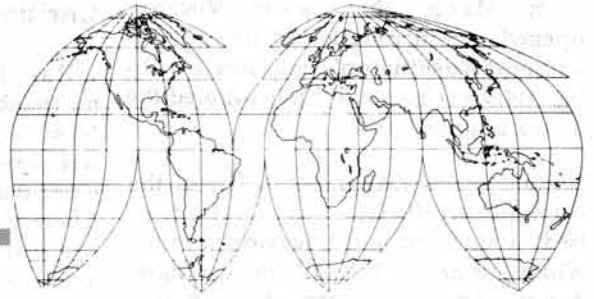
"The antiwar movement must expose every fraud and every trick of Kissinger and Nixon, including the concessions they are trying to extract by force from the Vietnamese.

"The most powerful and effective way to fight against the war is to join in building a worldwide movement, united in action, to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces from all of Southeast Asia." □

That Translates as 'Bureaucrat'

The Agency for International Development has an official whose title is "administrative assistant to the assistant administrator for administration."

AROUND THE WORLD



Baghdad Executes Thirteen for Aiding Kurdish Rebels

The Voice of Kurdistan, clandestine radio station of the Kurdish rebels fighting in the north of Iraq, has announced that ten Muslim leaders were executed by the central government June 16 for aiding the Kurdish struggle for autonomy. The station also reported that the Iraqi Baathist regime had executed three Kurdish students in Baghdad June 14.

Calley Enters Stockade

Lieutenant William Calley, convicted of mass murder in the Mylai massacre, entered a military stockade at Fort Benning, Georgia, June 20. His confinement came one week after a federal appeals court revoked his bail.

Calley's attorneys are appealing through civilian courts his conviction by an army court-martial. He was originally sentenced to life imprisonment, but subsequent reviews of the case resulted in a reduction of the sentence to ten years. With credit for the thirty-five months he spent under house arrest in an apartment at Fort Benning, Calley will be eligible for parole in about six months.

Calley's attorneys are appealing through civilian courts his conviction by an army court-martial. He was originally sentenced to life imprisonment, but subsequent reviews of the case resulted in a reduction of the sentence to ten years. With credit for the thirty-five months he spent under house arrest in an apartment at Fort Benning, Calley will be eligible for parole in about six months.

Niugini Women Protest Inflation

About 100 women broke away from a larger demonstration in Port Moresby, Niugini, June 12, and charged through the government administrative center in search of Chief Minister Michael Somare. Windows were broken and furniture damaged as police forced the women to rejoin the larger group, a 2,500-strong demonstration against rising prices.

Somare later appeared behind a police cordon and attempted to address the demonstrators, but was repeatedly shouted down by the angry protesters.

Demands of the demonstration included an immediate price freeze, wage increases for low- and medium-income groups, a

50 percent reduction in parliamentary salaries, and a reduction of privileges of government ministers.

Niugini is scheduled to become independent of Australia later this year.

U.S. Firm to Build 4 Plants in Soviet Industrial Complex

The largest deal ever negotiated between the Soviet Union and a private U.S. corporation was signed June 20. The \$200-million contract authorizes the Chemical Construction Corporation, an affiliate of General Tire and Rubber, to build four ammonia plants near the Togliatti industrial complex on the Volga River. The ammonia plants will be the first stage in the construction of a vast fertilizer facility that is expected to take twenty years to complete.

OAU Head Elected

Mboumoua Eteki, a special assistant to the president of Cameroon, was elected June 16 to a four-year term as administrative head of the Organization of African Unity. The session of the OAU, meeting in Somalia, had earlier deadlocked between the candidacies of Omar Arteh of Somalia and Vernon Mwaanga of Zambia.

Giscard Moves to Lower Voting Age

The government of French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing proposed June 10 the lowering of the voting age from 21 to 18. During his presidential campaign, Giscard had promised such a measure. The proposal is expected to be enacted into law by the parliament later this year.

U.S. Sailors Jump Ship

Scores of sailors of the U.S.S. *Midway*, the giant aircraft carrier home-ported at Yokosuka, Japan, jumped ship June 14, just before the carrier left port. About half of the sailors were Black. A navy spokesman said that only 32 had slipped off the ship, but estimates from the Japanese police, U.S. personnel off the base, and the sailors themselves ranged from 20 to 200. A dispatch from the New Asia News service confirmed that about 100

sailors were still at liberty in Yokosuka as of June 20.

Eight Black sailors held a press conference on June 20, at which they presented six demands: an end to home-ported in Japan (which keeps the sailors away from their families for long periods), the ouster of Captain Richard J. Schulte, an end to racial discrimination on the carrier, better working conditions, an end to corporal punishment in the brigs, and the restoration of human and constitutional rights to the sailors.

Japanese Economy in Slump

According to a report released by Japan's Economic Planning Agency, the real gross national product in Japan dropped by 5 percent in the first quarter of 1974, the largest drop in twenty years. A major portion of that decline reflected a drop in consumer spending due to Japan's rampant inflation. (Consumer prices are up 24 percent over a year ago.) In addition, real corporate capital spending declined 5.4 percent and business failures were up 49.9 percent in the first quarter.

At a June 11 press conference in Tokyo, Isamu Miyazaki, an official of the Economic Planning Agency, predicted a growth rate for 1974 of 2 percent, one of the lowest in postwar Japanese history.

With a 13.8 percent decline in overtime work, total wages and salaries paid to workers were up only 18.1 percent over a year ago, much less than the increase in prices for that period.

India Increases Control Over Sikkim Government

The Sikkim assembly on June 20 unanimously approved a new constitution and a resolution calling for greater Indian control over the Himalayan kingdom. The constitution strips the chogyal (king) of executive powers, assigning them to the chief executive, who is appointed by the Indian government.

The resolution called for "immediate steps to insure fuller participation of Sikkim in the economic and social institutions of India." The steps recommended included representation for Sikkim in the Indian parliament; control over economic development by India's economic planning bodies; and extension of Indian eco-

conomic institutions into Sikkim.

Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal attempted to prevent the assembly from meeting by surrounding the building with 500 members of his palace guard. Indian police removed the guard.

In a June 22 telephone interview with a United Press International reporter, the chogyal claimed that Indian police had used tear gas and clubs to break up demonstrations by his supporters. He said that all government workers except the police were on strike to protest the assembly action.

Furtseva Out of Supreme Soviet

Contrary to earlier reports from Western journalists in Moscow (see last week's *Intercontinental Press*), Yekaterina Furtseva, the only woman to hold a ministerial-level post in the Soviet government, was not assigned a seat in the newly selected Supreme Soviet. Lists of the 1,517 deputies, published June 19, omitted her name.

Furtseva's impending removal from the Supreme Soviet was first indicated in May, amid reports that she had been reprimanded for using state funds to build herself a lavish dacha outside Moscow. In early June, Western reporters claimed to have heard from government sources that the decision to drop Furtseva from the Supreme Soviet had been reversed.

Censure Israeli Discrimination Against Arab Workers

By a vote of 224 to 0, the Geneva-based International Labor Organization passed a resolution June 20 censuring Israeli discrimination against Arab workers. The resolution, whose passage was greeted by thunderous applause, condemned "continued Israeli violation of human and labor rights in the occupied Arab territories" and ordered the ILO to do everything in its power to halt these "discriminatory practices." One hundred and twenty-two delegates abstained from the vote after an attempt to soften the resolution's wording was defeated. Representatives of 119 of the 125 countries belonging to the ILO were present for the vote.

Coalition Formed in Luxembourg

The Democratic and Socialist parties of Luxembourg agreed June 17 on the formation of a coalition government. It will be headed by Gaston Thorn, a member of the Democratic party, who was foreign minister in the previous government. That government was a coalition between the Democratic and Christian Social parties. The latter suffered large losses in the May 26 elections.

Chilean Socialists Expelled From Soviet Union

An unknown number of Chilean students were expelled from the Soviet Union in mid-June, according to United Press International. Their scholarships were canceled, along with their housing, and they were provided with air tickets to Santiago. All the students had been members of the Chilean Socialist party.

Investigation Confirms Massacre of Civilians in Mozambique

A United Nations commission investigating atrocities by the Portuguese army in Mozambique is reported to have concluded that a massacre of civilians did occur at Wiriyamu in 1971. A priest last year charged that 400 men, women, and children had been murdered there.

Bhutto Charges Opposition With Assassination Plot

Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has charged his bourgeois opposition with plotting to assassinate him. During a debate in the national assembly, Bhutto claimed that a professional assassin had been hired to kill him during the Islamic summit meeting in Lahore last February.

Bhutto claimed that the assassin had been hired in Afghanistan by Ajmal Khat-tak, the former secretary general of the opposition National Awami party, who has lived in exile there since March 1973. Bhutto made his charges after the leader of the National Awami party, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, accused the government of making four attempts on his life.

Austrian President Elected

Rudolf Kirchschlager was elected president of Austria June 23. Kirchschlager, the nominee of the Socialist party, received 51.7 percent of the vote against 48.3 percent for the nominee of the Austrian People's party.

India to Explode Hydrogen Bomb?

A United News of India release of June 23 stated that India may soon explode a hydrogen bomb, following the May testing of an atomic explosive. Quoting "informed sources," the agency said, "India may achieve a more spectacular feat in the near future by exploding a thermonuclear hydrogen bomb."

Renewed Fighting on Mindanao

Forty-three persons were reported killed and at least seventeen missing in fighting June 20-21 between Philippine government troops and Muslim rebels on the island

of Mindanao. On June 20, the rebels attacked an airport south of Cotabato with mortar fire. The next day, government artillery and planes attacked areas around the airport. All of the missing were reported to be civilians living in an area adjacent to the airport.

Shah Plans Nuclear Weapons

In a June 23 interview with the French weekly *Les Informations*, the shah of Iran indicated that his government intends to develop nuclear weapons. Asked if he thought Iran would have such weapons in the future, the shah replied, "Without any doubt, and sooner than one would think."

Report New Arrests in Brazil

A new wave of political repression in Brazil was denounced June 21 by Amnesty International. Martin Ennals, secretary general of the organization, said that several reports of increased arrests, torture, and "disappearances" of the regime's political opponents had been received in the last few months. Among the cases he cited were the following:

"The discovery of six bodies in the Rio de Janeiro region, apparently the victims of the 'Death Squad,' a parapolice organization; the arrest of numerous high-school and university students in Sao Paulo in April, and of dozens of other persons in the states of Paraiba, Alagoas, and Ceara in the northwest.

"The request, by attorneys in Rio, for the government to produce at least five persons who were recently arrested and have since 'disappeared.' Among them is the journalist and former deputy David Capistrano da Costa, who fought in the Spanish civil war and the French resistance.

"A request by attorneys that the Brazilian regime launch an inquiry into the detention and torture of their colleague Wellington Rocha Cantal, who has publicly stated that he was beaten, given electric shocks, and deprived of food and liquid for five days.

"The arrest in Sao Paulo of Maria de Conceicao Saramento da Paz, 53, the mother of four children. The police say they will release her only if one of her sons is turned in."

Explosions in Famagusta Laid to Terrorists

Ten bombs exploded early on June 14 in the city of Famagusta, in eastern Cyprus. The bombings were believed to have been carried out by the underground group founded by the late General George Grivas to seek the union of Cyprus with Greece.

The Situation in Chile Today

[The following is an interview, conducted in English on June 9 in New York, with a foreigner who resided in Chile during the past year. He has not had the opportunity to check the edited transcript.]

* * *

Question. You've been in Chile since before the September 1973 coup. How does the extent of the political repression today compare with what it was like last September?

Answer. The repression in Chile is still very, very strong. And it has changed its nature. Whereas before it was a wanton destruction of human beings, it has now become selective. They're still not that well organized, but they're beginning to coordinate. They are beginning to look for specific people.

But at the same time, they are also continuing mass repression. There was a rather nasty example of this that took place in March. *El Mercurio* wrote that in a large *población* [poor neighborhood], there had been a series of mass arrests of habitual criminals, and that the authorities were starting a "rehabilitation" program by sending people up to the north to build roads. That is a great way to rehabilitate people—forced labor camps.

The truth of the matter was that the military went into a *población* called La Victoria, in the commune of San Miguel. It's one of the poor areas in the south of Santiago. They indiscriminately took about a thousand men, from 15 years old on up.

A delegation of women from the *población* went to the ministry of defense to ask what had happened to the men. They were told not to come around again. They were told to go home and mind their own business, their husbands' lives apparently not being their business.

Toward the end of April, I talked with a functionary of the Swedish Embassy who knew people from this particular *población*. He said that about 200 of the men had come back so

far. He had talked to about fifteen of them, and his impression of all fifteen was the same: They did not know where they had been taken.

They had been taken to the concentration camp by the coast, Tejas Verdes. It is one of the worst there is. They did not know how long they had been there or what had been done to them. They had great difficulty in carrying on any kind of sustained conversation. Probably the whole bunch got some kind of an injection that just blotted out their memories.

Q. You mention that some people who were arrested had been drugged. Do you know any more about the junta's use of drugs?

A. The fact that they are using drugs in their tortures we know. I heard a case myself from an embassy where a man sought to be classified as a refugee so that he could go to that particular country. He was religious, a right-wing Christian Democrat. He was a professor working at one of the French schools in Santiago, and he was picked up one day at the school. He was beaten until his skull was fractured.

This man had not only been hit on the skull. He had been given electric shocks and had burns from prolonged electric application—in the genitals, in the anus, and all over the rest of his body as well. He had been given ultraviolet light rays in the area of the lungs and the heart. He described the feeling—it was as if his lungs were burning like paper. He had been given an injection of some kind of drug that gave him hallucinations. The injection was given in his spinal cord. This treatment went on for twelve days.

He had been questioned not about what he had done, because they knew very well that he hadn't done anything. They asked him whom he knew, if he knew anybody. He didn't. That's why they continued the torture for twelve days. They finally gave up.

He woke up, handcuffed, in a psychiatric ward in one of the hospitals in Santiago. The handcuffs were taken

off. He was given 100 escudos and told to go home and forget about it.

Q. There have been some reports of disaffection among former supporters of the junta. Did you see any evidence of this?

A. I knew a man who was the administrative director of Coates, the British thread firm. He was a right-wing Christian Democrat. He was also a private pilot and flew reconnaissance flights over one of Allende's residences before the coup. In addition to that, he was placed at the head of a squad of soldiers in the area where he lived, which was where a large number of Allende's personal bodyguards were also living. So he was out hunting in the first weeks after the coup.

At the beginning, when I first got to know him, he was ecstatically happy. Later on, he was quite unhappy. This was around the beginning of March, when he told me that things were rather bad at the factory. They normally worked with a two-week stock on hand, but at that time they had three months of stock on hand.

He was paying the workers about 27,000 escudos a month at that time. We both figured out that for someone to live minimally, that is, eating bread and spaghetti and living in a wooden shack in a *población*, you needed at least 30,000. He faced the contradiction of paying a "decent" wage and firing the whole night shift in the factory because the stock was so large that he had to lower his production. He tried to solve the problem by raising prices 33 percent.

The next time I talked to him was at the end of April. He started off with a joke. He said, "I heard that the elevators have been taken out of Diego Portales," the new ultra-modern national palace. "They've replaced them with ropes."

"No. Why's that?" I asked, playing the good straight man.

"Well, that's so that the gorillas can climb up and down."

At that point he said that the Christian Democrats—he's a party member—were meeting. This was a short time after it had been announced in the press, two or three times, that meetings of all kinds—especially of the Christian Democrats—were not allowed. He told me that he had been

told by the party leaders to go in for noncooperation.

He had been a government delegate in the Coates plant. Coates was recently given back total control of their factory. And this displeased the Coates people no end, since they wanted to be a mixed enterprise so that they could get lots of subsidies from the junta. As a private enterprise they couldn't. So they blamed this administrative director, who was the government delegate, and fired him. He didn't know which way to turn. In addition he said that the British coming back in had turned the clock back about twenty-five years as far as management practices were concerned. I guess Coates isn't run by Harold

Wilson.

There are also some signs of division within the National party in their attitude toward the repression. I know of at least one case where an archreactionary lawyer, from an old family of landholding lawyers, is defending someone accused of having been a member of the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria — Movement of the Revolutionary Left]. A lawyer in such cases has to be very delicate. Because if he's too good in the courtroom, he ends up in the courtroom himself—as a defendant. I know personally of at least one lawyer to whom this has happened. He was too good and they accused him of being a Communist. □

Iranian Students Defend Arab Liberation

Why the Shah Intervened in Dhofar

[The following is excerpted from an article that appeared in the June issue of *Payam Daneshjoo*, an Iranian student paper published at the University of Texas in Austin.

[The article is a response to an editorial printed May 11 in the Iranian government-controlled newspaper *Kayhan*. The editorial attacked the Confederation of Iranian Students for distributing a button supporting the liberation movement in Dhofar against the shah's military intervention there.

[In an interview with an Indian correspondent earlier this year, the shah said that the purpose of his intervention was to maintain "peace and security" against "a handful of illiterate savages calling themselves liberation fighters."

[In the past year the Confederation of Iranian Students has organized several demonstrations and rallies against the shah's aggression in Dhofar. The following translation from the Persian is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The regime claims that the button put out by the Confederation to gain further support for the fighters of Dhofar and the Arab Gulf is "the most telling evidence that the Confederation is dependent on foreigners." The re-

gime also claims that the Confederation, "following the policies of foreigners, has changed the name of the Persian Gulf to the Arab Gulf."

The Confederation of Iranian Students, as an independent, mass organization, reflects the democratic and anti-imperialist aspirations of the Iranian people. Its defense of democratic rights in Iran has attracted the attention of the regime.

The shah's military aggression in Dhofar to crush the liberation movement of an oppressed Arab people can only be compared with the Zionist invasion of Palestine, the American invasion of Vietnam, the British invasion of Ireland, and the Portuguese invasion of Mozambique.

The regime attacks the Confederation's defense of the Arab liberation movement because the solidarity between the national Iranian student movement and the liberation movement of the oppressed Arab people carries a dynamic similar to that seen in great social upheavals like the [Iranian] constitutional revolution.

The liberation struggle in Dhofar, like the Palestinian movement, not only advances the Arab masses in their fight for freedom and independence, but also gives inspiration to all the oppressed masses of the entire Middle East.

The shah's aggression in Dhofar is not only an attempt to crush the anti-imperialist movement there, and the whole Arab revolution; it is also directed at maintaining the very foundation of Pahlevi rule, a rule based on the oppression of Azerbaijanis, Kurds, Arabs, and Baluchis. The regime is very well aware that the Dhofar movement will inspire the oppressed nationalities in Iran. Reza Shah [the present shah's father] also saw in the aspiration and demands of the oppressed nationalities in Iran the biggest threat to his crown. In order to subdue these nationalities, he even took away their right to read and write in their own national languages.

Today the shah is trying to stir up the Iranian people against the Arab liberation movement. The only ideological content of this propaganda is Persian chauvinism. From the shah's viewpoint, whoever opposes the reactionary idea that "Arabs are desert savages" is dependent on foreigners. In the shah's political dictionary, "foreigners" are those who fight against oppression.

Opposition to the shah's military aggression in Dhofar through rallies and demonstrations in Europe and the United States is an indication that the Confederation of Iranian students has stepped up its struggle against the shah's regime. The regime's attack on the Confederation is an attempt to prevent further intensification of student opposition to the shah's aggression. The attack also shows that defense activities of the Confederation play an important role. On the other hand, it poses the urgent need for a broad united front against Iran's military intervention in Dhofar.

For broad and consistent defense actions against Iran's military intervention in Dhofar!

Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Iranian troops from Dhofar! □

Nixon Not the First

The Government Operations Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives reported May 23 that the government had expended \$5.9 million on the Texas property of Lyndon Johnson during his term of office. The same committee earlier found that government spending on Nixon's property totaled more than \$17 million.

Origin of 'New Portuguese Letters'

By Candida Barberena

Shortly before the April 25 military coup in Portugal, the minister of the interior requested the head of a now defunct government agency to supply him with data on about 200 books that had been banned between 1972 and mid-May 1973.

Among these was *Novas Cartas Portuguesas* (New Portuguese Letters), which had been classified as "pornography," a charge that led to confiscation of the book and a long trial for its authors, the "Three Marias"—Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta, and Maria Velho da Costa.

In an interview with the Spanish weekly *Triunfo*, Maria Teresa Horta spoke about the origins of the controversial work and its significance for a growing feminist consciousness in Portugal.

"In 1971 I was editing the literary supplement of the newspaper *A Capital*, and when Maria Velho da Costa published *Maria Mendes*, I interviewed her. I also interviewed Maria Isabel Barreno on her work *De noite as arvores são negras* [Dark Trees at Night]. Our conversations revealed that we shared many of the same problems. I had already published *Minha senhora de mim* [Mistress of Myself], which, as usual, was confiscated by the police. We were all subjected to smear attacks—insulting letters, mockery, slander—mainly by men.

"At this point, Maria Isabel remarked that if a book written by one woman had created such a stir in Portugal, 'Why don't the three of us write a book about women in Portugal?' That was how *Novas Cartas Portuguesas* came into being."

(The title was deliberately chosen to evoke the famous *Portuguese Letters*, published anonymously in Paris in 1669 and attributed to Mariana Alcoforado, a nun at the Santa Clara convent. These letters, five in number, were addressed to her deserting lover, Noël Bouton, later Comte de Chamilly. From subsequent research, however, it now appears that the 1669 work was compiled by the Frenchman Gillesgues from letters of young Portu-

guese women to French soldiers stationed in Portugal during the war of independence.)

"Maria Velho da Costa suggested the theme," explained Maria Horta, "because Sister Mariana personified the myth of the fidelity of Portuguese women, and we wanted to dispel this myth. Since Sister Mariana had written five letters, we decided that we, too, would each write five letters—that is, fifteen in all. Although we had no preconceived notion of what we were going to write, our letters soon included poetry, fiction, essays, and social and political criticism. The situation in Portugal was bad, and women were doubly oppressed, as people and as women. . . ."

"We did not agree in advance on any particular subject. We met twice a week, once at lunchtime, when we never discussed the book. Our second meeting, in the evening, was devoted to reading and discussing everything we had so far written, without, however, making any changes.

"When publishers got wind of what we were doing, they were all anxious to acquire the manuscript. After reading it, however, they rejected it, one by one. Finally, a woman, Natalia Correia, took the risk."

As Maria Horta explains, the pre-

carious life of *Novas Cartas Portuguesas* had only begun: "Halfway through composition, a linotype operator refused to continue setting the type, stating that the book was 'obscene and pornographic.' However, 3,000 copies were actually printed and on the market for a month before the printer himself denounced the book and the police confiscated it. Later, the printer would be the prosecution's only witness although, pleading illness, he never appeared in court. The police were able to confiscate only 112 copies. We were accused of indecency and perverting public morality.

"In an attempt to humiliate us and prevent left-wing support for our case, we were not tried as political prisoners. But the authorities misjudged the situation. The left rallied around the book; a letter of support was clandestinely circulated when the book was confiscated. Signed by more than 300 intellectuals and professionals, it was sent to [Premier Marcello] Caetano, Minister of National Education Vega Simões, and to the minister of justice. That we were being harassed was evident—a vice-squad officer, whose specialty was arresting prostitutes, was appointed to interrogate us."

On May 5, the three Marias were acquitted. Their acquittal and the relaxation of censorship has spurred the Portuguese publisher Futura to bring out a second edition of *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*. Editions are also being prepared in France, Italy, the United States, Great Britain, and Brazil, and subsequent editions are expected in Japan, Holland, Belgium, Spain, and West Germany.



The three Marias after their acquittal.

"Although the regime has changed," Maria Horta told *Triunfo*, "it will be a long time before the situation changes for women. We still have to face family problems and do the tremendous amount of work family life entails. Moreover, official statistics do not always reflect the serious discrepancy in the wages of men and women. So, one of the many tasks before us will be to ascertain the correct figures. Official statistics indicate that only 20 percent of all women work, but this does not include peasants, translators, housewives, and so forth.

"We maintain contact with feminists in France, Italy, and the United States,

because we realize that we share many of the same problems. And then, we have special problems in Portugal. Personally, I am a democrat who is aware of the situation in Portugal; my particular situation as a woman makes me a feminist. This is what compels me to continue writing, which is my form of political participation."

At the close of the interview, Maria Horta remarked that one of the sharpest manifestations of the official double standard in Portugal is found in the educational system. "Women's education must be changed. We were taught to view other women as rivals, and this must change." □

against the multinational trusts; (2) work among immigrant workers, stressing the need for a strategic perspective of integrating their struggles with those of the rest of the working class, while understanding the importance of the immigrant workers' own organizations; (3) spreading new forms of struggle; and (4) the development of political solidarity, such as the actions in support of the Burgos prisoners and the international movement in support of the Chilean resistance.

In addition to the reports, there were commissions on work in particular industries; work in the CGT and CFDT; work among women and immigrant workers; on inflation, featuring a debate on the sliding scale of wages; on the coordination of struggles; on forms of struggle tending toward workers' control; and international commissions on Portugal, Chile, Italy, and Spain.

According to an incomplete survey at the conference, the vast majority of the participants were between the ages of 20 and 25. A large number were women; 197 reported that they were members of MLAC (Mouvement pour la Liberté de l'Avortement et de la Contraception—Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception), and 82 were active in other women's liberation organizations.

Sixty percent of the 1,300 participants were members of the FCR, the remaining 40 percent being sympathizers or members of "mole" groups. Their trade-union affiliation was listed as follows: 39.2% CGT; 37.4% CFDT; 4.7% FEN (Fédération de l'Education Nationale—National Federation of Education, the main teachers' union); and 18.6% did not mention any particular union affiliation.

The division by sector of the work force was: 11% laborers and semi-skilled workers; 33% public service; 30% office workers; 10% professional workers; and 16% technicians and supervisors.

Two hundred and forty-eight participants reported that they were members of Chile solidarity committees; and 84 were in committees to defend the rights of conscripts in the armed forces.

International observers came from Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Canada, the United States, and Spain. □

France

Trotskyists Hold Workers' Conference

Some 1,300 persons attended the annual conference of Red Mole Groups (Groupes Taupe Rouge), held in Lyon June 1-3. The groups are composed of workers who are members and sympathizers of the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire (FCR—Revolutionary Communist Front), the French Trotskyist organization.

The number who participated was far greater than expected, reported the June 7 issue of the revolutionary Marxist weekly, *Rouge*. On four days' notice, the conference site had to be transferred from Paris, where several suburban municipalities had refused to rent larger facilities to the FCR.

For three days the conference heard reports and debates on developments in the labor movement over the past year and on perspectives for revolutionists in the plants. The first such conference, held in Rouen last year (see *Intercontinental Press*, July 2, 1973, p. 806), had been centered around educational reports on general themes such as how to do trade-union work and the meaning of workers' control and self-management. The objective of this year's conference, *Rouge* reported, "was mainly to define an orientation for intervention in the workers' movement in the light of five years of activities in the plants."

Thus a key report defined the orientation of the FCR and the Red Mole groups in the postelection period, es-

pecially the "tasks of the revolutionists in the struggle against the class-collaborationist objectives of the Union of the Left." It was presented by a leader of the FCR who is a militant in the Stalinist-led CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor) at the state-owned electric plant in Brest.

Among the featured speakers were two leaders of the Fourth International, Ernest Mandel and Charles-André Udry, who were banned from entering France under the Gaullist regime.

Mandel, a leader of the Belgian Trotskyist organization, presented two reports. The first analyzed the European economic situation and discussed the type of demands that should be advanced in the struggle against inflation and unemployment. The second report dealt with the question of workers' self-management, counterposing the revolutionary approach to the reformist orientation upheld especially by the leaders of the CFDT (Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor) and the PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party).

Udry, a leader of the Swiss Trotskyist organization, presented the closing report on the concrete tasks of revolutionists in the European workers' struggle. He defined four essential axes of such work: (1) the struggle

Candidatos Socialistas en las Elecciones

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "Socialists Present Candidates in Election", que apareció el 24 de junio en *Intercontinental Press*].

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La League for Socialist Action [LSA — Liga de Acción Socialista] de Canadá, anunció el 4 de junio que presentará un candidato en las elecciones para diputados federales que tendrán lugar el 8 de julio. Kate Alderdice, obrera de 28 años, será la candidata de la LSA, contra el Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores Mitchell Sharp, liberal, en el distrito electoral de Eglinton, en el centro de Toronto. La LSA, con su equivalente en Québec, la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (Liga Socialista Obrera), es la sección canadiense de la Cuarta Internacional.

La LSA ha decidido presentarse contra Sharp "para exponer la criminal política exterior del gobierno de Trudeau", dijo Alderdice. El gobierno "ha cerrado virtualmente las puertas de Canadá a los refugiados chilenos, después de haber dado apoyo encubierto al golpe que estableció en Chile una brutal dictadura militar". Ottawa ha rechazado el 94% de las 12 mil peticiones presentadas por refugiados que quieren entrar a Canadá. La mayoría de los que han sido admitidos tienen sólo un "permiso especial", que puede ser revocado en cualquier momento.

La campaña de la LSA también está poniendo énfasis en la complicidad del gobierno canadiense en la agresión imperialista en Indochina y en el Medio Oriente. Llama a poner fin a la participación de Canadá en las fuerzas "pacificadoras" que tienen por objeto estabilizar el *status quo* imperialista, y a que Canadá se retire inmediatamente de las alianzas imperialistas como la NATO y la NORAD (acuerdo norteamericano para la defensa aérea).

Otros temas importantes de la campaña de la LSA son: la necesidad de tomar medidas anticapitalistas para combatir la inflación, defensa de la lucha de liberación nacional del

pueblo de Québec, y apoyo total a las exigencias del movimiento de liberación de la mujer.

La LSA está utilizando su campaña para apoyar las protestas contra la represión en Chile, y para construir el movimiento de defensa del Dr. Henry Morgentaler, médico de Montreal que se encuentra en peligro de ser condenado a cadena perpetua por haber llevado a cabo varios abortos. Los revolucionarios utilizarán su campaña para apoyar las huelgas que ocurran durante las elecciones.

La LSA/LSO, al mismo tiempo que presenta su propio candidato en el distrito de Toronto-Eglinton, apoya críticamente al New Democratic Party [NDP—Nuevo Partido Democrático], que es el partido laborista de Canadá. "Nosotros llamamos a votar por el NDP en otros distritos electorales y a la elección de un gobierno del NDP", dijo Alderdice. "En muchas partes de Canadá, los miembros de la LSA participan en las campañas del NDP, y llamamos al movimiento obrero y a todas las fuerzas de izquierda a que trabajen para lograr la victoria del NDP en las elecciones del 8 de julio.

"Pero la campaña del NDP no ha podido proponer soluciones socialistas a los candentes problemas a que se enfrenta hoy el pueblo trabajador de Canadá. Por eso llamamos a los miembros del NDP, a los sindicalistas y a los socialistas a que apoyen la campaña de la LSA en Eglinton —de esta forma, la alternativa socialista estará representada en la boleta electoral en uno de los distritos electorales en las elecciones del 8 de julio".

La candidata de la LSA llamó al organismo del NDP en el distrito electoral de Eglinton a que apoye su campaña y no postule un candidato propio. Alderdice señaló que esto no obstaculizaría la posibilidad de que el NDP ganara en este distrito, ya que en las últimas elecciones el candidato del NDP recibió sólo el 12% de los votos.

También ha postulado candidatos el Revolutionary Marxist Group [GMR —Grupo Marxista Revolucionario],

que es una organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional. Los candidatos del RMG son Bret Smiley en Toronto-Greenwood, Murray Smith en Winnipeg-North Centre, ambos conteniendo por posiciones que en este momento tiene el NDP, y Linda Peervers, en Peterborough, posición que tiene en estos momentos el Partido Conservador.

En un número especial de su periódico (*Old Mole*) sobre las elecciones, el RMG declaró:

"No participamos en estas elecciones con la ilusión de que nos van a elegir. Consideramos que el movimiento obrero se enfrenta ahora a nuevos problemas y alternativas fundamentales. Nuestra meta es popularizar una perspectiva que permita ampliar y extender las luchas de la clase obrera y evitar que sufra una grave derrota. Ahora, la cantidad de votos que obtendremos será indudablemente pequeña. Pero éste será un voto en favor de la lucha de clases, del poder obrero y del socialismo. Por esto consideramos que tendrá una importancia que excederá a su número, importancia que se dejará sentir en las luchas de los meses y de los años que vienen. Y donde ahora hay cientos, mañana habrá miles".

Haciendo un llamado para "reorientar el movimiento obrero hacia objetivos socialistas", el RMG llama a dar un voto clasista al NDP a pesar del reformismo de sus dirigentes:

"Políticamente, el NDP ha traicionado en repetidas ocasiones los intereses de la clase obrera. Los diputados del NDP votaron unánimemente en favor de que se aplastara la huelga de los ferrocarrileros el otoño pasado. Su programa liberal no ofrece ninguna perspectiva positiva para el pueblo trabajador. En Columbia Británica, Saskatchewan y Manitoba, los gobernadores del NDP son leales sirvientes de los intereses capitalistas. Los militantes obreros y socialistas deben lanzar una aguda lucha contra la dirección del NDP para rearmar políticamente al movimiento obrero.

"Pero en virtud de sus vínculos organizativos y del carácter de clase

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de sus seguidores, si bien no por su programa, el NDP sigue siendo parte del movimiento obrero. En los distritos electorales donde nosotros no tenemos candidato, por tanto, llama-

mos a los obreros a votar por el NDP, no para darle un voto de confianza, sino como un voto de la clase obrera contra los partidos capitalistas". □

Tito Ataca a los Disidentes

La Represión en Yugoslavia

Por Bob Thompson

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "The Repression in Yugoslavia Today", que apareció en el número del 17 de junio de *Intercontinental Press*].

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Desde 1948, año en que la Unión Soviética rompió relaciones con Yugoslavia, este país ha desarrollado una sociedad que tiene algunas características propias que lo diferencian de los otros estados obreros burocratizados de Europa oriental.

La diferencia más importante es el principio de "autogobierno". Las fábricas, instituciones y universidades funcionan según este principio, que quiere decir que en lo que se refiere a problemas locales—principalmente económicos—las decisiones se toman a nivel local. Pero en lo que se refiere a los problemas culturales y a asuntos económicos nacionales, el poder de tomar decisiones está en manos de la dirección de la Liga de Comunistas de Yugoslavia.

El siguiente ejemplo ilustrará este punto. Cuando a mediados de 1966 se plantearon profundas reformas económicas, la dirección del partido no trató de instaurar una economía planificada y democrática. Tal economía hubiera cuestionado el privilegio que tiene la burocracia de ser ella quien planifica la economía. En lugar de ceder este privilegio a los obreros y campesinos, la dirección del partido optó por una reforma económica que incluía, entre otras cosas, introducir mecanismos de mercado entre las diferentes fábricas y abrir las fronteras del país a las inversiones capitalistas.

La sociedad yugoslava actual es un fenómeno contradictorio. Hay una contradicción entre el principio del autogobierno y el poder de la elite del

partido. Hay una contradicción entre la nueva "capa media" de tecnócratas y pequeña-burguesía (estrato que es producto de la reforma económica), por un lado, y los obreros y campesinos, por el otro. Esta nueva capa media es sorprendentemente rica en comparación con los obreros y campesinos, que han sido duramente golpeados por la alta tasa de inflación en los últimos años.

En 1973, la tasa de inflación fue del 20%, y se espera que este año llegue hasta un 30 ó 40%. El desempleo es también un problema grave. Según diferentes fuentes, entre 300 mil y un millón de yugoslavos han tenido que emigrar en busca de trabajo, muchos de ellos a Alemania Occidental, Francia y Suecia. La falta de habitación adecuada es también un problema de proporciones considerables. En un país de 20 millones de habitantes, 700,000 familias no tienen un departamento propio, y otras 700,000 viven en habitaciones que no son adecuadas.

En los últimos años, las corrientes nacionalistas han ganado mucha influencia. Esto es producto de la diferenciación social que hay entre los obreros y campesinos y la nueva capa media, así como entre las provincias relativamente desarrolladas del norte y las provincias pobres del sur.

A partir de las grandes manifestaciones estudiantiles y la ocupación de la Universidad de Belgrado en junio de 1968, más y más estudiantes y obreros han comenzado a exigir que se amplíe el autogobierno. La revista filosófica *Praxis* ha publicado algunos análisis críticos de la sociedad yugoslava contemporánea, señalando la contradicción que hay entre los anhelos del socialismo y la realidad

actual. Se ha exigido la extensión del autogobierno, la reducción del poder de la burocracia y que se pare el crecimiento de las nuevas capas medias.

Los voceros de este punto de vista están siendo atacados por la dirección del partido. En los últimos años, Tito ha expulsado del partido a muchos intelectuales y obreros que tenían una mentalidad independiente. En Serbia, por ejemplo, 1,300 funcionarios del partido perdieron su trabajo en la primavera de 1973. Se ha ejercido una presión constante contra el grupo que está en torno a *Praxis*. Los editores fueron expulsados del partido y se les retiraron sus pasaportes. Algunas ediciones de *Praxis*, así como algunos libros escritos por los editores, han sido censurados de vez en cuando. Recientemente se prohibió un libro del sociólogo belgradés Zaga Golubovic después de que se había estado vendiendo en las librerías durante dos semanas.

Ocho profesores de filosofía y sociología de la Universidad de Belgrado, algunos de los cuales son miembros del comité editorial de *Praxis*, están amenazados con ser despedidos de la Universidad. Los más conocidos en el occidente son Mihailo Markovic y Svetozar Stojanovic. La razón por la que se les persigue—lo que se ha parado temporalmente durante el congreso del partido por la atención de occidente que esto representa para Yugoslavia—es que han criticado al régimen.

Para facilitar el despido de estos profesores, la burocracia ha cambiado el criterio de contratación en la universidad. Antes sólo se consideraba el récord académico de un profesor. Ahora, como resultado de la presión del gobierno, se han cambiado las reglas para permitir que se considere también el criterio político.

Los profesores estuvieron bajo constante presión del partido durante la primavera, evidentemente para preparar la situación para despedirlos. Se les acusaba de pseudo-liberalismo, anarquismo, estatismo y de desorientar a los estudiantes, a través de ataques diarios en los periódicos, la radio y la televisión.

La razón más importante por la que todavía no han sido despedidos los ocho, es el poderoso apoyo que han recibido de los estudiantes de la facultad de filosofía de la Universidad de Belgrado. También han reci-

bido el apoyo de otros profesores de Yugoslavia y del extranjero y de los estudiantes de Zagreb y Ljubljana. El año pasado, la organización de estudiantes de la facultad de filosofía de Belgrado votó que se iría a la huelga si se despedía a los ocho. Durante la primavera se reafirmó la decisión en varias reuniones.

El régimen ha tratado sistemáticamente de desmoralizar y desmovilizar a los estudiantes. Se cree que la universidad de Belgrado ha sido sistemáticamente infiltrada por la policía secreta desde principios de 1972, cuando se arrestó a tres estudiantes acusados de ser "trotskistas". A los estudiantes que tienen dificultades con sus estudios se les ha prometido que seguirán teniendo acceso a la universidad si dan información sobre otros estudiantes. Se han encontrado microfones en las salas de lectura y cada mes se arresta a dos o tres estudiantes. La vigilancia ha tenido cierto efecto desmoralizador—especialmente en los estudiantes de otras escuelas de la Universidad de Belgrado—pero la escuela de filosofía no ha retrocedido en su amenaza de huelga.

Además del apoyo estudiantil, hay otras razones por las que los profesores no han sido despedidos todavía. En primer lugar, a Tito le preocupa mucho la imagen de Yugoslavia en el occidente. Hay que guardar la apariencia de un país socialista con aspecto humano.

Un ejemplo de la preocupación de Tito por la opinión internacional es el hecho de que recientemente invitó a tres miembros dirigentes de PEN (la organización internacional de escritores) a su casa de campo fuera de Belgrado. Los invitados eran el Presidente del club, V. S. Pritchett, el ex-Presidente y ganador del Premio Nobel Heinrich Böll y el escritor sueco Per Wästberg.

En segundo lugar, el régimen quiere ampliar la represión para que incluya a los editores de *Praxis* que viven en Zagreb, proceso que requiere tiempo. Finalmente, el movimiento de solidaridad internacional ha tenido cierto efecto en las decisiones de la burocracia.

La perspectiva más probable es que el régimen ataque a los profesores en verano, cuando los estudiantes estarán dispersos, ya se habrá terminado el congreso del partido y Tito habrá regresado de su viaje a Alemania Occidental. Es posible que la facultad de filosofía se cierre, sea reorga-

nizada y vuelva a funcionar en el otoño, ya sin los profesores disidentes.

El derecho de los ocho a trabajar en la Universidad de Belgrado es un problema que no sólo les importa a ellos, punto que Tito ha comprendido perfectamente bien. Si estos ocho profesores y la corriente en torno a *Praxis* se ven forzados a reducir sus actividades, esto significará un considerable debilitamiento de la izquierda yugoslava. Se mostraría que es

imposible criticar al régimen desde un punto de vista socialista. Se haría más difícil lograr una solución positiva—esto es, una solución en interés de los obreros y campesinos—a los problemas actuales.

Si los ocho ganan, en cambio, esto servirá para impulsar a otros grupos a seguir su ejemplo. El debate sobre "qué clase de socialismo queremos" se reavivará, planteando el problema una y otra vez en los próximos años. □

Quiere que se Frenen las Revelaciones sobre Watergate

Por qué Kissinger Amenazó con Renunciar

Por Allen Myers

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "Why Kissinger Threatened to Resign", publicado en el número de *Intercontinental Press* del 24 de junio].

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"El arte de renunciar a un cargo público—ya sea escurrirse discretamente o salirse con gran escándalo—ha declinado mucho en los últimos años", escribió el 14 de junio James Reston, columnista del *New York Times*. "Los que debieran renunciar no lo hacen, y quienes no debieran hacerlo amenazan con tomar esa medida".

La forma en que Reston se refiere a la amenaza de renuncia de Kissinger, es un poco más ligera que la de la mayoría de los comentaristas de la prensa capitalista. Pero tampoco Reston pudo evitar señalar que los puntos que plantea esta medida se refieren a algo que es muy importante para la clase dominante:

"... si el Sr. Kissinger considera que debe renunciar a menos que su credibilidad y su personalidad sean restauradas inmediatamente por el Congreso, ¿qué es lo que cree que debiera hacer el Presidente Nixon, que se enfrenta a cargos mucho más graves y prolongados contra su credibilidad, su personalidad y por haber violado el espíritu de la Constitución?" (Subrayado en el original).

Lo que Kissinger exigió en la sorpresiva conferencia de prensa de Salz-

burgo, era que el Comité de Relaciones Exteriores del Senado declarara públicamente que el Secretario de Estado no había tenido nada que ver con el espionaje de trece funcionarios del gobierno y cuatro reporteros. Como ese mismo comité había hecho precisamente eso cuando se terminó la investigación del Senado para que Kissinger pudiera fungir como Secretario de Estado, en septiembre del año pasado, él estaba seguro de que se satisficiera su exigencia.

De hecho, todo el Senado se apresuró a garantizar la "honestidad" de Kissinger sin esperar siquiera a la "investigación" que éste había pedido que realizara el Comité de Relaciones Exteriores. Para el 13 de junio (la amenaza de Kissinger su produjo el 11 de ese mismo mes), cincuenta y dos de los cien miembros del Senado estaban patrocinando una resolución en que se declarara que "su integridad y veracidad no tienen tacha".

Desde luego, el que el Senado de los Estados Unidos respalde la integridad de uno, es tan honroso como el que Richard Nixon garantice la inocencia de uno de sus subordinados en relación a los crímenes de Watergate. Pero parece ser que Kissinger mide su valor en este tipo de formalismos y ceremonias: se recordará que ni siquiera se perturbó cuando se le concedió el Premio Nobel de la Paz por haber explicado a los representantes de Hanoi las condiciones bajo las que Nixon aceptaría parar el bom-

bardeo genocida contra Vietnam.

Pero a pesar de todo su tono general de farsa barata, la última actuación de Kissinger iba en serio. Kissinger explicó sus objetivos en la conferencia de prensa cuando dijo: ". . . me parece que nuestro debate nacional ha llegado al punto en que es posible que documentos que ya habían sido presentados a un comité sean pasados selectivamente a otro comité sin ninguna explicación; en el que se exige a los funcionarios públicos que presenten sus documentos más secretos al escrutinio público; en el que fuentes sin nombre pueden atacar la integridad y el honor de altos funcionarios del gobierno sin que se les pida que se identifiquen".

Y, en respuesta a una pregunta, añadió: "Es imposible, e incompatible con la dignidad de los Estados Unidos, que el Presidente y el Secretario de Estado sean atacados de esta manera, ante los peligros a que nos enfrentamos, los riesgos que quizás haya que correr y las oportunidades que haya que aprovechar. Este es un hecho; no es una amenaza".

De esta manera, Kissinger estaba advirtiendo a los críticos de Nixon, tanto del Congreso como de la prensa capitalista, que Watergate y la atmósfera creada por el escándalo están minando seriamente, en su opinión, la capacidad del gobierno para cumplir las tareas que le ha asignado la clase dominante norteamericana.

El hecho de que Watergate ha convertido a Nixon más en un obstáculo que en una ventaja para el imperalismo norteamericano, no es ninguna revelación; el reconocimiento de esto es lo que ha llevado a sectores influyentes de la clase dominante a desear que Nixon sea enjuiciado o forzado a renunciar. Pero, al plantear la posibilidad de su propia renuncia, Kissinger estaba diciendo en realidad, que las revelaciones de Watergate están yendo demasiado lejos, al crear problemas que no se resolverán con quitar a Nixon.

Kissinger se mostró especialmente preocupado por el hecho de que Watergate ha contribuido a expandir y justificar la sospecha pública de que el principal objetivo de los secretos del gobierno es esconder todo tipo de "juegos sucios", y por el ambiente que resulta de esto, en el que cualquier burócrata del gobierno que esté descontento siente que puede pasar

subrepticamente los secretos a la prensa.

Los señalamientos de Kissinger fueron, desde luego, utilizados ávidamente por los voceros de los círculos conservadores de la clase dominante, que consideran que es más fácil restaurar la "confianza pública" si se abuelve totalmente a Nixon y se suprime cualquier revelación posterior que pueda llamarlo a rendir cuentas por algunos de sus crímenes para demostrar que "el sistema funciona". Para estos círculos, los principales culpables son los "medios de difusión". El columnista Joseph Alsop, por ejemplo, escribió el 14 de junio:

"Si el gobierno de los Estados Unidos pierde los valiosos servicios del Secretario de Estado Henry A. Kissinger, la culpa recaerá sobre la enorme auto-importancia, creada por Watergate, de la prensa americana.

"Si el dólar americano pierde mucho de su valor en los mercados mundiales; y si la política exterior norteamericana también se une a la política económica en el estiercolero del desorden, se lo podremos agradecer a los amistosos medios de difusión".

Si se compara con estos peligros, el hecho de que Kissinger haya mentido bajo juramento a un comité del Congreso le parece a Alsop completamente insignificante:

"El Dr. Kissinger ha sido acusado de 'simulación' e, incluso, se ha escuchado la palabra 'perjurio' lanzada contra él, por un problema crucial de seguridad nacional en que se tuvieron que intervenir menos de veinte teléfonos. La ley permite intervenir teléfonos cuando está en juego un problema de seguridad nacional.

"¿Qué tiene de sorprendente, entonces, que un funcionario de la administración de Nixon esté tan preocupado por la seguridad nacional que tome a sabiendas la decisión de intervenir menos de veinte teléfonos? Después de todo, intervenir teléfonos en aras de la seguridad pública era más común en la administración de Truman y todavía más bajo la administración de Kennedy".

Hablando ante el Senado el 12 de junio, Barry Goldwater demostró una preocupación todavía más indignante por la "seguridad nacional", que estaba amenazada por traidores que hacían posible que los ciudadanos de los EUA echaran un vistazo a lo que está haciendo "su" gobierno:

"Pareciera que ahora se puede ha-

cer impunemente lo que uno quiera. Cualquier empleado del gobierno que tiene acceso a alguna información, se siente libre para pasarla al primer reportero del *Washington Post* que encuentra. El motivo no está claro. ¿Estos empleados del gobierno venden la información, o sólo gozan el privilegio de realizar actos traicioneros mientras está en funciones la administración de Nixon? . . . al parecer, [Kissinger] se encontró con que se estaba colando información altamente secreta, y tomó las medidas necesarias para pararlo. Personalmente, yo considero que él hubiera sido negligente si no hubiera hecho todo lo que estaba en su mano—incluyendo sugerir que se intervinieran algunos teléfonos—para descubrir el origen de estas peligrosas coladeras en el gobierno . . .

"En la mayoría de los informes que he leído del testimonio del Dr. Kissinger ante el Comité de Relaciones Exteriores, se concede muy poca importancia a las abrumadoras razones por las que eran necesarias las medidas de seguridad. Era un momento en que el ambiente era tal, que un hombre llamado Ellsberg podía robar documentos altamente secretos del Pentágono y entregarlos a los periódicos, sin que se produjera ningún tipo de condena pública como la que merece una acción tan traidora. Era un momento en que la prensa estaba recibiendo información de fuentes que evidentemente estaban dentro de la Casa Blanca o en oficinas estrechamente vinculadas a ella. Y, en mi opinión, estas dos condiciones requerían que se actuara para encontrar a los culpables de que se estuviera colando información delicada".

La "seguridad nacional" del capitalismo de los EUA si se daña realmente cuando se permite que el público lea en los Documentos del Pentágono un informe de cómo tres administraciones sucesivas hicieron un complot para iniciar y profundizar la guerra de Vietnam. En beneficio de la exactitud, sin embargo, hay que señalar que se comenzó a intervenir teléfonos dos años antes de la publicación de los Documentos del Pentágono.

La información que causó que Nixon y Kissinger se preocuparan tanto por la "seguridad nacional" en 1969, fue el reportaje del *New York Times* sobre la "información delicada" de que los B-52 norteamericanos estaban

bombardeando Cambodia.

La conferencia de prensa de Kissinger tomó por sorpresa a los principales periódicos burgueses, que manifestaron cierta indecisión sobre qué tan seriamente había que tomar esta amenaza y todo lo que ella implicaba. El *Wall Street Journal*, que ha sido el periódico que más ha impulsado un enfoque cauto sobre Nixon y Watergate, en un editorial publicado el 13 de junio señalaba, en un lenguaje bastante abstracto, que las revelaciones constantes tendían a destruir la "credibilidad" de todos los funcionarios del gobierno.

"... en este momento", escribieron los editores del *Journal*, "estamos en las garras de un proceso de alquimia que toma cualquier ambigüedad y la presenta de la peor manera posible..."

"Naturalmente, cada quien interpreta los nuevos acontecimientos a la luz de la experiencia, y nuestra experiencia reciente ha sido Watergate..."

"Cuando se aplica el estereotipo de la duplicidad a los altos funcionarios, éste tiene algo de verdad; pero también tiene un potencial especialmente destructivo, ya que el trabajo de los altos funcionarios es tratar cuestiones que son, al mismo tiempo, importantes y ambivalentes. Incluso, si por milagro no hay errores, siempre habrá ambigüedades que pueden encajar dentro del tema de la deshonestidad. El estereotipo puede adquirir fácilmente una existencia propia, llevándonos, tarde o temprano, más allá de la realidad y oscureciendo los hechos más que esclareciéndolos".

El editorial terminaba patentizando su esperanza de que Kissinger sea un posible Sr. Limpio que dirija una cruzada contra futuras revelaciones de información que refuercen el "estereotipo" de la criminalidad del gobierno:

"Es difícil precisar dónde termina la realidad, y quizás la acusación contra el Sr. Kissinger no amerite más investigación. Pero de una cosa sí estamos seguros: en un momento determinado se hará necesario un correctivo, y éste no se podrá aplicar más que cuando alguien como el Sr. Kissinger comience a contestar el ataque".

El *Washington Post* admitió que era posible que el deseo de venganza haya resultado ocasionalmente en revelaciones que fueron más allá de lo necesario para servir a los intereses de

la clase dominante. Pero el 12 de junio, los editores dijeron que la solución no estaba en dar a Kissinger licencia para mentir abiertamente sin que nadie lo contradijera, sino en que Nixon y sus cómplices inventaran una historia convincente:

"No se puede ocultar que estos son malos tiempos. Nadie que aprecie la diplomacia del Dr. Kissinger puede querer que renuncie. Pero no se puede establecer un doble estándar para decir la verdad y de responsabilidad pública. Entre algunas personas en Washington, es cierto, existe el sentimiento de que los poderosos, y especialmente los poderosos que han permanecido relativamente limpios, deben ser atacados, sin importar la ver-



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dadera magnitud de sus supuestos errores. Deploramos que existan estos sentimientos. Pero podemos decir que hay una manera relativamente sencilla y directa de resolver este problema. Y es que los que están comprometidos—principalmente el Presidente, el Dr. Kissinger y el General Haig—clarifiquen los hechos de una vez por todas".

Pero la demostración más sorprendente de las ventajas del liberalismo la dió el *New York Times*, que hizo un despliegue de "imparcialidad" que los hizo no quedar bien ni con Dios ni con el Diablo.

En un editorial del 11 de junio, que fue escrito antes de que Kissinger se

quejara, el *Times* decía que "el Secretario de Estado Kissinger parece ser vulnerable a la acusación de simulación respecto al papel que jugó en este desagradable asunto".

El editorial del día siguiente se titulaba "Time for Caution" [momento de cautela]. Advertía cautamente: "El refrenamiento y la cautela son esenciales... para evitar interferir con las funciones diplomáticas del Secretario de Estado durante la gira del Presidente Nixon en el Medio Oriente y su próxima visita a Moscú". Lo que se necesitaba era una "amplia investigación", preferiblemente conducida por el comité del Senado que previamente había absuelto a Kissinger por lo de las intervenciones de los teléfonos, y mientras más tiempo tomara esa investigación, mejor sería:

"... hasta que se haya terminado esa investigación—y no se puede realizar apresuradamente o bajo presión de ninguna clase—el interés nacional requiere que el Secretario de Estado sea respaldado para continuar sus esfuerzos pacificadores, que son los mejores logros de la administración de Nixon".

Mientras tanto, los columnistas de este periódico tenían una discusión sobre este punto. Anthony Lewis escribió el 13 de junio: "Permanece la duda de si el Sr. Kissinger realmente comprende lo desagradable que resulta comenzar a espiar—o encubrir que otros lo hagan—a sus propios colegas y amigos".

La preocupación de Kissinger por la información que se cuela, señaló Lewis, estaba basada en su creencia de que "el Presidente de los Estados Unidos debe tener el poder de bombardear cualquier país sin informar, mucho menos consultar, a la opinión pública o al Congreso".

C. L. Sulzberger respondió a Lewis el 16 de junio. Este señor es hijo del presidente del *Times*, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger.

"El verdadero punto que plantea la amenaza de renuncia de Kissinger", escribió, "es el de la seguridad nacional de los Estados Unidos. ¿Qué medios, se pregunta, pueden utilizarse justificadamente para asegurar que los secretos de estado no se cuelen a expensas de la seguridad de la nación o a riesgo de comprometer las relaciones con los aliados o las negociaciones con otros gobiernos?"

Intervenir teléfonos es en realidad

algo bastante común en los Estados Unidos y en otras "sociedades abiertas", señalaba Sulzberger, y por tanto, el hecho de "que el Sr. Kissinger y otros funcionarios de la rama ejecutiva, especialmente los que tienen algo que ver con la política exterior o la defensa, se preocuparan por que se estaba colando información secreta que podía obstaculizar nuestras relaciones en la extranjero, no es ni alarmante ni innoble".

Nixon y su menguante banda de seguidores trataron de capitalizar la repentina mala reputación que adquirió el hecho de colar información, para anotar algunos puntos contra el comité judicial de la Cámara de Diputados, de quien se espera que eventualmente recomiende que Nixon sea enjuiciado.

"La administración de Nixon", escribió Bernard Gwertzman en el *New York Times* el 13 de junio, "parece utilizar el asunto Kissinger para criticar al Comité Judicial de la Cámara de Diputados . . .

"Tanto el vicepresidente Ford como Dean Burch, consejero del Presidente, acusan al comité de haber proporcionado subrepticamente información que perjudicaba al Sr. Kissinger, y decían que el comité debe hacer públicas sus reuniones.

"Mr. Burch, que insistía en que la información se colaba por el comité a pesar de que los periodistas sostuvieron que no era así, dijo que Peter W. Rodino Jr., presidente del comité, había perdido control sobre éste.

"El vicepresidente dijo a los periodistas, 'considero que la mayoría de las personas que están colando esta información están a favor del juicio contra el Presidente'. Tanto él como el Sr. Burch dijeron que sería una tragedia, una calamidad y una catástrofe que renunciara Kissinger".

Pero es muy poco probable que la diatriba de Kissinger beneficie a Nixon a largo plazo. El debilitamiento del más alto diplomático del imperialismo norteamericano, causado por escándalos relacionados con Watergate, no es algo que se pueda frenar con resoluciones del Senado o editoriales de los periódicos. A los miembros más perspicaces de la clase dominante ya se les ha ocurrido que su mejor esperanza de salvar algo de la situación presente, es quitando al criminal que está en el centro de Watergate. □

July 1, 1974

DOCUMENTS

Program of LSA in Canadian Election

[The League for Socialist Action, Canadian section of the Fourth International, has announced that it will run Kate Alderdice, a long-time activist in the women's liberation and antiwar movements, as a candidate in the July 8 federal election. Alderdice is running in the central Toronto federal riding of Eglinton, the seat now held by Liberal party member Mitchell Sharp, minister of external affairs in the Trudeau government. The following is the LSA campaign platform, reprinted from the June 24 *Labor Challenge*.]

* * *

Every day big business weighs heavier on the backs of working people.

The cost of living is soaring. Since May 1973 consumer prices have increased 10.9 percent. Grocery prices have jumped more than 18 percent in a year. Housing prices are skyrocketing.

Caught in the inflationary squeeze, the buying power of workers' paycheques is shrinking by the day. Those on fixed incomes—the aged, the sick, the infirm—are hit all the harder. Women, youth, native people, confined to the poorest-paying jobs, are among the last hired and the first fired. They find it increasingly difficult even to get by.

And who benefits? The corporations. The big stockholders in the big-business monopolies who are reaping windfall profits at working people's expense. In 1973, corporate profits increased by 43.2 percent, according to their figures.

About 5.5 percent of Canadian workers are now unemployed, according to government figures, and forced to live at bare subsistence on unemployment insurance and welfare. Assembly lines are speeded up while workers are laid off. Labor is wasted while adequate hospitals, schools, and houses go unbuilt. That's the irrationality of a system which puts the profit-needs of a few big corporations before the social needs of the many.

What kind of system is this, that spends billions of dollars on advertising but cuts back on health and education spending? That spends \$2 billion [milliard], and more, each year on the military, but refuses to provide child-care facilities? That robs working people through a discriminatory tax system to provide handouts to the corporations, but casts aside its old people to live out their remaining years

in wretched poverty?

It's a system that oppresses women, that confines them to the lowest-paying jobs, that refuses to allow them control over their own bodies, restricting their access to contraception and abortion. It's a system that discriminates against gay people.

It's a system founded on oppression. Native people are forced to live in poverty on reserves, or in urban ghettos. With their traditional source of livelihood destroyed, they are discriminated against in seeking employment. Still the corporations steal and despoil their lands—as with the James Bay hydro-electric project, and the proposed Mackenzie Valley pipeline.

The Quebecois are an oppressed nation. Quebec is maintained as an internal colony by Canadian big business—denied the right to self-determination. Quebec workers are paid lower wages than their English-speaking counterparts, and face higher unemployment. Quebec workers are refused even the right to speak their own language on the job.

Runaway inflation, unemployment, national oppression, sexism—all these things result from a system that puts private profits for the very rich above the needs of working people.

The name of the system is capitalism. "The corporations run Canada," says NDP leader David Lewis. They do. Their main political spokesmen are the Liberals and Conservatives, who since Confederation have taken turns governing Canada on behalf of big business. The Liberals and Tories are bought and paid for by the corporations.

In this election campaign the Liberals and Tories are spending millions of dollars, money robbed from working people's paycheques by the profit gougers. With their slick, high-priced propaganda campaigns they try to sell us on capitalism—like they sell soap or automobiles.

"Sure, inflation's a problem," the Liberals tell us. "But nothing much can be done about it. We'll just have to tighten our belts a bit and live with it." Meanwhile the corporations receive government handouts while reaping bonanza profits at our expense.

"Price and wage controls are the answer," the Tories claim. We know well enough what they mean. Who can believe that the big-business Tories would hold back prices, at the expense of their cor-

porate backers? Their target is workers' wages. Their aim is to guarantee capitalist profits by cutting back the corporate wage bill. That has been the experience in every country that has imposed "price and wage controls."

Both Liberal and Tory governments act to guarantee capitalist profits, at the expense of working people and all the oppressed. When the profiteers meet resistance, when working people organize to defend themselves, big-business governments intervene to back up the bosses.

They have passed reams of legislation limiting workers' right to organize in defense of their standard of living. Across the country, Liberal and Tory governments have passed legislation denying the most exploited sectors of the work force the right to strike. Last summer the Liberals and Tories united in parliament to break the railway strike.

Against the struggle of the Quebecois for self-determination they used the War Measures Act. With full Tory support the Liberal government sent the army into Quebec to terrorize the Quebec people.

With the growth of the movement for repeal of Canada's restrictive abortion law, for a woman's right to control her own body, they have retaliated. Now they attempt to throw Montreal physician Dr. Henry Morgentaler in jail—for performing abortions for women in distress.

Repression at home. And repression abroad. Big business uses their cops and their courts to maintain their rule at home. Canada is a partner with the other imperialist powers in maintaining their domination around the world.

Canada is an imperialist power. Canadian corporations have investments in the West Indies, in South America, in Southern Africa, superexploiting colonial workers and backing up reactionary dictatorships. Canada is a member of the nuclear-armed alliances, NATO and NORAD, formed to protect capitalist interests internationally. Through its membership in NATO, Canada is in partnership with the military dictatorship in Greece. For years, it helped arm the Portuguese dictatorship while it waged its genocidal wars against the African liberation fighters. Today, colonial oppression continues and Canada remains Portugal's NATO ally.

After aiding the U.S. genocidal war against the Vietnamese for many years, Canada sent "peacekeeping" troops to Vietnam in order to enforce a cease-fire imposed by the big powers. Canadian "peacekeeping" troops in the Mideast are designed to block any challenge to the Zionist occupation of Arab lands.

The Canadian government and Canadian banks actively participated in the cutting of international loans and credits to the Allende government of Chile. This sabotage of the Chilean economy effectively contributed to the success of the

military coup.

Socialist Alternative

Against the big-business policies of the Liberals and Conservatives, the League for Socialist Action offers an alternative that represents the interests of working people. We will use the opportunity of this election campaign to speak for all the exploited and oppressed.

The League for Socialist Action stands with those who are fighting back against Canada's corporate rulers. We stand with striking workers, fighting to keep up with the soaring cost of living. We stand with teachers and students against cutbacks in education spending.

We stand with women, in their struggles for repeal of restrictive abortion laws, for child care, for equal pay for equal work, for an end to discrimination in the workplace.

We stand with the native people, in their fight against the James Bay project and the Mackenzie Valley pipeline. We stand with the Quebecois in their struggle for self-determination.

We stand with gay people in their fight against Canada's sexist immigration policies, in their struggle for an end to discrimination against homosexuals in housing and employment.

We stand with the people of Vietnam, Southern Africa, and Palestine, and with all the people around the world who are resisting imperialist domination.

In this election campaign the League for Socialist Action is putting forward a program of struggle. A program aimed at meeting the most urgent needs of working people today, and which points the way forward to a socialist transformation of society.

Defend Workers Against Inflation

Big business tries to blame inflation on high wages. But the government's own statistics show that wages are falling behind price increases. In fact, inflation is a built-in feature of present-day capitalism. Without it, capitalism could not survive. And only big business benefits, as record-breaking corporate profit levels show.

In Quebec, the three main trade-union federations representing half a million organized workers, have formed a common front to defend workers' living standards. They demand the reopening of union contracts for wage increases which compensate for lost buying power, and for the insertion of cost-of-living escalator clauses.

The League for Socialist Action supports the struggles of workers for:

- Cost-of-living escalator clauses in every union contract which assure that wages increase in pace with rising prices.

Such escalator clauses should be calculated according to a price index compiled by the union movement, using price-watch committees established by the unions to monitor price increases. The government's consumer price index underestimates cost-of-living increases for working people.

Many existing cost-of-living escalator clauses do not provide adequate protection because they contain provisions setting an upper limit on the increases to be granted, or because the adjustments are paid six months or one year after the price hikes have occurred. Abolish all such upper limits. Pay cost-of-living adjustments monthly.

- The right to strike in mid-contract.

- It is unorganized workers, the unemployed, and those on fixed incomes who are hardest hit by inflation. Pensions, welfare, unemployment insurance and other social service benefits should be increased to trade-union rates of pay and increased automatically with each increase in the cost of living. The minimum wage should be set at trade-union levels of pay, and increased with living costs.

The big corporations say their price increases are justified and they can't provide cost-of-living wage increases. We say: "prove it"

- Open the books of the profit-gougers to trade-union inspection.

The corporate profiteers should be nationalized, under workers' control.

- Nationalize the food-processing and distributing empires, who gouge workers and farmers alike.

- Nationalize the petroleum monopolies, who create artificial fuel shortages as an excuse to jack up prices.

- Nationalize the transportation and communications industries, including the CPR [Canadian Pacific Railway] and Bell Telephone, under workers' control.

There will be no end to inflation under capitalism. Only nationalization of big business under workers' control can allow the planning of production so that working people's needs are met.

Jobs for All

Capitalism deliberately maintains a reserve pool of unemployed labor, which is used to create competition for jobs and force wages down. Only an economy devoted to the maximization of capitalist profits would cause the suffering of unemployment while there is so much work to be done in meeting people's needs.

The League for Socialist Action advances a program of jobs for all:

- Shorten the workweek to 32 hours without reduction in pay, to spread work around, as the Canadian Labor Congress demands. Make technological changes serve workers' needs, not profit needs, by further reduction in the workweek, with-

out pay reductions, as new technology is introduced.

- Undertake a massive program of public works. Create jobs by building hospitals, schools, housing, and other government-financed projects.

- Nationalize plants which shut down, and operate them under workers' control.

- Pay compensation to the unemployed at trade-union rates of pay, for the entire period they are out of work. Raise unemployment compensation in pace with increases in the cost of living.

Defend Labor's Rights

Big-business governments are forever attempting to roll back the hard-won gains of the labor movement, to erect barriers to workers' attempts to defend themselves.

- Take the shackles off labor. Repeal all legislation which inhibits labor's ability to defend itself. Repeal all anti-strike legislation. No parliamentary strikebreaking.

- For rank-and-file control over union affairs. No government interference in the unions.

Housing

The cost of housing is skyrocketing. It is increasingly difficult for workers to own their own homes. Rents are spiraling upward. The poor are forced to live in slums. And the monopoly land developers and big landlords are laughing all the way to the bank.

- Nationalize the monopoly land developers and big landlords. Place all corporate-owned urban land under public ownership.

- For a massive program of government-constructed, low-rent, quality housing under tenants' control.

- Guarantee tenants' right to organize to defend their interests, including the right to conduct rent strikes, without reprisal.

Stop the Cutbacks

Big business governments give handouts to the corporations. But they cut back social services, particularly spending on education and health. Those are the priorities of capitalism.

Hospital workers, teachers, school support-staff are grossly underpaid. Teachers are laid off. Class sizes are increased. The quality of education is eroded. Access to higher education is increasingly restricted.

- Stop the cutbacks; no ceilings on education and health spending.

- For the unconditional right to strike for hospital employees, teachers, and all public employees.

- No layoffs of teachers. Smaller class

sizes and a shorter working day.

- Education is a right. Tuition-free education for all, through the university level. Pay stipends to students. Guaranteed jobs on graduation.

- Full civil rights for high school students, including the right to organize and form political groups.

- For student, faculty, and support-staff control of the universities and high schools.

Women's Liberation

Women are oppressed and discriminated against at all levels of this sexist society. They are discriminated against in the work force, hired only for the lowest-paying jobs. In the educational system they are steered into traditional "female" occupations. Their role is defined by capitalism as wives and mothers. Child-care facilities are practically non-existent—except for the rich. Women are denied control over their reproductive lives.

But women are fighting back. A powerful movement of women is developing, in the schools, in the streets, in the unions, to struggle against their oppression.

- Grant women control over their own bodies. Repeal Canada's restrictive abortion laws. Drop the charges against Dr. Morgentaler, threatened with jail for defying these unjust laws. No forced sterilization. Make contraceptive devices and information freely available regardless of age or marital status. Build women's health clinics to provide free and universal access to abortions, contraception, and pre- and post-natal care.

- Free, 24-hour child-care centers financed by the government, controlled by those who use them and work in them.

- Equal pay for similar work. End all discrimination against women in the work force. For preferential hiring of women.

Self-Determination for Quebec

Rooted in the domination of the Quebec economy by Canadian and U.S. capitalism under the supervision of the federal state, the national oppression of the Quebecois is evident in the superexploitation of Quebec workers, distortion of the nation's economy by the investment policies of foreign capital, and in the prevailing system of language discrimination.

In recent times the Quebecois have displayed a greatly increased national consciousness, waging struggles to regain their national rights. Today, Quebecois are fighting to stop the erosion of their language by the domination of Quebec economic life by English-speaking big business. Many are demanding a policy of French unilingualism in Quebec—that French be the sole language of work, education, and government. They oppose

Bourassa's Bill 22, which would in fact perpetuate "bilingualism" in Quebec—that is, in reality, a second-class status for those who speak French within their own homeland.

Many Quebecois have decided that they can never be free as long as they are under the rule of Ottawa—they have chosen to struggle for an independent Quebec.

The overwhelming majority of the Quebecois are workers. Consciousness of national oppression, and the struggle against it, has strengthened the militancy of the Quebec working class. In May 1972, a spontaneous Quebec-wide walkout shut down vital sectors of the economy, and gave rise to instances of the takeover of entire towns by striking workers, seizure of radio and TV stations, and experiments in various forms of workers' self-management.

Today, Quebec labor is in the forefront of the fight of North American workers against inflation. Organized labor in the province has united in a common front to struggle for cost-of-living escalator clause protection for all.

- Solidarity with the struggle to defend French-language rights in Quebec.

- Defend the Quebecois' right to self-determination, including the right to an independent state if they so wish.

- No military intervention in Quebec. Withdraw the armed forces, all federal military installations, and the RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] from the nation.

- Full support to the struggles of Quebec labor.

End Canada's Imperialist Role

The Canadian government's foreign policy is designed to defend Canadian international big-business interests throughout the world. As a member of NATO and NORAD, as an "observer" in the Organization of American States, as a frequent participant in United Nations "peacekeeping" forces, Canada works for imperialism and against liberation struggles. From Vietnam to southern Africa to Latin America, Canada is lined up behind the forces of repression and reaction.

- Dismantle the military apparatus. Use the more than \$2-billion "defense" budget for useful social services.

- Get out of NATO and NORAD. No Canadian membership in the Organization of American States.

- End all forms of Canada's complicity with imperialism in Indochina, the Portuguese colonies, and the white-supremacist regimes in southern Africa.

- No Canadian participation in international "peacekeeping" forces, designed to maintain the status quo and put down liberation struggles.

● Canadian troops in the Mideast, now acting as border guards for the colonial-settler state of Israel, should be withdrawn. Support self-determination for the Palestinian people. For a democratic and secular Palestine. The aggressive and racist policies of Zionism, which keeps the Palestinians under their heel, offer no hope of security even for the Jews in the Mideast.

● Stop all aid to the military junta in Chile. Open Canada's doors to refugees from the Chilean terror.

● Publish all treaties—no secret international deals.

● End military and economic aid for reactionary and dictatorial regimes. Support movements for liberation, like those in the Portuguese colonies. Break the imperialist blockade of countries like Cuba and North Vietnam, which have overthrown capitalism, by promoting Canadian trade with these countries.

Open Canada's Doors to Immigrants

Canadian immigration policy is an international scandal. The number of immigrants is greatly limited, with the tap turned off and on depending on the requirements of big business for cheap labor. Today, admission to Canada is restricted to skilled workers, excluding those whose need to come to Canada is greatest. Refugees fleeing from the terror of right-wing regimes are harassed and denied admission—94 percent of refugees from Chile applying to Canada after the coup have been turned down. Canada's policy is racist, catering mainly to white Europeans, with few immigration offices in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

● Free access to Canada for immigrants. Abolish the racist and discriminatory provisions of the Immigration Act. Allow visitors to Canada to apply for landed immigrant status.

● Grant immigrants the right to vote.

● Guaranteed housing, education, and jobs at union rates of pay for immigrants.

For an NDP Government

The NDP [New Democratic party] is the mass party of English-Canadian labor. It is organizationally controlled and financed by the trade-union movement, not by big business. It is supported by workers who see the necessity for political action independent of the big-business parties.

In this election the party of labor is pitted against the parties of big business. The League for Socialist Action stands with labor, supports the NDP, and urges workers to campaign for an NDP government.

But the NDP leadership's strategy and program are pro-capitalist. They stand

for reforms which do not challenge big-business rule or the profit system. They fail to advance a program which can lead the labor movement forward. The League for Socialist Action is running in Eglinton so that at least in one riding the socialist alternative will be presented.

Despite its bankrupt program and leadership, a vote for the NDP is a vote for the mass party of the labor movement. It is the only party in the working-class movement that can contend with the big-business parties for governmental office at this time.

In supporting the NDP, we give no support to its program and leaders. Year round we are active campaigners for socialist policies inside and outside the NDP. We call for the election of an NDP government. We demand that it implement socialist policies.

For a Socialist Canada

The capitalist system is bankrupt. Inflation is built into the system. Capitalism cannot provide working people with an adequate standard of living. It cannot provide jobs for all. It tramples the rights of women, gays, and national minorities. It wastes resources and pollutes the en-

vironment.

Capitalism—the rule of big business—must be abolished. Working people need to throw the capitalist parties out of office and form their own government, committed to policies that will fundamentally transform society. The entire apparatus of government, set up to defend the interests of the corporations, must be replaced.

The needs of working people can only be met by creating a planned economy, where ownership and control of the big corporations and banks are taken from the tiny minority of capitalists and placed in the hands of the working people, to be run democratically.

A workers' government will recognize the right of self-determination of the Quebecois. It will defend and extend civil liberties and basic democratic rights.

Reorganized on a socialist basis, Canada will be free of racism, sexism, poverty, economic insecurity, and exploitation. When the vast resources available to us are used to serve the needs of all instead of the profit of the few, and when Canada is part of a world socialist commonwealth, then the way will be opened for an unparalleled growth in culture, freedom, and the development of every individual.

Such a society is worth fighting for. □

Program of RMG in Canadian Election

[The Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, is running three candidates in the July 8 federal elections: Bret Smiley (Toronto-Greenwood), Linda Peevers (Peterborough, Ontario), and Murray Smith (Winnipeg-North Centre, Manitoba).

[Describing its campaign as an "attempt to inject class-struggle politics into this election," the RMG states, "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 favour of class struggle, of workers' power, and socialism."

[The following campaign program, which is being distributed as a special issue of the RMG monthly, the *Old Mole*, appeared under the headline, "For the working class there are no parliamentary solutions! Rely only on your own organizations, your own struggles!"]

* * *

The accusations and counteraccusations, the huffing and puffing and the "leadership" posturing of Trudeau and Stanfield are not sufficient to completely obscure the real issues which confront the work-

ing people of Canada.

Annual inflation of over 10 percent and still rising. Shutdowns and layoffs in the midst of the highest level of unemployment of any industrialized country in the world. The underdevelopment and poverty of whole regions. The housing crisis. The growing clamour of businessmen and editors for the suppression of the right to strike. Cops on the picket line. And a visible parliamentary crisis which poses the central economic and political questions even more sharply.

Since the election of Liberal government in 1968, Canadian workers have suffered (in the name of a "war on inflation") a deliberate and publicly acknowledged drive to increase the ranks of the unemployed, the military occupation of Quebec, the unsuccessful attempt to impose 6 percent wage "guidelines" on the trade unions, the use of the state to club striking longshoremen and rail workers back to work.

It would be an error to assign these actions simply to the personal arrogance of Pierre Trudeau, as apparent as this is. It flows rather from the logic of the capitalist system—a system whose developing crisis, nationally and internationally, grows more apparent daily.

This crisis underlies the present politi-

cal confusion of Canadian big business. "The present crisis—and it is a crisis—is a test of our economic system and a challenge to our political institutions" (Robert Stanfield, *Globe and Mail*, May 28). The Tory answer, which is receiving growing support from sections of the capitalist class, is to step up the offensive against the living standards and union rights of the working class. Stanfield's program of wage controls is both completely honest and completely fraudulent. Honest in that it perfectly reflects the desire of the corporations and banks to smash the resistance of Canadian workers to the decline of their real wages. Fraudulent in that it is presented to the unorganized workers, the middle class, and the farmers as an answer to the inflationary spiral, together with "price controls" which remain a myth insofar as housing and consumer goods are concerned.

And the NDP? David Lewis has found the bed he has shared with the Liberals a little uncomfortable after almost two years. We are now informed by the NDP that the real villain is the "corporate elite." True enough. But one might wonder why it is that the NDP was so proud to be the sole prop of the Liberals—this "elite's" main political representatives, since 1972. But one should not judge these gentlemen on the basis of past associations alone. The NDP's solution to the deepening economic and social problems which working people face? Tinkering with the tax system. A solution which, owing to the obvious political impotence of the NDP, will not have the chance to be exposed in practice.

It is necessary to face reality squarely. Inflation, unemployment, and strikebreaking are not going to be abolished through the machinery of the government in the "democratic" state. For the labour movement and the working class as a whole, *there is no parliamentary solution*. The only real solution lies in a working-class offensive against the bosses and whichever capitalist party happens to be in office, an offensive which is waged in the factories and in the streets, an offensive which is not limited to bread-and-butter issues, but also addresses the social and political concerns of the working class and all its allies.

1. Against Inflation

Capitalist propaganda to the contrary, inflation is not the result of wage increases, but of the competitive anarchy of the capitalist economy. The *actual* income (in relation to the cost of living) of Canadian workers is steadily declining. The working class must resist any attempt to force it to suffer the brunt of inflation. It must utilize its collective power to defend its

standard of living by fighting for:

- the immediate reopening and renegotiation of all union contracts.
- a rising scale of wages which go up in direct proportion to a cost-of-living index determined by the trade unions.
- workers' veto power over price increases of the commodities they produce and distribute.

2. Against Unemployment

For decades, the Liberal and Conservative parties have attempted to persuade the working class that "economic growth" (i.e., increased corporate profits and investment) is the answer to the scourge of unemployment. Workers and particularly youth can assess the results for themselves.

Unemployment cripples the entire working class, not just those without jobs. It creates large numbers of individuals without hope who can be readily persuaded to act as scabs and to work for starvation wages, thereby weakening the economic condition of all workers. The threat of plant closure is frequently used to intimidate workers seeking better wages and working conditions. It is the working class which suffers from unemployment. *It is the working class* which must impose its solutions.

● No layoffs! For a sliding scale of hours—that is, equal distribution of available work with no cut in pay.

● No plant closures! In the event of shutdowns, the occupation of the factories to force their expropriation (nationalization without compensation) and their continued operation under workers' control.

3. Open the Books

The corporations and their political representatives claim that their enterprises cannot survive without price increases and layoffs. But the real extent of corporate profit-making remains a mystery.

● Abolish business secrets through the seizure of all corporate accounts by the workers and the public disclosure of their real profits to obtain the truth about the state of the economy and the extent of inflation.

4. Against Employers' and State Repression

The increasingly aggressive capitalist attitude towards labour is reflected in the growth of private strikebreaking firms operated by gangsters, the frequent use of police and court injunctions to crush small strikes, individual company reprisals against rank-and-file union militants, multiple forms of anti-labour legislation, and the smashing of last year's rail strike.

Under capitalist law, it is perfectly legal for employers to throw hundreds of work-

ers out on the street with a few days notice, to fire union militants who defy "management rights," to force people to work under conditions which can lead to permanent physical disability, maiming, and death. But it is illegal for workers to strike during the life of a contract, illegal to resist management's tyranny on the job, illegal to defend their jobs and their unions against scabs, police, and injunctions. The working class must resort to its own "laws," those created in struggle. This requires that "solidarity" must become more than rhetoric for consumption at union conventions. It must become the active daily policy of the labour movement through:

● the defense of strikes through mass solidarity picketing and sympathetic industrial action by workers in related jobs to completely shut down struck enterprises.

● organized workers' self-defense in response to the violence of the police and private goons.

● the mobilization of the entire labour movement to back up especially crucial national strikes, like the recent struggles of rail and postal workers.

● a campaign of industrial and political mass action against all forms of anti-labour legislation.

5. No to Any Form of Wage Controls!

In 1970, Trudeau's attempted 6 percent wage "guidelines" were demolished by the militant action of many unions. Now the labour movement faces the more threatening possibility of a Conservative government committed to wage controls. If successfully implemented, this measure would be the biggest defeat for the working class since the end of World War II. Any steps in this direction must be smashed at all costs through a massive display of strength in the workplace and in the streets by the working class.

6. Unite the Working Class

Divisions between unionized and non-unionized workers, between male and female workers, between native-born and immigrant workers, between CLC and non-CLC unions—all these strengthen the employers and the capitalist parties.

● Organize the unorganized! Non-union workers, especially women and immigrants, are the most highly exploited sections of the working class. At the same time, as long as they are outside the ranks of the labour movement, they can be easily incited by capitalist politicians to believe that their poverty is caused by the "greed" of "Big Labour," rather than that of their employers. The unionization of workers in clerical, light industrial, and

commercial sectors must become a priority for the labour movement. And this will be most readily achieved by the mobilization of thousands of rank-and-file unionists to assist their non-union brothers and sisters, not by the flashy advertising campaigns of present CLC organizing efforts.

● Against the super-exploitation of women workers! The labour movement must fight for equal pay for equal work and equal access to all job categories for women workers and the abolition of sexually defined job categories. It must also support all other demands and struggles for the social emancipation of women, including free abortion on demand, universal 24-hour day-care, and an end to sexual discrimination and stereotyping within the educational system.

● For a unified Canadian trade union federation. The "jurisdictional" disputes which divide the trade union movement have their main roots in rivalries and competition for dues among different union bureaucrats. A single central labour body embracing all unions regardless of such disputes is in the interests of the rank and file. The CLC should open its doors to the Teamsters, independent national and local unions, and the teachers' federations.

7. Workers' Control

The concerns workers have about the conditions of work are not limited to the wages, fringe benefits, and grievance procedures negotiated in union contracts. On the contrary, workers are directly affected—usually negatively—by changes and automation.

● No automation without full disclosure of the plans to the workers before implementation.

● Workers' veto power over speed-up, changes in production techniques, and automation.

8. Workers' Democracy

Undemocratic and bureaucratic practices in the labour movement are obstacles to working-class unity and militancy. Workers' democracy—the complete control by the rank and file of their own organizations and struggles, and the free exchange of views by all currents of working-class opinion—is absolutely necessary to ensure that the creative energy and courage of the mass of workers is used to full potential:

● For the democratic self-organization of workers' struggles through strike committees elected by and responsible to mass meetings of the rank and file.

● Against bureaucracy: limit the salaries of union officials to the highest wages of the workers they represent. For the

right of recall of all union officials at any time by rank-and-file meetings and referendums.

● Democratic rights for union caucuses and for all political organizations which are based on and support the working class.

● Abolish anti-communist clauses and all other forms of exclusion in the trade unions.

9. Solidarity With Quebec

The militancy and radicalism of the Quebecois working class is an example to the labour movement in English Canada. The Quebecois workers can be powerful allies in the struggle against the Canadian federal state. But this alliance can be forged only if the English Canadian labour movement rejects the reactionary federalism which denies Quebec its legitimate and democratic national rights and actively champions the struggles of Quebec workers, which have reached heights unparalleled in the rest of the continent.

● Support Quebec's right of national self-determination, that is, the right to form an independent state if the Quebecois so desire.

● Complete solidarity with Quebec workers' struggles and unconditional opposition to political or military intervention by Ottawa.

10. Working-Class Internationalism

Canada is an imperialist country. Canadian corporations and banks actively take part in the plundering of the underdeveloped countries and the super-exploitation of their peoples, especially those of the Caribbean and Latin America. Canadian workers themselves are confronted by giant multi-national corporations which cannot be effectively fought by the workers of a single country. For the working class, *internationalism* is not a moral question, but one of practical necessity. It is the only effective way of combating an enemy which is highly organized on an international scale.

● For the withdrawal of Canada from all imperialist military alliances, especially NATO and NORAD.

● For active collaboration with workers in other national operations of multi-national corporations.

● Active solidarity with the struggles of the Indochinese people, and the struggle of the Chilean workers against the military dictatorship.

● Canadian big business out of the West Indies and Latin America!

11. An Anticapitalist Perspective for the Labour Movement

The logic of workers' struggles for im-

mediate demands, the refusal of workers to assume responsibility for the problems and contradictions of the capitalist system, all of these set *class against class*. The dynamic of these struggles increasingly pits the working class against the whole system of private ownership.

For decades, the labour movement has accepted a perspective of achieving limited economic gains through union action, increasing NDP parliamentary representation, and attempting to reform a bankrupt and obsolete economic and social system. It is now becoming clear to a small but growing number of workers that their social aspirations can only be realized through a revolutionary transformation of Canadian society. In order to unify the various struggles of the working class, to give them a central purpose and direction, it is necessary to wage a political struggle against the reformist illusions of the NDP and trade union leaderships, to re-orient the labour movement toward *socialist* objectives—that is, the exercise of political power by the working class and the creation of a socialized, planned economy.

12. For a Class Vote! No Support to the Capitalist Parties!

The Revolutionary Marxist Group of course believes that workers can best indicate their class sentiments by voting for our candidates. But in most ridings, a class-struggle candidate will not exist. The question of the electoral policy of class-conscious workers is therefore posed.

The NDP is a qualitatively different type of political organization from the capitalist Liberals and Tories. As much as it tries to hide the fact, its base lies in the trade unions and the working class. It receives no support from any appreciable sector of big business.

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 BC, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, NDP governments are the loyal servants of capitalist interests. Militant workers and socialists must wage a sharp struggle against the NDP leadership in order to politically re-arm the labour movement.

But by virtue of its organizational ties and the class character of its support, if not its program, the NDP remains a component of the labour movement. In the ridings where we are not presenting candidates, therefore, we call on workers to vote NDP, not as a vote of confidence in the NDP, but as a working-class vote against the capitalist parties. □