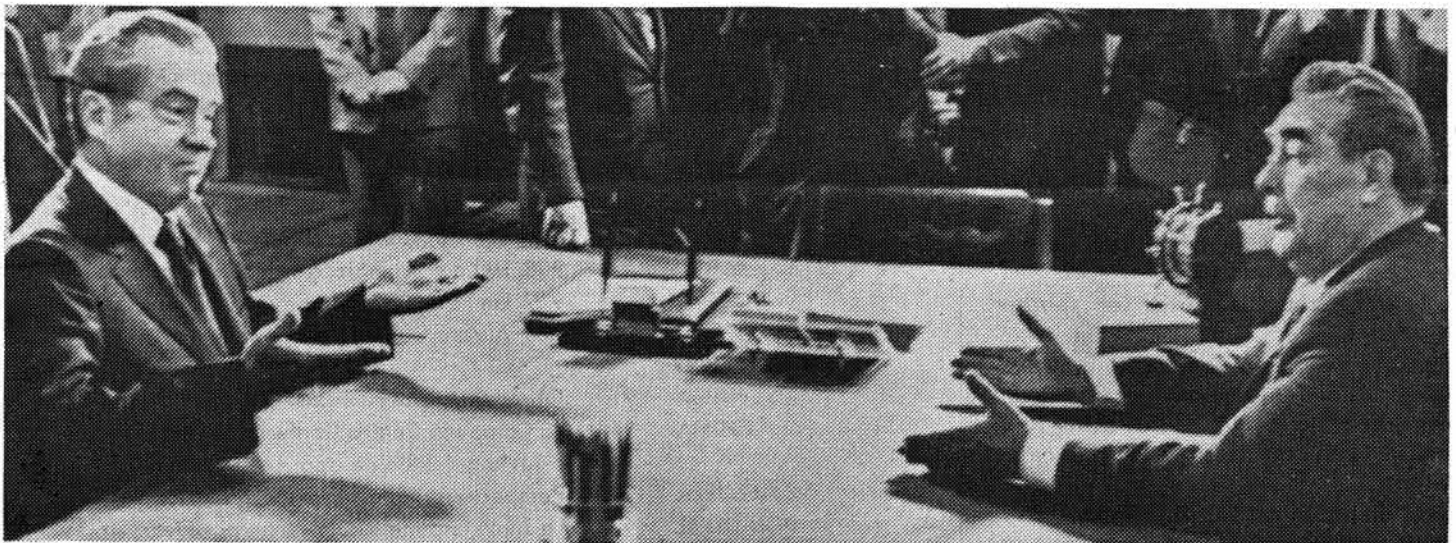

Nixon Tries 'Personal' Touch

Trade, Arms Race Are Focus of Moscow Summit



Zionists Threaten to Invade Lebanon

Ernest Mandel on Crisis in Common Market

La Junta Portuguesa Impone la Censura

'Standing Room Only' on New York Buses

Cockroaches, one of the new forms of life that seems to thrive in New York City, made a spectacular appearance on the city's buses during an early June heat wave. The roaches swarmed up from their nesting places in the bus motors and drove the riders from their seats.

"It was disgusting," one passenger said. "When it's hard enough to get around in such heat, you just don't expect to get on a bus and be attacked by roaches." *New York Times* reporter Lucinda Franks recorded the ordeal of two city residents:

"Mr. and Mrs. Glassman, of 250 West 94th Street, setting off on a morning shopping expedition, got on a No. 104 bus going down Broadway and took a seat toward the back. Mr. Glassman spied a roach skittering down the aisle and stepped on it.

"Then suddenly there was a second roach, and a third, and then they were all over the place," he said.

"The bus was evacuated, the passengers were given transfer passes, and the vehicle was driven to a garage for fumigation.

"The Glassmans waited for another bus at Columbus Circle. When it arrived, however, a shaken load of passengers filed out. Roaches had been on that bus also. The same thing happened with the third bus that came along."

A spokesman for the Transit Authority blamed the roach invasion on the high heat and humidity. He told the *Times* that the roaches—a hardy German species—lived in the engine area at the rear of the buses and were forced out when the heat of the motor and the atmosphere became too great.

One passenger, who noticed the roach problem when the woman sitting behind him tried to beat one off his back with a newspaper, said the buses seemed dirtier these days.

The Transit Authority spokesman denied this, claiming there were no more roaches this year than in the past. Its just that with unusually hot weather, "the roaches start coming out in greater numbers," he said. □

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Trade, Arms Race Are Focus of Moscow Summit

By Dick Fidler

Fresh from a meeting of NATO heads of state in Brussels, Nixon arrived in Moscow June 27 for his third summit meeting with Brezhnev.

At a state banquet that night, the Communist party general secretary hailed the meeting as contributing to "the reduction—and subsequently the complete removal—of the possibility of war between our two states."

The chief spokesman for U.S. imperialism replied in kind: ". . . motivated by that desire, the desire to avoid war, we have begun the process of limiting nuclear arms."

The reality is somewhat different. Far from easing the danger of nuclear confrontation between the two superpowers, the Nixon-Brezhnev summitry, and the underlying policy of détente that it has helped to foster, have served as a cover for the continued pursuit by Washington of its global imperialist strategy.

On the eve of the talks, both sides were expressing reserved estimates as to the probable outcome. "It is a meeting that is less likely to achieve spectacular new progress than to consolidate the relationship that has thus far been achieved," wrote the editors of the *New York Times* June 26.

The authoritative Soviet monthly *U.S.A.*, published by the U.S.A. Institute of the Academy of Sciences, offered a similar assessment: "The task now is to implement the agreements and treaties already signed."

Although Watergate has been mentioned barely a dozen times in the Soviet press in the last two years, the Kremlin leaders now seem to realize that Nixon's situation is somewhat unstable. "All this negotiating with Mr. Nixon in what may turn out to be the twilight of his Presidency," wrote *New York Times* Moscow correspondent Hedrick Smith June 23, "falls under the heading of what the Soviets call 'making détente irreversible' regardless of who is the American President." This year's conference "is intended to institutionalize Soviet-American top-level diplomacy, and thus insure the future of détente, regardless

of Mr. Nixon's private fate."

Smith noted that in recent months the Kremlin has feted Senator Edward Kennedy, considered a 1976 presidential contender, and sent a high-level parliamentary delegation to Washington to confer with members of Congress. The Soviet press has begun noting that détente enjoys the support of Democrats as well as Republicans.

Nixon, of course, hoped to use his Moscow junket to keep out of the Watergate spotlight and to embellish his image as a "statesman" in order to fend off critics back home. But when he pointedly told a Moscow banquet audience June 27 that he thought it "very worthwhile to note" that agreements between Moscow and Washington "were possible because of a personal relationship that was established between the General Secretary [Brezhnev] and the President of the United States," his Soviet hosts, equally pointedly, dropped the word "personal" from the official Russian translation of the speech.

Summarizing the issues to be discussed, *Wall Street Journal* reporters Robert Keatley and Richard Levine concluded that "substantive agreements on tighter arms controls, trade expansion and U.S. credits for Russia seem impossible during the few days of this summit."

However, the Nixon-Brezhnev meeting served to focus attention on two important aspects of the Washington-Moscow rapprochement: trade and nuclear arms policy.

From the beginning, Moscow has made clear that, in its desire for U.S. technology and industrial products, it is prepared to use its very considerable material and moral influence to help stabilize the imperialist *status quo* in areas outside what it considers to be its immediate sphere of influence. This counterrevolutionary strategy was symbolized by the warm reception Brezhnev and Company accorded Nixon during the latter's visit to Moscow in May 1972, when the leader of U.S. imperialism was wined and dined while U.S. bombs rained down on the

Vietnamese liberation fighters and while the United States blockaded North Vietnamese ports.

What has the Soviet Union gained from this cynical *realpolitik*? In terms of consumer goods for the average Soviet citizen, very little. However, in other areas the results are more impressive. "Since the Nixon Administration flashed the green light," reported Theodore Shabad in the *New York Times* June 23, "this country's total trade with the Soviet Union has surged. . . . A joint trade council has been established, half a dozen newsletters have sprung up, trade missions and seminars are glowingly promoted, and the Soviet Government has allowed a dozen American companies to open offices in Moscow.

"So the outlook is for continuing heavy trade as the Soviet Union seeks to infuse modern technology into its economy and American businessmen seek opportunities in a market that was virtually closed to the United States for a quarter of a century.

"An intergovernmental agreement reached in Washington in October, 1972, provided for tripling Soviet-American trade in the 1972-74 period to at least \$1.5-billion [milliard] from the \$500-million of the 1969-71 period.

"This goal has turned out to be grossly understated. In 1973 alone, Soviet-American trade totaled \$1.4-billion, more than double the 1972 level of \$640-million."

Statistics released in Moscow April 10 showed that the United States has become the Soviet Union's second most important capitalist trading partner (after West Germany), earning a \$1,000 million trade surplus. Trade with the West has jumped more than 40 percent in 1973, while the Soviet Union's trade with workers states increased by only 9 percent. The West now accounts for more than 25 percent of the Soviet Union's world trade.

On June 28, Nixon and Brezhnev signed a ten-year economic agreement in Moscow. Similar to the three-

year accord signed in October 1972, it "does little more beyond providing some administrative machinery for trade and generally stated principles," reported Hedrick Smith of the *New York Times*. Similar ten-year agreements have already been signed with Moscow by West Germany, Japan, Italy, France, and Britain.

But the signing of a twenty-year \$20,000 million chemical barter between a U.S. corporation and the So-



KISSINGER: Diplomacy for the sake of U.S. nuclear superiority.

viet Union, also announced June 28, highlighted the real and potential scope of these trade deals. The largest commercial transaction ever made between the Soviet Union and the United States, the agreement provides for the exchange of huge amounts of superphosphoric acid from an Occidental Petroleum Corporation plant in Florida, for huge amounts of Soviet ammonia, urea, and potash. Once in effect, according to Occidental chairman Dr. Armand Hammer, it would provide a \$1,000 million annual two-way trade between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Hammer told the press that both Nixon and Brezhnev had a direct hand in arranging the deal.

Other major projects—such as the Kama truck-manufacturing plant, for which American firms have obtained about \$400 million in equipment contracts—are forging ahead. On June 26, the eve of Nixon's visit, Coca-

Cola signed the twenty-third general accord by a U.S. company with the Soviet Union.

If the détente has yielded obvious benefits to both sides in the field of trade, it has certainly done nothing to stop Washington's nuclear arms drive. On the contrary, to the degree that Moscow's pursuit of "peaceful co-existence"—between Washington and Moscow and their respective "spheres of influence"—grants Washington the "right" to carry on "limited war" within its own sphere of influence, the détente increases the risk that any "limited" conflict can be escalated very quickly into nuclear conflagration. The illusory nature of this concept of "limited war" was revealed during the October war in the Arab East, when Nixon's military alert threatened to push the world over the brink to a nuclear holocaust.

On June 28, it was announced in Moscow that Nixon and his Kremlin hosts were moving toward an agreement to limit each country to a single antimissile complex, instead of the two allowed under existing treaties. "An agreement on further limiting antimissile systems," the *New York Times* correspondent cabled, "was seen as a convenient way to give the negotiations an appearance of new momentum during the President's visit."

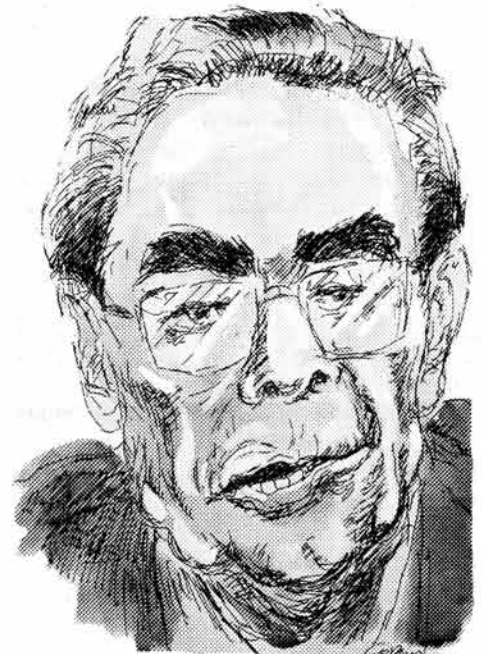
In fact, neither side is building such a system, nor has any intention of doing so. Under the 1972 agreement in the first round of the strategic arms limitations talks (SALT I), each side was permitted to maintain two "defensive" antimissile complexes with up to 100 launchers each—one complex to protect the capital region, the other to guard "offensive" strategic missiles (with an intercontinental range). But neither country exercised its option to build a second complex. Instead, each concentrated upon developing increasingly sophisticated offensive missiles—the MIRVs (multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles), containing nuclear warheads that can be aimed at individual targets once the missile arrives over a target area.

The United States is far ahead of the Soviet Union in this field. By its own claims, it has close to 8,000 nuclear weapons deliverable by air, sea, and land, compared to 2,600 for the Soviet Union. (See "The SALT Talks—A Cover for Nuclear Arms Race,"

Intercontinental Press, June 10, p. 740.)

Washington would naturally like to ensure that it maintains this superiority in offensive missiles. That is what it is attempting to do in the SALT II talks, where a major U.S. objective is to obtain an agreement limiting the number of MIRVed missiles the Soviet Union can deploy as replacements for its present launchers.

The U.S. press termed this the "crucial" question in the Nixon-Brezhnev talks. But in this sphere, where the interests of the Soviet state are so obviously at stake, there seemed little likelihood of immediate major concessions by the Kremlin, despite Wash-



BREZHNEV: Less interested than formerly in "personal relationship" with Nixon.

ington's hopes for a "conceptual breakthrough." The *New York Times* Moscow correspondent reported after the second day of talks that "the most likely outcome was expected to be a general joint declaration stating that the arms negotiators in Geneva should concentrate on the issue of halting deployment of multiple warheads."

On the eve of Nixon's trip to Moscow, the U.S. press was giving much publicity to expressed disagreements among Washington policy-makers over U.S.-Soviet relations. One such difference was the claim by Senator Henry Jackson, chairman of a subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, that the administra-

Intercontinental Press

tion had withheld from Congress two secret protocols with Soviet leaders that might allow Moscow to build more nuclear missiles and bind Washington to fewer missiles than stipulated by the original 1972 arms limitation agreement. But the United States already has an enormous numerical advantage in nuclear warheads; and everyone agreed that the secret arrangements—designed to resolve an ambiguity in the original agreement—had no military significance. Further, the issue bore no relation to the arms arrangements being discussed by Nixon and Brezhnev in Moscow.

A second policy difference was reported to exist within the administration itself, between Secretary of State Kissinger and Defense Secretary James Schlesinger. As the *New York Times* described it in a June 28 dispatch from Washington by its strategic policy expert, Leslie H. Gelb:

"... Mr. Kissinger believes the United States should press for a limited agreement now to restrain the deployment of more nuclear warheads known as MIRV's. . . .

"Mr. Schlesinger, on the other hand, is arguing that a limited accord reached in Moscow could prevent the achievement of a comprehensive treaty later.

"Mr. Schlesinger favors an agreement that would limit the number of missiles, base limits on MIRV's on the sizes of missiles, and limit the number of bombers and the size of strategic nuclear forces in and around Europe.

"Mr. Kissinger favors such an agreement but insists that the Russians will not sign one now and seeks an agreement that he feels can be signed."

In other words, what is involved is a tactical disagreement between these two Strangeloves over how much they feel they can get away with at this particular moment in their common strategy of nuclear blackmail.

What is significant is not the limited differences being expressed, but the common basis of agreement that characterizes the positions of everyone involved in formulating U. S. arms policy. All are determined to protect and extend U. S. military superiority. All accept and support détente as a means of continuing the arms race.

The United States was forced to seek political accommodation with the bu-

reaucrats of the leading workers states by a number of factors—failure to win a military victory in Vietnam, increasing economic difficulties, etc.—corresponding to the decline of its economic position in relation to its main capitalist competitor-allies. But U.S. imperialism still holds a position of considerable *relative* superiority among the leading imperialist nations—and the ability to use that strength in pursuit of its global objectives. The harsh impact of the oil crisis has emphasized the considerable economic advantage of the United States (an advantage reflected also in the U. S.-Soviet trade deals) and the strategic power that goes with it.

The new NATO statement of principles, signed in Brussels with Nixon's participation, reiterates Washington's role as *primus inter pares* in the

Atlantic alliance. The provisions for closer "consultation" among the Western allies—heralded by several governments—were defined by the *New York Times* June 28: "For the West Europeans, the practical meaning of consultation is primarily to be kept well-informed of America's private agreements with the Soviet Union, and to have their interests taken into account in any bargains that are struck."

"The alliance is as it was," an unnamed French official was quoted as saying. Which is another way of saying that the maintenance of a nuclear balance of terror, aimed against the Soviet Union and the other workers states, remains the cornerstone of imperialist strategy. Détente has in no way stopped the global class struggle. □

Ottawa Blocks Entry of Chilean Refugees

"Ottawa is now actively discouraging victims of the Chilean junta from coming to Canada," according to the Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (CLA). The charge is made in the June 17 issue of *CLA Action Letter*. It is based on information the committee has received from Chile, including an information sheet for immigration applicants that was issued in March by the Canadian Embassy in Santiago.

Headed "General Information on Immigration to Canada," the information sheet describes its purpose as follows: to "explain to everyone interested in immigrating to Canada why the possibilities of being accepted are so limited."

"... many people have applied for admission to Canada," the circular states. "Unfortunately, they had to be turned down, because, due to the unfavorable employment situation in Canada, we cannot accept people for whose job skills there is little or no demand in Canada. This is the case not only for workers in general, but also for people with several occupations, including professionals with university education."

The *CLA Action Letter* also describes the elaborate bureaucratic procedures facing any Chilean political refugee who, despite the Canadian govern-

ment's efforts, persists in seeking residence in Canada. This involves entrusting vital information to the Chilean postal service (Ottawa accepts applications only by letter); prolonged "security" interviews, in which applicants are interrogated as to their political views and possible contacts in Chile; expensive medical examinations—and, once approved, a permit from the junta to leave the country!

In addition, the embassy information sheet states that "there is a basic requirement for all who are accepted: they must take with them enough money to support themselves until they start earning a salary in Canada."

While doing all it can to keep Chilean refugees from going to Canada, Ottawa is also continuing its policy of keeping refugees already in Canada in a state of insecurity, according to the June 24 issue of the Canadian fortnightly *Labor Challenge*. "In May, the 'temporary permits' granted to some Chilean refugees expired. Rather than grant them landed immigrant status—they have been in Canada seven months!—the Immigration Department simply renewed the temporary permits."

Not one of the hundreds of refugees on temporary permits has yet been granted landed immigrant status, *Labor Challenge* reports. □

Zionists Threaten Invasion of Lebanon

By Michael Baumann

After six weeks of savage bombings of Palestinian refugee camps and Lebanese villages, Israeli military forces are reportedly preparing to launch an invasion of Lebanon. The danger of such an attack was spelled out by *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent John K. Cooley in a June 27 dispatch from Beirut.

According to "non-American Western intelligence sources," he reported, "Lebanon can expect a major Israeli land attack aimed at occupation of part of its southern territory, including the Arquob or Mount Hermon district and fertile land around the Hasbani and Litani Rivers. . . .

"Israel will present the attack to its people and to world opinion as a move aimed exclusively at crushing Palestinian guerrilla activity, though its by-product is to include seizure of land and some of Lebanon's potentially most fruitful property, these sources say.

"The timing and scope of the attack will depend largely on Western and Arab reactions—especially Egyptian and American ones—Lebanese officials believe."

As of June 30, the response to the Israeli threat included promises of Egyptian and Syrian military aid; a statement from Moscow deploring Israeli "barbarism"; vague assurances from Washington of its interest in "preserving Lebanese sovereignty"; and the call for a special meeting of Arab foreign ministers in Cairo July 1. It does not appear to have been sufficient to halt the buildup of Israeli forces along Lebanon's southern frontier.

Reports from the border area the last week in June indicated that preparations for a ground assault were already under way. "Adding to the tension here," *New York Times* correspondent Steven V. Roberts cabled from Beirut June 26, "were reports that Israeli troop concentrations had been sighted near the border and that Lebanese villagers in the area had heard the rumble of tanks. Many Palestinians were reported to be evacuating their camps."

The increase of Israeli troop strength—made possible, in part, by the disengagement agreement on the Syrian front—was not the only reason for the evacuation of the area. Among the warning signs from Jerusalem that the troops might be used in an invasion were the following:

JUNE 25: Knesset Deputy Ariel Sharon called for an "offensive war" against the resistance movement, "even if it puts us in a difficult position politically."

Chief of Staff Mordechai Gur, speaking over the Israeli military radio network, declared that Israel reserves the right to declare war on its neighboring countries. "It is essential," he said, "that our neighbors realize that this option is in no way excluded."

Israeli forces shelled several border villages in the Tyre and Marjayoun districts of southern Lebanon, forcing the residents to flee their homes and farms.

JUNE 26: Troop concentrations were spotted in northern Israel. There were further evacuations on the Lebanese side of the border. The Israeli cabinet met in secret under a special provision of the law that makes it a crime to reveal anything discussed.

JUNE 27: Gur threatened to turn all of Lebanon into a "battlefield" if offers of Egyptian and Syrian military aid were accepted.

JUNE 28: Members of both the government and opposition parties in the Israeli Knesset called for an "ongoing war" against the Palestinian resistance movement.

Francis Ofner reported in the June 26 *Christian Science Monitor* that while there was general agreement among Israeli officials to escalate the attack against Lebanon, there were some divisions over how far it would be safe to go. The "line of thinking here [Jerusalem]," he wrote, "moves mainly in two directions:

"1. Some Israelis of importance believe that since the Lebanese Government refuses to evict the guerrillas from its territory, 'we shall have to

do it.' But such a major and complex operation would probably require a temporary occupation by Israeli forces of parts of Lebanon, possibly also the city of Beirut. According to advocates of such a path, Israeli forces should withdraw only after the destruction of guerrilla centers [i.e., refugee camps], and even then keep southern Lebanon under control to serve as a buffer zone for some time. . . .

"2. Other Israelis press for a series of less-ambitious simultaneous measures—either in addition to antiguerrilla air raids or instead of them." Suggested measures included increased vigilante patrols in northern Israel and the occupied territories, and the assassination of Palestinian resistance leaders.

A full-scale Israeli invasion of Lebanon would be both a product of and a strain upon the Moscow-Washington détente. The Kremlin's pressure on the bourgeois Arab governments to agree to a "peaceful solution"—a pressure that coincided with their own inclinations—has resulted in a greater isolation of the Palestinian resistance and the defense of Israeli conquests in Egypt and Syria by United Nations troops. Far from producing peace, this situation only makes it easier for Zionism to expand in another direction.

But even from the standpoint of its own narrow interests, the Kremlin bureaucracy has so far come out a poor second in its deals with Nixon in the Arab East. Having already been frozen out of the diplomatic maneuvering that brought about the disengagement accords, Moscow would suffer further blows to its prestige and interests if it were to sit by passively while the Israelis invaded Lebanon. This would be even more true if Egypt or Syria were to become actively involved in Lebanon's defense. □

Pornographic Indeed!

Publication of a novel entitled *President Kissinger* has been postponed because the prospective distributor objects to two passages. In the book, described as "political adventure fiction," Henry Kissinger is elected president of the United States. The passages that offend the distributor, however, describe Kissinger having sexual affairs with a university student and a Prussian noblewoman.

Argentine Workers Press Strike Struggles

By Judy White

General Juan Domingo Perón's June 12 threat to resign unless "the Argentine nation" showed its support for his economic policies has not yielded the peaceful, collaborative effort he exhorted business, labor, and other sectors of the population to make.

To the contrary. The intervening weeks have been characterized by continued opposition from many quarters to his administration's course.

The Sindicato de Obreros Fideeros y Afines (SOFA—Union of Macaroni Producers and Affiliated Trades) has provided an indication of working-class response to Perón's proposal. On June 26 approximately 6,000 members at eighty-seven factories in the federal capital and greater Buenos Aires area began a 72-hour work stoppage for wage increases and to protest the suspension of the legal status of their union. SOFA is affiliated to the class-struggle union tendency headed by Agustin Tosco of Córdoba.

This regional work stoppage is the most recent episode in a struggle by macaroni workers that began May 6, when twenty-six workers were arbitrarily fired from one plant in Buenos Aires. The entire shop stewards' committee of the Matarazzo factory was among them.

The May 28 *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), recounted what happened next:

On May 9 the Matarazzo factory was occupied by workers demanding reinstatement of the twenty-six and an increase in wages. That very day an agreement was signed by the bosses granting these demands.

On May 13, when the workers went back to the plant, they found themselves locked out by the bosses. A rally was held at the factory gates, which resulted in eleven arrests.

On May 15 Matarazzo workers demonstrated at the Ministry of Labor. The bosses responded by agreeing to

a wage increase of 200 pesos (US\$0.20) an hour and the rehiring of those fired May 6.

As of May 17, six of those arrested May 13 were still being held. There were widespread rumors that the bosses were not planning to comply with the May 15 agreement. An assembly was held and the workers decided not to return until management had made good on its promises and until their six co-workers were released.

Throughout the rest of May and into June, the struggle at Matarazzo continued, gaining support from other factories in the industry.

The June 22 Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* reported that on June 7 an increase of 250 pesos an hour was finally granted to Matarazzo workers. However, since the imprisoned union members had not been freed, SOFA decided to continue the strike.

Then on June 21 SOFA's legal status was suspended by order of Labor Minister Ricardo Otero. His statement focused on the "coercive measures" used by the union to press its struggle, alluding in passing to the "violations of the Social Pact" involved in the union's wage demands.

By June 26 the six imprisoned unionists had finally been released, reported *La Opinión*. But on June 24 an assembly of 110 representatives from eighty-seven macaroni plants in the Buenos Aires region voted in favor of a 72-hour work stoppage to demand a lifting of the suspension of the union's legal status and an extension to other workers in the industry of the 250-peso increase granted at Matarazzo.

The significance of SOFA's decision becomes all the clearer when viewed in light of a ruling made by Labor Minister Otero just the day prior to the union's assembly. The Argentine press gave the details: All work stoppages conducted for wage increases are declared illegal automatically under terms of the Social Pact and other legislation. Compulsory arbitration is the only recourse in such matters. Otero

had communicated this ruling by telegraph to authorities all over Argentina so that it could take effect immediately.

The minister added that ignoring these legal norms would make unions vulnerable under another piece of repressive legislation—the Ley de Asociaciones Profesionales (the Trade-Union Law)—which provides for the suspension or removal of legal status for any unions participating in such "illegal" acts.

Continuing struggles of the teachers and printers over pay increases also threaten to test Otero's ruling in the near future. Both of these sectors have staged significant strikes in the last month, but there has been no resolution of their grievances.

A further challenge to the Peronists' Social Pact has been raised with the question of the semiannual bonus due the Argentine working class at the end of June. Because of the increased cost of living, workers are demanding that the full bonus be paid now, instead of half in June and half in December. In May alone, the cost of living rose 3.3 percent after seasonal adjustments, according to the June 10 *La Nación*.

This demand has received demagogic support from leading trade-union bureaucrats, who mentioned it at a June 17 meeting with Perón and Otero. The primary purpose of that meeting appeared to be to receive the general's blessing for the upcoming national elections of the CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor). These elections are seen by *La Opinión* as creating conditions favorable to an ongoing dialogue between the CGT and the CGE (Confederación General Económica, the main employers' organization of the country), strengthening support to Economics Minister Gelbard's policies, and reaffirming the CGT's faith in the Social Pact.

On June 12 the bourgeois press came under direct attack by Perón and the CGT. Evidently disturbed by the fact that even the capitalist papers sometimes print facts that contradict the official version of reality, Perón accused "some oligarchic dailies" of inventing problems which had little to do with Argentine economic realities.

They "keep harping on the problem of scarcity and the black market." But, the general pontificated, "When the

economy is expanding and people's income is improving, there are always scarcities and black markets. This situation will last until production comes into line with the increase in demand."

Attacking the bourgeois daily *Clarín* by name, the CGT called for "direct Government action against organs of the mass media that have become agents of provocation and lies."

Since then, the offices of a leading

anti-Peronist bourgeois daily, *La Prensa*, have been shot up. The June 24 *New York Times* described this attack as a response to Perón's speech.

These events have evoked a reaction in the Argentine parliament. Several bourgeois parties have spoken up for freedom of the press and have called for the voiding of closure orders against several left publications in order to give consistency to their demands for an end to the harassment

of the non-Peronist bourgeois press.

Meanwhile, apparently for health reasons, the general did indeed step down from the presidency June 29, temporarily turning power over to his wife, the vice-president of the republic, María Estela Martínez de Perón. She proved her mettle on a recent European trip where she valiantly defended the antilabor policies of her husband at a conference of the International Labor Organization in Geneva. □

Scandal Refuses to Go Away

Congress Inches Closer to Vote on Impeachment

By Allen Myers

"The capital," columnist James Reston wrote in the June 30 *New York Times*, "is loitering along these days in an atmosphere of fatigue, restlessness, frustration and recrimination. It is not composing its differences but polarizing its politics and skirmishing ineffectively on a dozen fronts at the same time."

Behind the mood described by Reston is, of course, the problem of Watergate, or more precisely, the problem of what to do about Richard Nixon. Democratic party leaders in the House of Representatives have now set August 23 as the tentative date for a vote on whether to impeach Nixon. While much could still intervene to force a further postponement in this schedule, the setting of a date seems to have intensified the infighting between Nixon and his opponents, and, consequently, the pressures on the members of Congress who will formally bear the responsibility for the House's decision.

The members of Congress are concerned about how their votes will affect their own careers, but much more than that is involved. The atmosphere Reston pictured is a reflection of the unpalatable alternatives faced by the U. S. ruling class in dealing with Nixon. If Nixon remains in office, the scandals will in all likelihood continue to unfold until at least January 1977. But the possible consequences of impeachment by the House and an unprecedented conviction and removal of the president by the Senate stir up considerable fear of the unknown

in ruling-class circles. This is why the Congressional politicians feel, in Reston's words, "confused and trapped, startled by the evidence for impeachment but frightened by the consequences of conviction."

While Nixon flies from one capital to another posing as U. S. imperialism's indispensable leader, his underlings have been busily trying to turn the mood of indecision into a public reaction against the majority of the House Judiciary Committee, which is expected to recommend that the full House vote to impeach. Virtually every leak concerning the committee's secret proceedings has been met by a blast from the White House charging that Nixon is being unfairly maligned on the basis of selective quotations, denied "due process," and hounded by partisan enemies.

When the *Los Angeles Times* on June 28 carried a story quoting Peter Rodino, the chairman, as predicting that all Democratic members of the committee would vote for impeachment (Rodino denied making such a statement), Ken W. Clawson, the White House director of communications, charged that "Chairman Rodino's partisanship and the bias of other Democrats on the House Judiciary Committee was confirmed today out of Mr. Rodino's own mouth." He called for Rodino to "be discharged as chairman and replaced by a fair-minded Democrat."

The complaint about leaks is a dangerous weapon for Nixon to use, how-

ever. The only real reason for keeping the committee's proceedings secret is to conceal from the public information that the ruling class does not want it to have. But much of the material being dealt with must constitute merely additional evidence of crimes of which Nixon is already widely believed to be guilty. Publication of this sort of material would further undermine Nixon's ability to win any public support but probably would not involve any new disclosures that the ruling class would consider seriously damaging to its interests.

Provoked by the artificial uproar over leaks, the committee voted on June 25 to make public "most" of the evidence it has heard. But, James M. Naughton reported in the *New York Times*, "The committee specifically excluded . . . highly classified testimony related to the secret bombing of Cambodia and gave to its two senior members the discretion to delete other, unspecified material before publication."

As for Rodino's alleged prediction, it is in fact true that "partisanship" will play a role in how Democrats—and Republicans—on the committee vote. The U. S. Congress does not make any decision on the basis of abstract principles of justice. If it did, Nixon would have been removed from office long ago and would now be drinking water from a tin cup in a penitentiary instead of exchanging champagne toasts in the Kremlin. The public record alone of Nixon's crimes

would be sufficient to jail most lesser mortals for life.

On June 29, Republican Lowell Weicker, a member of the Senate Watergate committee, issued his own report on the committee's investigation. Weicker charged Nixon's administration and campaign organization with 370 violations of law and the U. S. Constitution.

And additional testimony implicating the boss continues to come in from former members of the White House gang. On June 21, former White House special counsel Charles Colson, who had earlier pleaded guilty to a charge of attempting to obstruct justice by disseminating derogatory information about Daniel Ellsberg and his attorney, was sentenced to one to three years in prison and a \$5,000 fine.

(The sentence, Seymour M. Hersh reported in the *New York Times*, "seemed to surprise" Colson. No wonder. While Colson will end up spending less than a year in an environment that resembles a country club more than a prison, his is the *longest* sentence handed out to any of the higher-ups who have pleaded guilty or been convicted in the Watergate-related scandals. Richard Kleindienst, who lied under oath before a Senate committee while he was attorney general, got off with a one-month suspended sentence and glowing praise from the judge.

Immediately prior to his sentencing, Colson read a statement to the court in which he said that Nixon had personally ordered him to commit the crime:

"As to the specific offense charged, the President on numerous occasions urged me to disseminate damaging information about Daniel Ellsberg, including information about Ellsberg's attorney and others with whom Ellsberg had been in close contact. I endeavored to do so. . . ."

Colson went on to suggest that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, already implicated in the illegal wiretapping of government officials and newspaper reporters, was also involved in the Ellsberg case:

"The President, I am convinced, believed he was acting in the national interest. I know I did. Daniel Ellsberg was viewed as a serious threat to the security of the United States in that he had access to very sensitive information which it was feared he

might disclose. The President, Dr. Kissinger, myself and others feared that his action would encourage others to do the same. I saw Ellsberg as a martyr who might rally public support against policies the President believed right for the country. . . ."

"Colson thus implied," Jerry Lan-



COLSON: "I saw Ellsberg as a martyr who might rally public support. . . ."

dauer wrote in the June 24 *Wall Street Journal*, "that Mr. Kissinger was among those in the White House who deemed it necessary to dethrone Mr. Ellsberg as a martyr of the antiwar left, so that Ellsberg emulators wouldn't similarly seek to spill security secrets [or to oppose "policies the President believed right"]. And in private statements Colson has said that Mr. Kissinger urged the President to authorize extralegal measures against Mr. Ellsberg—measures that led to Colson's journey toward jail."

On June 27 a jury was sworn in for the trial of former Nixon aide John Ehrlichman and three burglars employed by the White House to break into the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist. Colson is expected to testify for the prosecution, and it is quite possible that his testimony will further implicate Nixon and Kissinger.

Thus, despite all the attempts by Nixon—and by those who want to re-

tain him in office—to divert attention from his crimes, they continue to be forced into the open. In a June 30 editorial, the *New York Times* opined that the "White House strategy of obstruction and delay has successfully blurred the national focus on impeachment. Hard issues are slipping away, not because the facts have changed nor have the charges been refuted, but because doubts have been sown about the fairness of the process." But the editors went on to warn that Nixon's strategy could not, in their view, ever make the scandal go away:

"The political slippage that endangers the inquiry is unrelated to the realities of the case. Those realities have not changed. The Watergate break-in and cover-up did occur. The hush money to the conspirators was paid—out of funds controlled by, and even stored in, the White House. The illegal entry into the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist is history. Portions of taped Presidential conversations crucial to the investigation were mysteriously erased. A number of the President's top aides have been convicted or are facing trial. The transcripts of the White House tapes, which only a few weeks ago shocked the nation and angered even Mr. Nixon's loyal supporters in Congress, remain part of the record—as do the deletions which make them incomplete."

Can the scandal go away without Nixon doing the same? The attempt to answer that question can be expected to produce considerably more turmoil among capitalist politicians as the deadline for a decision approaches. □

Too Conscientious Professor Fired

A prominent Soviet critic of U.S. literature is reported to have been fired from his job and to be facing the prospect of criminal prosecution. Professor Aleksandr Nikolukin is said to have been fired from his position at the Institute of World Literature.

Nikolukin's critical essays often took U.S. writers to task for their allegedly immoral and pornographic work. His present difficulties apparently stem from too great an interest in this subject. He allegedly brought a number of pornographic films with him when he returned from a visit to the United States. Later he began making his own pornographic films, in some of which he was also an actor.

Rallies Protest Police Murder of Kevin Gately

By Tony Hodges and David Dillon

London

There has been a swift and powerful response throughout Britain to the savage murder of Kevin Gately. The 21-year-old student died here on June 15 from a cerebral haemorrhage, four hours after being clubbed on the head during an assault by hundreds of baton-wielding police against a crowd of peaceful anti-racist demonstrators. [See *Intercontinental Press*, June 24, p. 825.]

The police attack came when a thousand supporters of the anti-racist organisation *Liberation*, including members of the Communist party, the International Socialists (IS), and the International Marxist Group (IMG), the British section of the Fourth International, reached Red Lion Square about one hundred yards from Conway Hall, where an anti-immigrant rally was to be held by the far-right National Front (NF) following a racist march through central London by about 1,000 NF members.

On June 21 over 1,500 students marched four miles from Warwick University, where Gately had been a student, to the centre of Coventry to protest Gately's murder and to demand an immediate, independent, public inquiry into the police attack. Present on the march were shop stewards from several Coventry factories. Among the speakers at a rally following the march were Eddie McCluskie, a member of the executive committee of the Transport and General Workers Union; Zia Butt, a representative of the Pakistani community in Coventry; and William Wilson, Labour member of Parliament for Coventry South East, who told the rally: "Today thousands of Coventry people will understand why Kevin Gately marched and demonstrated. They would echo time and again the sentiments that he expressed. The forces of fascism and racialism are substantial and it needs the everlasting vigilance of all those who believe in the brotherhood of man. In the future when we march against fascism and racism, we shall never walk alone—the spirit of Kevin Gately will walk with us."

Jackie Stevens, a student at Warwick University and a member of the IMG, who had marched next to Gately into Red Lion Square, told the rally, "There is no doubt in my mind that Kevin died as a result of police action. We want a public inquiry. We want no whitewash or a police-controlled inquiry."

"It is important," she added, "to con-

tinue the fight for which he died."

Jackie Stevens addressed another rally the next day in London, following a march by 10,000 students and workers. She spoke alongside George Anthony, the president of the North London district of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering workers, and John Randall, the president of the National Union of Students, which organised the demonstration. Four hundred students from Warwick University joined students from colleges and universities throughout Britain in the march, a silent parade behind a large banner reading, "Kevin Gately was killed opposing racism and fascism."

Coverage of the police brutality on June 15 has been extensive in the major bourgeois press, despite claims by Assistant Deputy Commissioner of Police John Gerard, who commanded the police operation, that "there was a deliberate and pre-determined attack on the police cordon" following a "pre-arranged signal."

The June 19 London *Times*, for example, printed a long eyewitness account of the police assault sent to the paper by J. W. Thomson. He reported that as the demonstration entered Red Lion Square, "before anyone knew what was happening, a body of mounted police rode into the demonstrators, a manoeuvre that amounted to a deliberate act of terrorism. The assembly fled backwards from this onslaught, only to be stopped by a wall of foot police; thus the people were being deliberately crushed between the two lines. I spoke to several people who were in the original front row of the demonstration, some of whom had severely bleeding heads and faces, and they said that the police had moved against them without warning or apparent reason: this confirmed my own opinion—I had witnessed the assault from a distance of four or five yards.

"Eventually," Thomson continued, "most of the people escaped the cordon and the assembly regrouped further up the road, and was again smashed by the police; it again regrouped at a position opposite the National Front's point of arrival."

It was at this point, wrote the June 23 *Observer*, that the police made their second major assault on the anti-racist demonstrators. "For some minutes," the paper wrote, "the opposing factions, each fronted by a line of foot police, stood hurling abuse at each other. The Front drums

were beating and their marchers were chanting 'We've got to get rid of the Reds.'

"Then mounted police rode at the *Liberation* group—to the sound of cheers from Front members—while a foot contingent of police completed a pincer movement upon them from behind. There were some particularly violent scenes of marchers being dragged along by their hair and of men and women being pushed against barriers. . . .

"The *Liberation* movement organiser, Steve Hart, maintained that this was 'totally gratuitous violence' on the part of the police."

Though Gately was killed in the first police attack in Red Lion Square, most press observers agreed that the violent methods used by the police in this second assault were even more extreme.

The London weekly magazine *Time Out* reported in its June 21–27 issue that a third and final "instance of police violence" occurred when "the main body of the IMG contingent, by then only about 35 strong, decided to leave the demonstration. As they were moving off, however, a senior police officer saw them and sent a squad of about 25 police after them. The police followed at a distance until they were out of sight of the main demonstration. They then jumped on them from behind, beating them and kicking at least one in the stomach. Demonstrators who went to their defence were also attacked by police without warning, and those who stayed clear of the fighting were chased down alleyways."

A fund appeal to aid the defence of the 54 demonstrators who were arrested has been launched by the National Union of Students (NUS).*

Gately's death and the extent of the police violence on June 15 prompted several demands for the government to order an independent, public inquiry. Among the first to raise the demand were the NUS and Labour member of Parliament Sydney Bidwell, who had witnessed the police attack. On June 17 the *Tribune* group of "left-wing" Labour members of Parliament demanded that Labour Home Secretary Roy Jenkins set up a "full, public, and independent inquiry."

Jenkins, replying to questions in Parlia-

*Contributions may be sent to: National Union of Students, 3 Endsleigh Street, London, WC1, Britain.

ment on June 17, stated that Sir Robert Mark, the commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, would welcome "the fullest and most independent inquiry in order to clear up the matter," but no such inquiry has yet been established. Jenkins blamed the anti-racist demonstrators for the violence and praised the police. "The burden imposed on the police by disorder of this kind is very heavy," he said. "It is more than time that those who organise demonstrations which may develop into violent confrontations realise and accept responsibility for the consequences of their actions."

This right-wing Labour minister declared his agreement with a statement by former Tory Home Office Minister Mark Carlisle that "it would be intolerable if the streets of London are turned into pitched battle grounds by left-wing extremist groups."

The *Tribune* wing of the Labour party also demanded that Jenkins start legal proceedings against National Front marchers who had worn black shirts on June 15. The June 21 issue of *Tribune* reported that "some weeks ago, after the funeral of Michael Gaughan, the Home Secretary announced that prosecutions under the Public Order Act were being considered in the case of the group of men who were wearing identical clothing. On the same day as he was answering questions in the House of Commons about violence and provocation in Red Lion Square, it was announced that prosecutions would go ahead in this case. But why not in the case of those National Front members who were seen wearing black shirts on Saturday? Arthur Latham,

Labour MP for Paddington, put this point to the Home Secretary on Monday and asked whether the police took their names and addresses, as they did in the case of the Sinn Fein supporters."

Jenkins replied that "the Attorney General has already told me that he has asked the Director of Public Prosecutions to investigate whether any of those attending on Saturday were wearing uniforms within the meaning of the Act."

The Communist party also demanded that the government take legal action against the National Front by banning its marches under the 1968 Race Relations Act. Gerry Cohen, London district secretary of the CP, writing in the June 22 issue of the party's *Morning Star*, argued: "Called on the issue of the government's legislation on illegal immigrants, there can be no doubt that the National Front demonstration last Saturday would inflame racial tensions. It should have been banned for that reason, using the Race Relations Act."

Cohen, while attacking the police for their violent assault on the *Liberation* marchers, also accused some of the marchers of provoking the police. "There was a small group on this counter-demonstration," he wrote, "who took part apparently with one aim: confrontation with the police. Maybe the last-minute change of route gave them an excuse, maybe they would have done what they did anyway."

These charges were also made in a public speech on June 16 by Steve Hart, general secretary of *Liberation*.

The IMG placed all the blame for the violence on the police and the National

Front. Brian Heron, a spokesperson for the IMG, was quoted by the June 17 *Times* as saying that "we did not start the trouble. It was the police wading in beating people over the head with their truncheons that started it all."

A press release issued by the IMG on June 16 stated that "it is absolutely clear from eyewitness accounts that the death of Kevin Gately was triggered off by the police brutality. The people around Kevin Gately on the demonstration, including the persons next to him, were severely battered by the police." On the other hand, the statement continued, "the police did nothing against the black-shirted National Front forces which were described in at least one newspaper as 'a private army.' As long as the fascists of the National Front are allowed to parade their politics in public—the very same politics which the working class fought against in the 1930s and which led to millions of deaths at the hands of German and Italian fascists—violence is inevitable."

A statement released by the IMG on June 17 also contrasted the methods employed by the police to break up a left-wing march and their willingness to allow "the black-shirted National Front marchers, armed with spiked poles, to march without interference."

The statement called for "an enquiry to be conducted by the labour movement into the police brutality on Saturday from which Kevin died. We demand the sacking of the person with overall responsibility for the police action. We also demand that the para-military Special Patrol Group, a unit of which was involved, be disbanded." (The Special Patrol Group is an elite police unit that has often been used to break trade-union picketing in recent years.)

"We further demand," the IMG statement concluded, "that the Labour government ban the march which the National Front and the Orange Order are planning for July 13. We call for a massive mobilisation on that day by all forces in the labour movement against fascism, and to ensure that any such ban is enforced."

On June 18 the National Front denied that they were planning a joint march with the Orange Order on July 13, the day after the traditional Orange parades in Ulster, but stated that they did intend to hold a march and rally in London in collaboration with loyalist groups sometime in the future. The June 20 *Red Weekly*, paper of the IMG, considered that this step-down by the National Front was one success achieved by the June 15 demonstration. "The NF," the paper explained, "appears to have been intimidated into calling it all off."

"But," *Red Weekly* warned, "to ensure that the NF does not change its mind the entire left must campaign that the Labour government bans any such dem-



Kevin Gately, already dying, was dragged along ground by police.

onstration. Furthermore it must mobilise a massive counter-mobilisation if the NF tries to organise this demonstration."

Red Weekly drew other lessons from the June 15 action. The police assault is a "reminder of the lengths to which the forces of capitalist 'order' will go to impose their will. A senior police officer has openly stated that the trouble broke out because anti-fascist demonstrators refused to obey police orders.

"But what did his orders amount to? A command that anti-fascists should go away and let the National Front go on with its reactionary business unhindered. No serious anti-fascist, no dedicated trade unionist, no one who is fully aware of the recent murderous activities of the fascists in Italy, could have obeyed such an order in good conscience."

Unfortunately, *Red Weekly* explained, "we were few in numbers. That is another reason why there was violence. If Saturday's demonstration had been supported by all those who are threatened by the fascist menace — socialists, trade unionists, blacks and immigrants — there would have been no violence."

However, the IMG considered that the anti-National Front march was a considerable success. "The demonstration," wrote *Red Weekly*, "only partially succeeded in barring the NF's route, but the political point that the fascists are not a 'normal' organisation was made brilliantly and amplified a thousand times by the police. This campaign is a severe blow to the fascists."

The June 15 events followed months of intense debate within the left and the student movement about the dangers posed by far-right groups like the National Front and the tactics required to defeat them. The IMG has mounted a sustained campaign in the past years to challenge the activities of the National Front.

The September 18, 1972, issue of *Red Mole*, the forerunner of *Red Weekly*, outlined the IMG's line of response to the racist, anti-immigration agitation following the Ugandan Asian controversy in 1972. "The only way," wrote *Red Mole*, "to deal with fascist-type organisations like the National Front is to break up their activities before they grow to the size where they can begin to smash the activities of the working class."

Red Mole considered that "we are nowhere near a threatened fascist coup yet, but the methods necessary for preventing such a threat must be explained and demonstrated in practice now. Actions against organisations of the right are not just part of the struggle against racism, they are the first shots in a war that will grow in importance in the coming years in Britain. We must begin to adopt the right tactics right from the start. No platform for racists!"

On September 28, 1973, *Red Weekly*

argued that it is "urgent that the National Front is stopped in its tracks now, before it can grow into a dangerous force with mass influence," and called for a mass picket by the left and the labour movement outside the annual general meeting of the National Front at Conway Hall on October 13.

The October 5 *Red Weekly* explained to readers, in a centre-spread designed to win support for the October 13 picket, that "the first principle of anti-fascist struggle" was that of "no public platform for the extreme right-wing."

"For this principle to operate in the coming months," *Red Weekly* argued, "the issue of anti-fascist action must be included in the plans of the different socialist organisations for combatting 'Phase 3' of the 'freeze' and other attacks on the working class. Otherwise, in a relatively short time, and without the left being adequately prepared, such action will be forced upon us as the fascists select their targets."

About 800 demonstrators turned out on October 13 to oppose the National Front. The police, in their enthusiasm to "protect" the National Front meeting from the protesters, arrested five picketers and injured many others.

Two days later at Edinburgh University, a debate featuring speakers from the National Front and an extreme right-wing Tory group, the Monday Club, was cancelled after 700 students and trade unionists chanting "No platform for fascists!" had occupied the meeting hall.

Other National Front meetings and marches were picketed by anti-fascist ad-hoc committees in Brighton, Liverpool, Newcastle, Canterbury, and other cities. Teach-ins were held in Durham and Sheffield.

The campaign in the student movement reached a high point during the national conference of the National Union of Students, April 1-5 in Liverpool, with the passage of "Amendment 4" to an executive-sponsored resolution on racism. Amendment 4 stated: "Conference recognises the need to refuse any assistance (financial or otherwise) to openly racist or fascist organisations or societies (e.g., Monday Club, National Front, Action Party/Union Movement, National Democratic Party) and to deny them a platform. However, conference believes that in order to counter these groups, it is also necessary to prevent any member of these organisations, or individuals known to espouse similar views, from speaking in colleges by whatever means are necessary (including disruption of the meeting)."

Following the adoption of Amendment 4, the IMG, the IS, the Communist party, the National Organisation of Labour Students and *Militant* signed a joint statement pledging that despite their large differences, "they will work to win students to ban fascist and racist activity in the

colleges. Where direct action is necessary to stop such organisations, the Left declares that it will seek to involve the largest possible number of students in this action and will not resort to individual terrorist acts.

"We declare our absolute opposition to the aims of the Federation of Conservative Students. The Left recognises the right of the FCS to politically organise. However we fully support NUS policy which denies the right 'by whatever means are necessary' to the racialists and fascists."

The NUS resolution provoked a howl of rage from the bourgeois press, which launched an immediate campaign against the student movement in the name of "free speech." Many rightist and liberal journalists, along with Labour government ministers, announced that they would refuse to speak at student meetings until the ban on racist and fascist speakers had been rescinded.

While the press gave extensive coverage to those student unions which disassociated themselves from NUS policy, Amendment 4 was carried out by some other universities and colleges. The June 16 *Sunday Times* reported that "on May 10, Harold Soref, vice-chairman of the Monday Club and former MP for Ormskirk, was chased by a 'howling mob' and had to scramble over a six-foot brick wall to escape his pursuers at the end of a talk he was giving to the Oxford University Conservative Club.

"On May 17, 200 students chanting 'racist out' blocked the entrance to a lecture hall at Portsmouth Polytechnic as the former Monday Club chairman, Jonathan Guinness, tried to enter. Mr Guinness had been invited to the Polytechnic by the Student Union Conservative Association to speak on 'law and order.' He tried for an hour to get into the building, but was kept away by a solid mass of bodies.

"The same day, the present chairman of the Monday Club, John Biggs-Davidson, MP for Epping Forest, had most of his speech to Essex University Conservative Association drowned by students shouting 'Sieg heil' and singing 'The Red Flag.' Mr Biggs-Davidson had travelled to the university with a police escort, and more than 70 uniformed police were reported on the campus during his two-hour visit."

The storm of protests from the bourgeois press encouraged a "free-speech" movement on campuses to reverse NUS policy. It was in the midst of this campaign that the NUS held an extraordinary national conference in London on June 15 — the day of the National Front march and the counter-demonstration at which Kevin Gately was murdered.

The June 20 *Red Weekly* reported the results of the conference. "Despite a growing right-wing challenge, the executive carried its revised policy on fascism and

racism."

"The NUS executive," *Red Weekly* continued, "then tried to convince conference that it was possible to maintain 'no platform' as a principle, while rejecting the measures needed to put this into practice."

"A concerted effort by the right-wing 'Free Speech in the NUS' campaign led by students from City University, London, was stopped dead in its tracks. Fears that the Liverpool decision would not only be revised, but possibly reversed, led many delegates to vote for the woolly Executive CP motion. IMG and IS were the main spokespersons in defence of stopping the fascists and racists speaking by 'any means necessary.' The weak-kneed turnabout by the CP ensured the defeat of the revolutionary left. The latter got less than one third of the votes."

"The CP euphemistically called for a re-defining of Amendment 4—the 'any means necessary' clause. They argued that the Liverpool amendment was open to 'many interpretations' and opened the floodgates to ultraleftism. Secondly, they claimed stopping fascism was a tactical question and could only be decided in each individual situation. Hence the matter was left open for general meetings to decide, the only lead from the NUS being some vague, well-meaning waffle about principles."

"The CP therefore protected their retreat with left phrases and claimed all those who defend democracy are anti-fascists!"

Debate in the left and the student movement seems bound to continue, particularly if the National Front proceeds with its plans to hold a march with loyalist extremists. Though the National Front could only mobilise about 1,000 of its followers on June 15, it has campaigned hard in recent months to win support in the electoral arena and gain respectability in working-class areas, capturing a little over 11 percent of the total poll in a parliamentary by-election held May 23 in the London constituency of Newham South. Its greatest success to date was a 16 percent vote achieved by Front leader Martin Webster a year ago in a by-election in West Bromwich. The National Front ran fifty-four candidates at the general election last February 28.

The National Front's two top leaders, Martin Webster and John Tyndall, are both products of Colin Jordan's National Socialist Movement. Webster and Tyndall, who was jailed in 1962 for organising a private army, split from Jordan to form the Greater Britain Movement, one of the constituent organisations that founded the National Front in 1966.

The National Front, however, is keen to avoid the fascist label and concentrates its agitation on demagogic nationalist campaigns against Blacks and immigrants. "Put Britain First!" is its watchword. The Front calls for the compulsory

repatriation of non-white immigrants, closer links with the Protestant extremists in Northern Ireland, and opposition to the Common Market.

National Front supporters have attacked left-wing marches and activists on several occasions in the last few months, disrupting an Irish march in Manchester on April 15 and an anti-racist demonstration held in Bradford by the Labour party Young Socialists on May 18.

The National Front's anti-immigrant campaigns have fed off the racist climate created by the actions of successive Tory and Labour governments since the early 1960s.

While white European workers from the Common Market countries have unrestricted rights to work and settle in Britain, the immigration of Blacks has been reduced to a trickle by successively tougher Immigration Acts passed by the Tories in 1962, Labour in 1968, and the Tories in 1971. The 1971 act classified Commonwealth immigrants as "patrials" or "non-patrials." Patrials, almost exclusively white, are applicants who can prove that one of their parents or grandparents was born in Britain and who are thereby entitled to settle in Britain without restriction. Non-patrials, by contrast, are likely to be Black and have no rights to enter Britain without a work permit for one year's employment with a particular employer.

On June 11, 1973, the Law Lords ruled in an appeal case brought by three Asians threatened with deportation under the 1971 act, which came into effect on January 1, 1973, that the act was retrospective and applied to all those who had settled in Britain between March 1968 and January 1973.

It soon became apparent that the retrospective features of the act applied to all those who had entered Britain without permission or had overstayed their leave or had come in before getting permission, although such permission had been granted subsequently. The retrospective clauses of the 1971 act thus rescinded a right embodied in the 1968 act, under which any illegal immigrant who had evaded detection for six months had a right to remain in the country. Thousands of Black workers lost their legal status and were turned into illegal immigrants overnight.

Though the Trades Union Congress has voted in the past for the repeal of the Immigration Act, the Labour government has refused since taking office to do so. Roy Jenkins has merely ordered a limited amnesty for illegal immigrants who give themselves up. The June 23 *Observer* reported, however, that since the amnesty was declared in April, "only 667 immigrants—about 1 per cent of the illegal population—have surrendered. Of these cases the Home Office has examined 88

and has found that only 21 of them have the right to stay here under the terms of the amnesty. In other words, three-quarters of them have moved out of hiding and into trouble."

The Labour government has also refused to dismantle other racist legislation, notably the 1973 Pakistan Act and clauses of the 1968 Race Relations Act. Using Pakistan's withdrawal from the Commonwealth as a pretext, the Pakistan Act, which became law last September, will deprive 30,000 Pakistani citizens of their civil rights over the next year, including their rights to vote, to stand in elections, to work in the civil service, and to strike. The act was drafted by the Tory government but it was supported by the overwhelming majority of Labour members of Parliament and passed through Parliament without a division.

The 1968 Race Relations Act, a public relations exercise designed to lull Black opposition to discrimination in housing and employment, has been used to considerable extent against Black people. Though Blacks comprise only about 2 percent of the population, roughly half of those charged under the act's "incitement to racial hatred" clause have been Black. Notable white racist agitators like Enoch Powell have got away scot-free.

The act has done virtually nothing to stop racial discrimination. A report published on June 16 by the Social Science Institute of Political and Economic Planning, entitled "Racial Disadvantage in Employment," says that "a West Indian or Asian has to make more than twice as many applications as a white man before finding a job. The minorities (particularly the men) are also heavily concentrated in non-skilled jobs and are more likely than their white counterparts to work on permanent night-shifts." The report also castigated the trade unions. "There are cases where individual (trade union) officials are taking up the causes of minority workers but on the whole the unions are failing to represent them adequately. They have done little to induct their new members into the purposes and practices of trade unionism, nor have they grasped the importance of demonstrating in a practical way that they are welcome in the movement."

Though few Blacks participated in the June 15 demonstration against the National Front, the past year has seen a rising Black militancy against the racist legislation of the Tory and Labour governments, police harassment, and racist attacks on Black workers' rights by employers and trade union officials. On July 22, 1973, more than 10,000 Black workers marched through London against the retrospective features of the 1974 Immigration Act and police dragnet searches for illegal immigrants in the Black com-

munity.

A twelve-week strike by 500 Asian workers at the Mansfield Hosiery Mills factory in Loughborough in 1972 set the stage for a mounting wave of struggles by Black workers. The Mansfield hosiery workers, who were striking against the refusal of the employers to train Asian workers as skilled knitters, won their fight despite the scabbing of the white workers and opposition from the National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers.

The victory of the strikers sparked struggles by Asian and other Black workers in several parts of the country, most recently a militant strike by 600 Asian workers at Imperial Typewriters in Leicester since May 1. The strikers, who are demanding higher bonus payments, an end to management cheating on the bonus scheme, an end to discrimination against

Asians, a move toward equal pay for women, and election of shop stewards, pay tribute in their strike bulletin to "the Asian workers of Mansfield Hosiery who beat out a path of determined and consistent struggle for black workers in Britain." The Imperial Typewriters workers, too, have met strenuous opposition from white workers in the factory and from the lily-white bureaucracy of the Leicester Transport and General Workers Union, which has refused to recognise the Asian workers' picket line. The national union leadership, while it has agreed to call an enquiry into the Leicester union, has refused to declare the strike official.

On June 16, one day after the anti-National Front demonstration in London, 1,500 Imperial Typewriters workers and their supporters, including members of the IMG, marched through Leicester in support of the strikers' demands. □

but it has been rumoured that it could reach 100,000! Under similar proceedings, e.g., the reports of the District Auditors, 400 councillors nationally who at some time defied the Act are under the threat of surcharges which could total 1 million pounds!

"All this is under legislation enacted by the Tories, which Labour is pledged to repeal. We reject the arguments that the government is powerless in the face of the 'law.' We call on the Labour government to take immediate action to repeal the Tory law and make such action retrospective in relation to all penalties enacted under it."

Delegates also opposed the Labour leadership's blatant disregard for last October's party conference decision to break off all relations with the Chilean junta. This decision, adopted October 4, had included pledges to break off diplomatic relations; halt all aid, loans, and credits; provide sanctuary to Chilean refugees; launch a campaign in the Labour movement for a restoration of democracy in Chile; and start a fund in aid of the Popular Unity coalition. But only six weeks after taking office, Jim Callaghan, Labour's foreign secretary, told Parliament April 10 that two frigates and two submarines worth 70 million pounds would be delivered to the Chilean regime as contracted. Callaghan also gave the go-ahead for thirty-nine Rolls-Royce jet engines to be overhauled at a cost of 30,000 pounds each for the Chilean air force.

This unabashed collaboration with the Chilean dictators aroused deep opposition within the Labour movement. On May 5 over 10,000 marched through London in response to a call made by the Chile Ad-hoc Committee. On May 14, the national executive committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers ordered a nationwide banning of work on Chilean war goods. And after public attacks on the government's decision by Industry Minister Eric Heffer and party General Secretary Ron Hayward, the Labour party's national executive committee unanimously voted May 22 to urge the government to stop all arms deliveries to Chile, whether under contract to supply them or not.

The conference sponsored by Clay Cross Labour party voted to demand the banning "by the Labour government and the trade unions of all work which assists the bloody Chilean regime."

The third main focus of the Clay Cross party's opposition to the party leadership was the government's refusal to rescind the jail sentences on the Shrewsbury 6, six building workers imprisoned under the previous Tory administration. Though they have been temporarily released pending their appeals, the Labour government has not rescinded their sentences and has refused to repeal the anti-union 1875 Con-

Condemns Actions of Wilson Government

Rank-and-File Labour Conference Meets

By Tony Hodges

London

Five hundred and fifty delegates from 200 constituency Labour parties, 150 Labour party Young Socialists branches, and 200 trade-union branches attended a conference here June 8, called by the Clay Cross constituency Labour party to discuss several developments in the class struggle since the election of the Labour government.

A resolution approved almost unanimously by the conference criticized the government for its "failure to implement [Labour party] conference resolutions to cancel the fines and surcharges on the Clay Cross councillors who fought heroically against the Housing Finance Act," and for its "refusal to apply the rent freeze to Clay Cross." "This conference," the resolution continued, "also condemns the tardiness in repealing the Industrial Relations Act, the refusal to release the Shrewsbury building workers—class-war prisoners—the continuation of the Tory Phase 3 pay policy and the supply of four frigates to the butchers of the Chilean working class."

The majority of the delegates were young, but some were older workers who had participated in the rent struggle in Clay Cross, a small mining community in Derbyshire, where eleven Labour party councillors had refused to implement rent increases ordered under the Tories' 1972 Housing Finance Act. These councillors are now being heavily victimised despite

the election of the new Labour government.

This is how David Skinner, one of the Clay Cross councillors now under attack, described the backstabbing by the Labour leadership. In a letter circularised throughout the labour movement to build support for the conference, Skinner wrote:

"At last year's Labour Party conference a resolution was passed which not only supported our fight but committed a future Labour government to see that any fines and surcharges levied under this Act would be reimbursed.

"We fully expected the new Labour government to fulfill this pledge. But that has not yet been the case. The Labour minister responsible for housing, Anthony Crosland, has shamefully beat a retreat from the conference decision, and, sadly, Labour parliamentary spokesmen ape the Tories in telling about the 'violence' of Clay Cross.

"Firstly, he refused to freeze the one-pound increase imposed by the Tory-appointed Housing Commissioner, Skillington. Secondly, he refused to remove the reactionary official and allowed him to continue his work. Thirdly, he refused to either remove the fines and surcharges levied on the original eleven Clay Cross councillors or to lift the ban on them from holding office for five years.

"At present, the bill presented to us by the Tory courts for standing up for the tenants of Clay Cross is 7,000 pounds,

spiracy and Protection of Property Act, whose stringent anti-picketing clauses the Shrewsbury 6 were said to have violated.

The conference, meeting a few days before the temporary release of the six, called for the "release of the Shrewsbury pickets and the cancellation of all outstanding legal charges against the Shrewsbury building workers, as well as the immediate repeal of the 1875 conspiracy laws."

The conference reflected in a small way the effects of the deepening trade-union struggle within the Labour party, the mass party of the British working class.

The International Marxist Group (IMG), the British section of the Fourth International, distributed an Action Programme to the conference delegates which stated that "in every case, the key to taking the struggle forward lies in the organisation of mass action."

But, the IMG pointed out, "the fight for all these proposals comes up against one major stumbling point. It is increasingly obvious that the organisations of the working class are not in fact under the democratic control of the working class. Trade Unions which were pledged to opposition to Phase 3 have accepted it under the Labour government. In many unions even the most elementary rights of election of union officials do not exist. The Labour government—which is a government of a party based on the organisations of the working class and put in office by the votes of working people—is not responsible to the workers movement, is not carrying out the decisions of the workers movement, and is not serving the interests of the working class."

The Labour government's decisions to arm the Chilean generals and to enforce the fines and bans on the Clay Cross councillors, in defiance of last October's Labour party conference decisions, show that a struggle for workers' rights and interests against the Labour misleadership must go hand in hand with a campaign for democracy in the labour movement, in particular for the right of organised political groupings to affiliate to the Labour party, for an end to all bans and proscriptions, and for recall of Labour members of Parliament who fail to carry out party conference decisions. Banners in the Clay Cross-sponsored conference demanded "Carry out conference decisions!"

The rank-and-file conference, however, failed to conduct its own debates in a democratic manner and failed to advance a programme of mass action in support of Chile, the Clay Cross councillors, or the Shrewsbury building workers. Many other burning problems facing the British Labour movement were barely mentioned, in particular the military occupation of

Northern Ireland. These failings flowed from the organisational domination of the conference by the *Militant* grouping, a sect led by Ted Grant that split from the Fourth International in 1965. Though the conference was officially sponsored by the Clay Cross Labour party, it was chaired by *Militant* leader Andy Bevan, who ruled out of order all amendments or counter-motions to the official conference resolution.

This bureaucratic handling of the conference prevented delegates from proposing resolutions for mass action in support of the objectives agreed to by the conference. *Militant* supporters argued

against adopting any mass action proposals, effectively keeping the conference within a resolution-passing, parliamentary perspective and letting the right-wing leadership of the Labour party off the hook. In particular, the IMG and other delegates were prevented from proposing a resolution that the conference sponsor a mass demonstration outside next October's Labour party conference in support of the Clay Cross councillors.

These undemocratic methods also prevented delegates from voting to support the mass demonstration planned by the Chile Solidarity Campaign for September 11. □

Colombia

President-Elect Proposes 'Social Pact'

President-elect Alfonso López Michelsen of Columbia is thinking ahead. Although he does not take office until August 7, he has already initiated steps to force the Colombian working class to pay for the inflation the country has been suffering. In 1974 the inflation rate is expected to exceed the 16 percent common in recent years, according to his own estimate.

The president-elect's plan is to impose a "Social Pact," à la Perón, on the Colombian masses, according to the June 21 Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*.

Argentina's Social Pact is the wage-price freeze agreement jointly signed a year ago by big business, the trade-union bureaucracy, and the government. It has been accompanied by a series of repressive laws directed against the Argentine working class, with the whole package wrapped in the demagogic promise of making Argentina more independent of domination by U. S. imperialism.

In mid-June López Michelsen met in Bogotá with representatives of Colombian business and the union bureaucracy to begin a similar process. In reporting on the discussions to the press, he modestly conceded that "he had no illusions that he had the power to carry through a pact as successful as the Argentine model."

He was quoted as saying, however: "But we certainly can make a great effort to respond to the promises that have been made to so many people,

who scarcely have anything to eat and whose buying power has diminished so much that the producers themselves are beginning to feel how the inflation is cutting into their sales."

Perhaps recalling Perón's name for his Social Pact—La Gran Paritaria (The Great Parity Commission)—López Michelsen addressed himself to both the capitalists and the working class in his explanation of why Colombia needed a pact:

"With the prices they project, the industrialists are covering the effects of a future inflation. They think my plan is to raise wages, and before finding out what my plans really are, they begin protecting themselves by raising prices."

To the working class, he said, "I have not stated that I am going to freeze wages. What I propose is to return real purchasing power to wages. . . . Nor did I say that I am going to lower the cost of living, because there are some prices that have been pegged too low."

Colombian news analysts are predicting special problems for López Michelsen's attempts to impose his pact. The Colombian working class, they point out, is not bureaucratically controlled to the same extent as is its Argentine counterpart. Moreover, the sectors that are organized, the analysts claim, are deeply divided and not representative of the work force as a whole. □

Writers Charged in 'Conspiracy' Case

The state government of Andhra Pradesh has accused forty-six persons of conspiring "to overthrow the government by violent means," according to the June 15 issue of the Bombay *Economic and Political Weekly*. The defendants in the Secunderabad Conspiracy Case (Secunderabad is a town less than ten miles from the state capital, Hyderabad) are alleged to be members of the Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist).

Among these so-called Naxalite (Maoist) defendants are six prominent writers and poets belonging to the Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Writers' Association: T. Madhusudana Rao (secretary of the association), K.V. Ramana Reddy, Varava Rao, Cherabanda Raju, M. T. Khan, and M. V. Ranganatham. The main defendant is K.G. Satyamurthi, who was already in prison in connection with another "conspiracy" case.

The arrest of the writers was only the latest of a series of repressive actions against the association, some of whose members were previously arrested under the provisions of the Maintenance of Internal Security Act. The state government also banned a number of books and publications that it deemed "subversive."

The case against the writers is one of numerous such "conspiracy" cases brought by the state government since 1969 against alleged Maoists. In addition, hundreds of other political activists have been arrested for "non-political" offenses. In Srikakulam district alone, about 450 persons, most of them Girijan tribespeople, are being held in connection with twenty-seven different cases under such charges as "murder and banditry."

"These are, of course," wrote the correspondent for the *Economic and Political Weekly*, "in addition to the large number of revolutionaries whom the government has not had to bring to trial, since they have been murdered.

"By the government's own admission, over 120 'Naxalites' have been shot dead in 'encounters' with the police forces. Most of these 'encounters' were fictitious and the revolutionaries were murdered in cold blood after

they had been captured. Several others have simply disappeared. The police have denied all knowledge of their whereabouts."

The Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee was formed to provide legal and monetary aid to the defendants charged under the conspiracy laws and other repressive acts. It has organized district- and state-level conferences and staged actions in defense of the political prisoners.

The arrests and murders of Maoists and other political activists by the Andhra Pradesh administration is part

of a broader crackdown against the Girijan tribespeople in the Srikakulam district of the state. The Girijans have been fighting for agrarian demands since 1957, in some cases forming self-defense units and seizing crops and land.

In 1969 the state government sent in troops and declared many parts of Srikakulam "disturbed areas," a classification that was never lifted and that also applies to parts of Khamman and Warangal in the Telengana area of Andhra Pradesh. According to the April 27 *Economic and Political Weekly*, at least 50,000 Girijans are still forced to live in Vietnam-type "strategic hamlets." The police and paramilitary forces, which have sweeping powers of repression, still maintain many camps throughout the "affected" areas of the state. □

Africans Reject Token Concession

Smith Orders New Rhodesian Elections

Citing the "state of uncertainty" in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Prime Minister Ian Smith on June 19 dissolved the Legislative Assembly and called general elections for July 30. This action followed the rejection by the African National Council (ANC) of a proposal by Smith that Africans be given greater token representation in the Legislative Assembly. The "state of uncertainty" referred also to the effects of the April 25 Portuguese coup on the situation in neighboring Mozambique.

The ANC's rejection of the proposal to give Africans six more seats in the parliament (they are presently allowed sixteen out of a total of sixty-six) followed eleven months of secret negotiations between Smith and the ANC president, Bishop Abel Muzorewa.

The ANC was first formed in 1971, when Africans in Zimbabwe overwhelmingly rejected a proposal for British approval of Rhodesian independence, which was declared unilaterally by Smith in 1965. The proposed deal would have made it impossible for the majority of the population, the 5.6 million Africans, ever to rule.

The ANC led the campaign of op-

position to the settlement, calling for "one man, one vote" and majority rule. Demonstrations, rallies, and other protests by Africans forced London to postpone granting independence until a formula could be worked out that might win some show of Black acquiescence.

At the same time that Smith announced the general elections, he called for the convening of a round-table conference of representatives of the regime and of different sectors of the African population to discuss the "constitutional crisis" that the regime faced—a reference to London's non-recognition of Salisbury and the resulting economic sanctions that were imposed on the country by the United Nations. The Council of Chiefs, which has traditionally supported the Salisbury regime, would presumably participate in such a conference, giving Smith more weight in any further talks with the ANC.

Muzorewa, however, rejected the conference proposal on June 20 since, according to a Reuters dispatch, "all responsible African groups were already represented in the council [ANC]." The ANC also announced June 20 that it would not run any candidates in the general elections.

The racist regime responded by arresting Edson Sithole, an ANC leader, on June 20. Sithole had been released

from prison only recently and was still under restrictions that limited his freedom of movement. □

textile workers and threatened to stage a general strike unless the government quickly changed the labor laws, which were "favorable to the employers."

The government conceded to some of the strikers' demands and the workers ended the strike. They won a raise in the minimum wage to 20 baht (US\$1) a day, severance pay for laid-off workers, and a pledge that the strikers would be paid for the week they were off the job. The government also said that it would consider extending the new minimum wage to the entire country (it now applies only to the six provinces around Bangkok) and changing the labor laws, possibly legalizing trade unions. (Trade unions and strikes are still officially illegal, but in the face of the mass worker and student mobilizations the regime has been unable to enforce this anti-labor legislation.)

Peagam also noted the opposition of the more radical students to the regime of Premier Sanya Thammasak. "There is a growing revolutionary sentiment among Thai students," he wrote, "but it is hard to assess how serious it is or how well organized. Several student leaders taking part in the demonstration made it clear to this correspondent that they believe the present Government is little more than the tool of vested interests, and that real social and economic change is impossible until it is replaced by a popularly-elected government." □

Textile Workers Win Some of Their Demands

Bangkok Strike Raises Minimum Wage

"The formation of an organized labour movement in Thailand has moved a step nearer to reality with a series of demonstrations by thousands of striking textile workers and their supporters," wrote *Far Eastern Economic Review* correspondent Norman Peagam in the June 24 issue.

The strike by textile workers in the Bangkok area was the largest labor action in Thailand since workers first began staging illegal strikes in May 1973, under the old military dictatorship. The militancy of the textile strike, plus the support it received from other layers of the working class and population, forced the government to yield to some of the strikers' demands.

The textile industry in Thailand, largely dominated by foreign capital, is the largest manufacturing industry in the country, employing 70,000 workers (80 percent of them young women) in about 600 factories, mostly in the Bangkok area. The worsening economic situation in the country hit the textile industry particularly hard. Rising oil prices, a shortage of cotton goods and other raw materials, a worldwide "glut" of textile stocks, and speculative hoarding and dumping by Japanese and Taiwanese dealers prompted the manufacturers to cut back textile production by 25 percent.

The workers feared that there would be layoffs and wage cuts. Talks between the workers and the manufacturers, arranged by the Labor Department, achieved nothing. The government then intervened in the negotiations, and the textile manufacturers reportedly agreed not to cut wages or lay off workers.

Several thousand textile workers in the industrial suburbs, however, went out on strike to demand a higher minimum wage, unemployment compensation, greater power for the workers' associations, and more employment security for all workers in Thailand.

On June 9 the striking workers marched to Sanam Luang park in central Bangkok and occupied it for five days, while their representatives met with the government to press their demands. Students and others joined the strikers, and at times the demonstration swelled to more than 10,000. As Peagam noted in his dispatch from Bangkok: "Protest leaders took turns to denounce employers' illegal practices and use of cheap labour, and the 'American, Japanese and Taiwanese imperialists who came and invested in Thailand with the cooperation of the ruling class and the tyrants to exploit us and make us slaves. . . .'"

The most significant support the strikers received was from other sectors of the working class that are also beginning to organize. An Agence France-Presse dispatch published in the June 15 issue of *Le Monde* reported that about 400,000 workers organized within thirty-four labor associations expressed support for the

Chile

Pinochet Becomes Chief of State

Two steps to further centralize their control were taken by the Chilean military the third week of June. Associated Press reported the June 19 creation of a new national intelligence agency—DINA (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional)—composed of members of the army, air force, navy, and police. Many refugees from the junta's terror have credited their escape to the lack of coordination among the various repressive agencies hitherto in operation.

On June 26 General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte became chief of state of Chile. He will also remain as head

of the army and of the four-man military junta, but the other three generals who had shared power equally with him since September 11, 1973, have had their power "considerably diminished. The junta members will become a sort of legislative body that will enact new laws and promulgate a new constitution," cabled *New York Times* correspondent Jonathan Kendall on June 26—quoting a senior government official.

A *Times* editorial the following day expressed the hope that having Pinochet as chief of state "could mean a gradual easing of the repression" in

Chile.

Wistfully, the editors noted: "Only General Pinochet among the four commanders promised that the junta would try to preserve gains made by Chilean workers under the Allende Government."

But, more realistically, they warned that "no outsized expectations should accompany his [Pinochet's] elevation."

It will take considerably more than a new title for Pinochet to reduce the worldwide wave of revulsion produced

by the Chilean military's savage suppression of every democratic liberty.

The last two weeks of June alone registered protests against the denials of human and democratic rights in Chile from prominent political leaders in Argentina, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland, as well as denunciations by the International Labor Organization, the executive committee of the European Common Market, the U.S.-based Latin American Studies Association, and a section of the Venezuelan Chamber of Deputies. □

Mercenary Troops to Bissau?

Guinea Rebels Halt Talks With Lisbon

By Ernest Harsch

The second round of cease-fire talks between the Portuguese government and the Guinea-Bissau rebels broke down amidst reports that two shiploads of Black mercenaries had embarked for Bissau.

A June 7 communiqué signed by Aristides Pereira, secretary general of the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné-Bissau e Cabo Verde—African party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands), charged that the mercenaries had been recruited among exiled Guineans living in Dakar, Senegal.

Pereira noted that the operation aimed at making it possible for notorious "traitors and opportunists" living in Dakar to return to Guinea-Bissau and "present themselves as a third force to be taken into consideration in the search for a political solution to the war of aggression waged against our state and people by the Portuguese colonialist armed forces." Pereira added that the PAIGC held Lisbon responsible for the situation, "which would not fail to harm the continuation of the current talks for a negotiated settlement."

Two days later, the Dakar regime, headed by President Léopold Sedar Senghor, issued a statement disclaiming any involvement in the recruitment of the mercenaries. Although there had been some reports that the mercenaries had boarded ship in Dakar, other reports located the stag-

ing area in the Cape Verde Islands.

While Pereira did not mention specifically who was behind the recruitment of the mercenaries, he did say that a group of exiled Guineans, who had been operating from Dakar for years and who were trying to sow confusion within the PAIGC, had initiated the move. One such group, FLING (Frente de Luta para a Independência Nacional da Guiné—Front to Struggle for the National Independence of Guinea), operates out of Dakar in opposition to the PAIGC.

The day before the first round of negotiations between the PAIGC and Lisbon opened in London, May 24, FLING released a statement claiming that "any negotiations aimed at granting independence would not be authentic or realistic without the participation of the Guineans included in FLING and other parties existing in the country." The statement further declared that FLING would take up arms if an accord were signed between Lisbon and the PAIGC.

Adding to the suspicions that FLING was behind the "third force" maneuver, Senghor announced June 19 that he was placing the leaders of FLING under surveillance in Dakar.

The existence of a "third force" in Guinea-Bissau willing to oppose the PAIGC actively and eager to become part of a neocolonialist scheme would give Lisbon more leeway and leverage in its maneuvers to retain some control over the colony. Any efforts to

install such a "third force" grouping in power, however, would be much more difficult in Guinea-Bissau than in either Angola or Mozambique. Moreover, the stakes in Guinea-Bissau (excluding the strategic Cape Verde Islands) are smaller than in the other two colonies.

The ominous reports of mercenaries en route to Bissau undoubtedly played a role in the breakdown of the negotiations between Lisbon and the PAIGC, which resumed in Algiers June 13 after an interruption of two weeks. Although Mario Soares, Portuguese foreign minister and head of the Portuguese Socialist party, expressed optimism that an agreement would be reached in Algiers, the talks were called off less than twenty-four hours after they began.

While neither the PAIGC representatives nor Soares indicated publicly what the differences were that led to the breakdown, a report in the June 16-17 issue of *Le Monde* noted: "It is known, nevertheless, that the 'persistent difficulties' concern the timetable and the terms and conditions for the independence of Guinea-Bissau, and the status of the Cape Verde archipelago."

In an article published in the June 24 issue of the Paris fortnightly *Afrique-Asie*, correspondent Hassen Zenati stressed that another major reason for the suspension of negotiations was General António de Spínola's June 11 speech (see *Intercontinental Press*, July 1, p. 853), in which he ruled out immediate independence for Lisbon's African colonies.

While Soares stated after the end of the talks that "direct contact" would be established with the PAIGC with the perspective of reopening negotiations after each delegation had consulted with its leadership, the PAIGC apparently viewed the breakdown differently. According to *Le Monde* of June 18, a "source close to the PAIGC" stated that it was not a "suspension or interruption [of the talks] but a halt to the negotiations with Portugal."

The PAIGC announced June 20, in a broadcast over its radio station, that Lisbon's refusal to accept the principles outlined by the PAIGC could only lead to "a resumption of the armed struggle until total liberation has been achieved."

But despite the breakdown of the formal negotiations, a de facto cease-fire appears to exist in Guinea-Bis-

sau. Undoubtedly a major reason for Lisbon's hesitancy in pressing its demands on the battlefield is the political situation in Portugal itself and the decaying morale of the colonialist troops.

An Agence France-Presse dispatch published in the June 15 issue of *Le Monde* described the condition of the Portuguese troops in Guinea-Bissau: "The Portuguese army, just like the U.S. army in Vietnam, is tired of this war launched by the old regime and wants only to go home."

A series of articles written by *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm focused on the fraternization between the Portuguese and rebel troops in Guinea-Bissau. Writing in the June 25 issue, Kamm reported that António de Almeida Santos, the Portuguese colonial minister, said in a June 21 interview in Lisbon "that fraternization between the once hostile armies had progressed so far that

Portugal could not resume the war even if she wanted to."

Kamm also reported that the PAIGC was allowing the Portuguese troops greater freedom of movement within the country and that the rebels were making a particular point of approaching the African troops in the colonial army. In the June 30 issue of the *Times*, Kamm wrote: "Fusilier Sanha [one such African] and other soldiers said that the rebel soldiers who addressed meetings here emphasized that the liberation movement intended to take no vengeance against the thousands of Guineans who fought against them in Portuguese uniforms. All the soldiers said that such fears had weighed on them.

"With [Portuguese] Commander Patricio listening, a number of black soldiers and civilian officials expressed their preference for being governed by the liberation movement rather than by Portugal." □

indefinite "compulsory treatment in a special psychiatric hospital."

The publicity surrounding Grigorenko's case made it difficult for Soviet authorities to maintain the pretense that he had been confined for mental illness. The difficulty was increased by press reports that he had on several occasions been offered his freedom in return for a pledge to abandon political activities.

In May 1974, a third commission of Soviet psychiatrists found that he no longer required treatment. As a result of this decision his case returned to the Soviet courts. By this time his health had deteriorated considerably. He had suffered three heart attacks and had been wounded in the face by a mentally disturbed patient.

Grigorenko joined the Communist party when he was 20 years old, and the army when he was 30. After World War II he was appointed professor of cybernetics at the Frunze Military Academy in Moscow. In 1961 he was fired from his post for criticizing Khrushchev. In 1964 he was arrested, spent several months in prison without trial, and was confined for another eight months in a psychiatric ward.

In April of this year a call was issued for an international day of protest on May 7, the anniversary of Grigorenko's imprisonment. Signers of the statement were exiled Soviet dissident Pavel Litvinov, Czech oppositionist Jiri Pelikan, Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov, and Ken Coates and Chris Farley of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

The most recent effort on Grigorenko's behalf came two days before his release. In an open letter addressed to Nixon and Brezhnev, Sakharov listed the names of several score of political prisoners now being held in Soviet prisons, mental hospitals, or labor camps. Grigorenko was one of the best-known figures on the list. □

International Protest Frees Soviet Dissident

Grigorenko Released From Mental Hospital

The international campaign to free Pyotr Grigorenko has succeeded in securing his release. On June 26, the 67-year-old dissident communist was ordered released from a Soviet mental hospital after five years' imprisonment. The order freeing him came on the eve of Nixon's visit to Moscow.

Grigorenko, a former general in the Soviet army, had been confined to psychiatric hospitals since May 1969. In a February 1970 trial, he was charged and convicted under Article 70 of the Soviet Criminal Code ("especially dangerous crimes against the state"). His crime was to have defended the Crimean Tatars' right to return to their homeland, from which they had been deported en masse by Stalin in 1944.

The first three and a half years of his imprisonment were spent in virtual solitary confinement. Last fall he was moved to a regular psychiatric hospital at Stolbovaya, thirty-five miles south of Moscow, where he shared a 36-bed ward with mentally ill patients.

Although an initial psychiatric ex-

amination in August 1969 found that he was perfectly sane, a new team of "experts" was called in three months later. The second commission, under



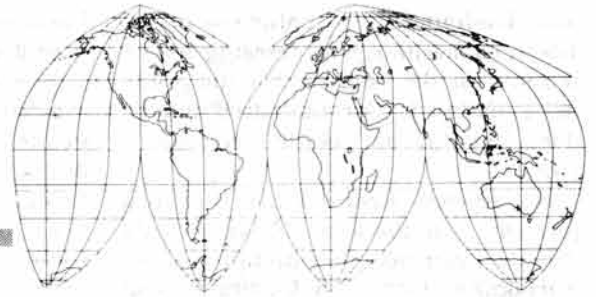
PYOTR GRIGORENKO

the direction of the notorious Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow, found that he was suffering from "reformist illusions" and required

Oily Principles

The Kremlin has denied as slanderous earlier reports that it shipped oil to the Netherlands during the Arab embargo. According to the June 4 *New York Times*, however, Moscow's own trade statistics "show that the Soviet Union in fact raised oil exports to the Dutch by a third last year, to more than 3.2 million tons—and charged them nearly three and a half times what they had paid in 1972, suggesting a step-up in exports after the embargo began."

AROUND THE WORLD



Sadat Says Israel Has Tactical Nuclear Weapons

In an interview broadcast on CBS television June 21, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat said Cairo had received information that Israel has secretly developed tactical nuclear weapons. At a special press conference in Washington four days later, Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres denied that Tel Aviv already had such weapons. But when asked if Israel had special plants for processing plutonium so that it can be used in atomic weapons, Peres was more evasive, stating that "to the best of my knowledge, Israel is just in the scientific part of this program."

Israel's Dimona nuclear reactor in the Negev desert—constructed in 1965 with French assistance—produces enough plutonium to manufacture one atomic bomb a year. Washington officials are reported to believe that if Israel does not yet actually possess tactical nuclear arms, it has all the necessary components on hand to produce them quickly.

Sakharov Announces Hunger Strike

Soviet nuclear physicist Andrei Sakharov said June 28 that he would begin a hunger strike to protest "illegal and brutal repression of political prisoners" in the Soviet Union. He singled out in particular the case of Vladimir Bukovsky, who was jailed for exposing the use of psychiatric hospitals to imprison dissidents.

800 Baluchis Reported Killed in Pakistani Air Raids

Khan Abdul Wali Khan, the leader of the National Awami party, and Ghafoor Ahmed, another opposition leader within Pakistan's National Assembly, charged June 24 that the government had killed 800 persons during bombing raids in the province of Baluchistan the previous week. Abdul Hafez Pirzada, the Pakistani minister for law and parliamentary affairs, denied that the army was continuing operations in Baluchistan. (Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had previously stated that military operations against Baluchi rebels would end on May 15.)

Pirzada did admit, however, that "some

incidents" had taken place, and the government announced that troops had killed twelve persons in the province.

Soviet Negotiator Returns to China

The Soviet government's chief negotiator in talks with Peking has returned to China after an eleven-month absence. Leonid Ilyichev arrived in the Chinese capital June 25. He has headed the Soviet delegation since secret talks with the Maoist leadership were begun in 1969.

Ilyichev was last sent to Peking just before Brezhnev's visit to Washington last year. The Kremlin reportedly proposed sending him again last January, but was told by the Chinese embassy that a visit was "not warranted" at that time.

Wilson Drops Bomb on Parliament

To cheers from the Tories and silence from Labour MPs, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson announced in Parliament June 24 that Britain's first nuclear bomb test in nine years had been conducted "a few weeks ago." The explosion took place at the U.S. test site in Nevada under an agreement with Washington.

Replying to Labour MPs who suggested that the test conflicted with party resolutions for disarmament, cuts in military spending, and the abolition of nuclear bases in Britain, Wilson denied that there was any conflict with Labour party policy. The last British nuclear test, in 1965, he pointed out, also occurred under a Labour government.

Wilson disclosed the test only after a London newspaper reported that it was to be "carried out within the next few days."

Italian Women on Trial for Having Had Abortions

In the northern Italian city of Trento a trial of 263 women is under way. The "crime" they committed was to get an abortion.

The trial has sparked a campaign by Italian feminists against the abortion law, which dates back to the period when the fascists held power in the country.

"Abortion," stated one of the movement's leaders, "is an act of violence that women

do not want to continue suffering. We have a long period of struggle ahead of us to free ourselves from this fate. But in the meantime, we ask that abortion be legalized, that women be allowed to make decisions freely on this question, and that they be given free hygienic facilities of the best caliber."

It is estimated that a million illegal abortions are performed in Italy each year.

Report 15 Casualties in Clash Between Palestinian Groups

At least fifteen Palestinian guerrillas were reported killed or wounded in internal clashes that occurred June 28 at two refugee camps near Beirut. Sporadic gun battles, which according to one report lasted eight hours, involved members of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command. The Palestinian news agency Wafa said the shootings were "the result of a misunderstanding."

The two groups have conflicting political views. The DPFLP, led by Nayef Hawatmeh, favors negotiation with Israel at the Geneva conference and establishment of a Palestinian ministate in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The PFLP-GC, led by Ahmed Jibril, has denounced both proposals as "defeatist."

Cairo Jails 8 Palestinians Released by Sudan

Eight Palestinian guerrillas convicted on charges of murder stemming from a March 1973 incident in Khartoum were given life sentences by a Sudanese court June 24. However, Sudanese President Gaafar al-Nimeiry immediately commuted the terms to seven years, to be carried out under the supervision of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

It was generally believed that the eight, who were flown to Cairo the next day, would be quickly released. Instead, they were jailed by Egyptian authorities. U.S. Ambassador Hermann Eilts is reported to have threatened to cut off proposed U.S. economic aid to Egypt if the guerrillas were set free.

The Palestinians had been tried on

charges of killing two U.S. diplomats and the Belgian charge d'affaires in an attack on an embassy party at the Saudi Arabian mission. The public announcement that they had been found guilty was the first of its kind in any Arab country other than Jordan.

U.S. officials, forgetting for the moment their concern for the legal rights of defendants in such matters as the Watergate conspiracy, complained that Nimeiry had violated a secret pledge to order a "punishment commensurate with the crime committed." At the time of the incident, then U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers had expressed Washington's views in more concrete terms, saying that he considered the death penalty "quite appropriate."

U.S. Ambassador William Brewer has been recalled from the Sudan for "consultation," and the State Department pointedly made available to the press current figures on U.S. aid to the Nimeiry regime — some \$13.5 million.

Israeli Court Frees Kahane

Meir Kahane, leader of an organization of Zionist thugs known as the Jewish Defense League, was sentenced in Jerusalem June 28 after being convicted of conspiring to damage U.S.-Israeli relations. Although letters sent by Kahane to JDL members in the United States showed that he intended to accomplish this by blowing up the Iraqi and Soviet embassies in Washington, he received only a two-year suspended term. By way of contrast, the standard Israeli sentence for Arab "terrorists" is life imprisonment and the dynamiting of their homes.

Angolan Prisoners Escape

More than 200 prisoners escaped from the central prison in Luanda, Angola, on June 22. Several were recaptured. The mass escape was touched off by the refusal of the colonial administration to honor a promise of amnesty, which had been made by the Portuguese government, for all political prisoners.

Belgrade Student Sentenced

A Belgrade court on June 25 sentenced a 21-year-old student to ten months in prison after he was convicted on charges of disseminating "hostile propaganda." Vladimir Palancanin was freed on bail while his lawyer appeals.

Palancanin is a student in the philosophy department at Belgrade University. Earlier this year, a meeting of students from Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Zagreb universities adopted a resolution accusing the ideology and leaders of the Com-

unist party of having become corrupt. A Zagreb court ordered the resolution suppressed, but the court order included the full text of the resolution. Palancanin read the entire court order to a student assembly and was arrested and tried for this act.

Italian Mail Sold as Scrap

Magistrates in Bergamo, Italy, have ordered an inquiry into the apparently deliberate destruction of mail by someone in a Milan post office.

The Italian postal system is notoriously inefficient, with ordinary letters often taking months to travel between two cities. But a new element was added when workers in a Bergamo papermill told police that they frequently found undelivered mail in bags of scrap paper that the Milan post office sold for pulping.

Police who investigated discovered that the "scrap paper" included registered letters, checks, money orders, pension books, etc., in addition to regular mail. Police in other cities are now reportedly checking to see if Milan's method of dealing with mail backlogs is used elsewhere.

Pinochet Hands Over 150 Companies

One hundred fifty companies that had been nationalized by the Allende government were returned to private ownership in mid-June. Spokesmen for the Chilean military junta reported that this would complete the dismantling of the economic structure set up in Chile under the Popular Unity government. During its three years in office, the Allende government had taken over several hundred private enterprises.

The only industries that will remain under state control, reported Reuters, will be those of strategic importance, such as copper, iron, coal, oil, saltpeter, and electric power.

Death Toll Rises in Fighting on Island of Mindanao

Artillery barrages and aerial bombings killed between 150 and 200 persons on the island of Mindanao, Philippine military sources claimed June 24. The massive government attack followed a coordinated offensive by the Muslim rebels of the Moro National Liberation Front. About 300 Muslim rebels attacked government positions in the Awang-Dinaig area near the provincial airport, some twelve miles from Cotabato city, June 20. The next day, another force of 300 rebels attacked the outskirts of Midsayap, twenty-five miles east of Cotabato.

The massive government retaliation, using combined ground and air assaults, forced more than 19,000 refugees to flee

their homes. According to welfare officials, schools at Midsayap were turned into refugee camps as thousands of villagers fled the bombing raids, many of them abandoning all their possessions except the clothes they were wearing.

The offensive by the Muslim rebels coincided with the fifth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers meeting in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. A communique released by the conference participants June 26 called on Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos to "desist from all measures which resulted in the killing of Muslims," to halt all military operations against the rebels, and to negotiate a political solution with the rebel forces.

Portuguese Troops Gun Down Mozambique Miners

Seven Africans were killed and at least six wounded June 25 when Portuguese troops opened fire on mine workers returning from South Africa. According to Lieutenant Colonel Ferreira Correia, the miners refused to allow the border guards to search their baggage as they were returning to Mozambique through the border post at Ressano Garcia, about fifty miles northwest of Lourenco Marques.

30 Arrested in Singapore

The Singapore government announced June 21 that thirty persons, alleged to be "members of the underground Malaysian National Liberation Front," had been arrested. Although the government did not release their names, it is known that M. T. T. Rajah, a lawyer who often defended leftists, and three staff members of a Chinese-language newspaper were among them.

Syrians Return to Ruins of Quneitra

Some 100,000 Syrians streamed to the Golan Heights June 26 to celebrate the Israeli withdrawal from Quneitra. Israeli forces, which had occupied the Syrian town since the 1967 war, evacuated the area the night before in accordance with the May 31 disengagement agreement. Returning residents found a pile of rubble where the town had once been.

"Only a handful of buildings still stand," reported one observer, "including the mosques, a church, and a few gutted main-street shops. The city's utilities are smashed. . . . Virtually all of the cinder-block private dwellings had been razed." Correspondents who visited Quneitra while it was under occupation have reported that Israeli forces used the town for shelling practice and that many of the buildings had been deliberately dynamited after the October war.

John MacLean and Scottish Socialism

[Harry McShane, a close colleague of John MacLean, gave the following interview to a correspondent of *Intercontinental Press*. McShane first made contact with MacLean in 1910, when he left the Independent Labour party (ILP)¹ and joined the British Socialist party (BSP). He broke from the BSP in 1920 at the same time as MacLean and worked with him in a small political group that became known as Tramps Trust Unlimited. Joining the newly founded Communist party in 1922, McShane remained a member until differences arose over the "Five-Power Peace Pact" policy, which provoked him to leave in 1953. He remains active and, in particular, was one of the founding members of the recently formed John MacLean Society.

[John MacLean was an outstanding Marxist leader of the Scottish working class. Lenin wrote in 1917 that MacLean was one of a handful of "isolated heroes who assumed the heavy task of precursors of the revolution."

[During his time at Glasgow University, where he was studying political economy, MacLean became radicalized and was won to Marxism by joining the Social Democratic Federation (SDF—the forerunner of the Social Democratic party and the BSP), which was led by an acquaintance of Marx, H.M. Hyndman. During the first world war, MacLean fought inside the BSP against the social-patriotic ideas of Hyndman, who eventually split from the BSP in 1916.

[MacLean became renowned for his classes in Marxist economics and also for his continuous agitation against the war. He issued proclamations and agitated for the defense of the Irish nationalist struggle and, later, the February and October revolutions in Russia. He was made an honorary mem-

ber of the Petrograd soviet and in 1918 became the Russian consul for Scotland.

[He developed ideas on Scottish nationalism that propelled him in the direction of forming the Scottish Workers Republican party (SWRP) instead of joining the efforts to build the Communist party.

[In 1918 MacLean was the official Labour party candidate for the Glasgow Gorbals constituency. (The BSP was affiliated to the Labour party.) He stood against the previous Labour candidate, who was not chosen again because of his refusal to abide by the Labour party's decision to withdraw from Lloyd George's war cabinet. MacLean was released from prison one week before the election, but was too ill to speak in the campaign until the eve of the election day.

[He carried on his struggle against reformism and opportunism until his death, of pneumonia, on November 30, 1923.]

* * *

Question. What was the labor movement in Scotland like in the period leading up to the first world war?

Answer. Prior to the outbreak of the war, the engineers union had decided to ask for twopence an hour increase in wages, an unprecedented demand. When the men in Weir's came out on strike in 1915, they raised the question of a twopence an hour. It became known as the "twopence an hour" strike. Out of that strike there was formed what was known as the Labour Withholding Committee. The whole of the Clydeside came out in support of Weir's.

Marxists in the movement looked upon it as a very big step, as it really was. A great big unofficial strike of about 17,000 workers, engineers on the Clyde all howling down the national [union] officials. The first time I ever knew that to happen. They were refusing to do the bidding of the National Executive and go back to work. This was the origin of the Clyde Workers Committee.

It was here that the cleavage in the movement actually started. Those of us that were active in the BSP, the Socialist Labour party [SLP],² and some of the ILP members were opposed to the war but the shop stewards were not touching the war. They were fighting for the improvement of conditions while the war was on.

John MacLean began his campaign against the war immediately after it broke out. John MacLean couldn't understand why men who were calling themselves socialists, leading the Shop Stewards Movement, had never come out in a fight against the war. They accepted the war as a fact. Most shop stewards were antiwar but were not prepared to make that the issue in the course of the struggle. John MacLean became very critical of that and at open-air meetings he attacked them. On one occasion Gallacher [W. Gallacher, a "left" Communist who later became an apologist for Stalinism] spoke at our usual stand at Bath Street, near the Transport Offices, which were being used as the recruiting offices, and John MacLean expressed surprise that Gallacher could speak there and never once mention the war.

Then there were John MacLean's economics classes. Most of the men who attended them worked in industry and they were undoubtedly carrying the message back. He brought into his classes what happened yesterday, what happened today. He made his classes very lively and interesting and piled in more than any man I knew into an hour-and-a-half lecture.

Our main contention was to point out to the workers that they were being exploited, the need for the class struggle and the fight against the employers. The pioneer in this was undoubtedly John MacLean. About 1910, he was the only man who had a class. Very suddenly a number of organizations began to run economics classes. But the biggest class in Europe was the one being conducted by John MacLean.

There is something else I think I should say here. John MacLean was

1. The ILP was founded in 1893 by Keir Hardie and Ramsay MacDonald. The party played a major role in the founding of the Labour party, to which it was affiliated and in which it usually held a position on the left. At the outbreak of World War I, the ILP at first adopted an antiwar position but later supported the British war role.

2. The SLP was formed in 1903 after a split in the SDF. James Connolly was one of the original founders of the SLP. The party adopted many of the ideas of the U.S. socialist leader Daniel DeLeon.

an outstanding fighter for socialism, but he had the organizational concept of the Social Democrats. He believed in the Labour party. He followed Hyndman, but Hyndman was not, of course, in agreement with affiliation to the Labour party. He also supported the Cooperative Movement.³ He wanted to see the trade unions built up. He had the concept of the Labour party, the Cooperative Movement, and the trade unions being combined into one big working-class organization and then through that being able to bring power to the working class. That was the general Social Democratic concept at the time.

John MacLean based himself, like most Marxists at the time, on Darwinism, without knowing very much about the dialectic. He also based himself, to a great extent, on Lewis H. Morgan's ideas about ancient society.

As far as I know, John MacLean said nothing about a separate Scotland in those days. I knew him, I had worked with him. I first met him in 1910. That question was never raised by the Marxist element in the movement. It was not an issue at all. The issue was the fight against the war. The idea was that we would fight against the war, not quite sure what the outcome would be, but we were in principle taking a stand against the war. We did not accept it.

The war developed and he got arrested three times. He got arrested the first time in November 1915. He was given a fine of £5 or five days in prison, and he refused to pay the fine and went to prison. It was then that the Govan school board decided that he was not a proper person to teach children, having been in prison. A big fight developed. Tremendous protests, big demonstrations against the school board, but he still got sacked.

Then again in 1916 he was arrested and got sentenced to three years. Got out and again arrested, this time getting a sentence of five years. There he remained until December 1918.

Q. What was the official position of the BSP, which John MacLean was in, with regard to the war?

3. The Cooperative Movement was formed in a struggle by the labor movement to establish nonexploitative alternatives to the capitalist wholesale and retail stores.

A. The BSP was led by Hyndman and Company. Hyndman had advocated, before the war, a big navy because of what he called the "German menace." We had a big discussion on it and at every party congress there was a big fight about it. Zelda Kahan and Joe Fineberg were on the executive and fought against Hyndman.

Hyndman was a very revered character. I never knew why. I didn't like him. He had formed the Social Dem-



JOHN MACLEAN

ocratic party, the first socialist party in Britain. He had written this book *The Economics of Socialism* and he had written *England for All*, the book which had got him into trouble with Karl Marx. I heard him speaking at a public meeting and then he came and addressed an aggregate meeting of the party. I had no time for him although I thought his book was very helpful.

In Glasgow there was a split, and two very able propagandists who supported Hyndman left the party. The Scottish representative of the party on the Executive supported Hyndman. But in 1916 the antiwar people carried a resolution against the war. We discovered for the first time that the paper, the official organ of the party, *Justice*, belonged to Hyndman, and he took it with him. So we had to issue a new paper, which was named *The Call*. It was continued until the Communist party was founded in 1920.

From that point on the party was antiwar. At the same congress, the af-

filiation to the Labour party was carried, and that made it possible for John MacLean to become the official Labour candidate for the Gorbals constituency.

Q. Were there any links between the party and the beginnings of the Third International?

A. Prior to the foundation of the Third International, John MacLean had broken with the BSP, and so had I. My branch had broken. John MacLean was on the executive and had broken himself.

Theodore Rothstein had insisted that John MacLean drop all of his activities in Glasgow, his classes and his agitational work, and be fighting for "Hands off Russia" entirely. He was not prepared to drop all of his other activities. To make things worse Rothstein, who had fought against Hyndman before the war, then took a job with the War Office as an interpreter in Russian. John MacLean was very annoyed at this. But to be honest, Rothstein wrote under the pseudonym of John Bryan in the socialist press against the war.

Q. Was Rothstein the representative of the Comintern?

A. He was, but we didn't know it at the time. He was acquainted with the Russian refugees who had been here. He must have known Lenin when he was here in 1903. He knew Chicherin, he knew Litvinov and all those fellows, who were in one of the branches of the BSP in London. His scope was that he was working directly for the Comintern before it was actually founded.

Q. Were there many people who left the BSP with John MacLean?

A. No. My branch left, but not with John MacLean. We didn't know about John MacLean's attitude. We left independently. We were completely dissatisfied with the new bureaucratic trend that had shown itself in the leadership of the BSP, and it didn't seem to have any policy. When John broke, it was just pure coincidence.

In 1920 there was a May Day demonstration, and I noticed John MacLean with a revived paper, the *Van-*

guard. I went over and helped him to sell it. He told me that he was having a meeting that night. Would I come and help him? Would I take the chair? I said yes, and I did that the following two weeks. My foreman was in the audience the last week, and I got the sack. John argued with me about not going for another job but to go with him in the campaign. He and I were the first two from that group to go on a campaign up and down the country. It was then that John came over to the idea of a Scottish Workers Republic.

Q. Was the Communist party founded by this time?

A. The Communist party was about to be founded. Gallacher had been to Russia along with John Clarke, both illegally. Attempts were made to form a Communist Labour party in Scotland, which was to be the nucleus for the British Communist party, obviously. But it didn't materialize, although a conference had been held.

John conceived the idea of the Socialist Labour party headquarters being the center for a new Scottish Communist party. There was a housing demonstration⁴ and John MacLean put out a leaflet, "All Hail the Scottish Communist Republic." He put out 100,000 of that leaflet.

The following year when he was in jail, I visited and he asked me to put another 10,000 of that leaflet out. I suggested to him that since he was more or less patterning the movement on the Connolly tradition and that Connolly had fought for an Irish Workers Republic, he should change the heading to "All Hail the Scottish Workers Republic" and he agreed. That was what he called his party that he formed in 1923. I am responsible for that.

Q. Was there any other issue than the bureaucratism and the "hands off Russia" issue that caused the split?

A. No. Well, as a matter of fact, the big issue of the time was the Irish situation. John issued that pamphlet *The Tragedy of Ireland: Scotland's Disgrace*. The *Glasgow Herald* had the

leading article "Scottish Troops Go to Ireland." John started to make the first draft of that pamphlet. He made it an issue at all the big meetings. When the Black and Tans were carrying out their atrocities and so on, he condemned it very strongly.

In the beginning we had a visit from Captain White. Now, Captain White was the man who organized the Irish Citizens' Army in 1913 during the Dublin lockout. (He was the son of General Sir George White, the hero of Ladysmith in the Boer War.) He spoke at a lot of meetings with us on the Irish issue.

We met with opposition now and again. We met with opposition from the Orangemen in Motherwell. Then we had some trouble in Port Glasgow at a public meeting. On another night John and I had stones thrown at us. But they didn't make a real problem. We were quite fearless about the Irish situation. We made no bones about it.

And at the same time there was, of course, the Indian thing. There was a slaughter of Indians at Amritsar. We used to use the slogan "Hands off Russia, Hands off Ireland, Hands off India." In those days we used to do most of the advertising by chalking the street pavements. Everywhere you went you had chalk with you and these were the common slogans.

Q. What kind of response did John MacLean's ideas on Ireland get from the working class?

A. Very good they were. You had a big Irish element, of course. They were much closer to their Irish forefathers than they are now. There was hardly a meeting that it wasn't made an issue of.

There was a little fellow called Matthew Bird. He was probably a schoolboy then; later on he became the cartoonist for the *Daily Worker*.⁵ Matthew was a little boy wearing short trousers. He used to step out in front of that City Hall platform and read out his latest poem on the Irish struggle. He went down very well.

The lord mayor of Cork was on hunger strike and it was obvious that they were going to let him die, so on

a Friday afternoon, I remember quite well, John drafted a leaflet, "The Murder of the Lord Mayor of Cork." Then the news came through on the Sunday morning that the lord mayor of Cork was dead. We got the printer out of bed. And we had that leaflet out at a big meeting at Nelson's monument that same afternoon. We collected £43 to pay for it. In those days of unemployment and low wages and so on, to get £43 was going some. We ultimately put out 150,000 copies of that leaflet.

Q. How did the other socialist groups, the ILP, the SLP, the remainder of the BSP, and the Communist party, view the Irish issue?

A. The SLP was more or less split on it. There were some that argued that this wasn't the revolution. It was just an obsession of Connolly, one of their founders. And this had happened during the war, when some were wanting to get on with it. The BSP wasn't doing much of anything then. The ILP was divided on it. In fact, the *Socialist Review*, which was then edited by Ramsay MacDonald, reported the Irish Rising as another sort of imperialism. You had a complete split in the movement over Ireland.

Q. Did you have any demonstrations in Glasgow on the Irish issue at that time?

A. Oh yes. Many demonstrations and many meetings. We had meetings entirely on the Irish question, entirely on that whole subject—very, very often.

When John MacLean was fighting as the Labour candidate for Gorbals, he was in jail during the whole of the campaign and only came out a week before the polling was due to take place. I recall one night in St. Mungo Halls, the meeting used to always end with the singing of the "International" but that audience stood up and sang "God Save Ireland," which was a quite astounding thing. So the support on the Irish question was exceptionally good. The Orangemen hardly ever showed themselves.

Q. In today's campaign about Ireland the main theme that the British left has been putting forward has been

4. MacLean was at the center of the mass resistance to exorbitant rent rises imposed by landlords during and after the war.

5. The *Daily Worker* was the predecessor of the *Morning Star*, the paper of the Communist party of Britain.

for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. What was the central demand of the Irish campaign then?

A. That's what the demand was then. That the Scottish troops should not shoot down Irish workers. I remember we had a number of issues of George Bernard Shaw's pamphlet *John Bull's Other Island*. We distributed it everywhere. That was our main demand: "Hands off Ireland" and for the "Withdrawal of troops from Ireland." It's the same today.

Q. Getting back to the question of the founding of the Communist party. Why didn't John MacLean join in the efforts of the other people who were coming together to form the Communist party?

A. By this time he welcomed a Communist party, but a Scottish one. He had accepted the Twenty-one Points, the conditions for affiliation to the Communist International. He wanted a Scottish Communist party affiliated to the Communist International. He had written an open letter to Lenin in which he had attacked the leadership of the British party. He didn't care for the personnel; he was worried about Rothstein because of his role. He had quarreled with Gallacher. He had quarreled with most of the leaders. But apart from that, at this time he was convinced that the Scottish movement was in advance of the English movement. He wasn't attacking England. He was attacking the British Empire.

There was a man who had descended from the old Scottish aristocracy, the Erskine of Mar, who had written in the *Vanguard* an article on Celtic communism, "Primitive Communism in Scotland." When John issued his leaflet he called it "Back to Communism; Forward to Communism." The Erskine of Mar had a big influence on him. The biggest influence on him was, of course, the Easter Rising and Connolly.

Q. Did the leaders of the British Communist party—Gallacher and Rothstein and others—did they think that the call for a separate Scotland, the right of self-determination, was wrong, that it shouldn't be put forward by the Communist party?

A. They were opposed to it. As a matter of fact, they had a weekly paper, a shop stewards' paper, called the *Worker*. J.R. Campbell, who wrote for this paper, sneered at it and referred to it as "socialism in kilts."

Q. Can you remember any distinctive feature that John MacLean held to that showed Scotland to be an oppressed nation?

A. No. I don't think John regarded Scotland as an oppressed nation. John saw it as in advance of England. You had the Clyde struggle and so on. Also there were the crofters⁶ and the many struggles they had. But he was against the British Empire, and that gave what could be spoken of as his Scottish angle. I don't recall him ever saying that Scotland was an oppressed nation.

Q. For example, did he hold that there was a language or culture that had been put down by British imperialism?

A. No, I wouldn't say that. It was rather a feeling, a Scottish feeling. He called himself a Scotsman, let us be quite clear on that. But actually, it was the struggle; he was captivated by the idea of struggle. The Irish struggle was the most inspiring thing to John MacLean at that time.

Q. You say that John MacLean thought that the struggle was more advanced in Scotland than in England. Is it correct to say that while the struggle in Scotland went through an upsurge after the first world war, the struggle in England went into a downturn?

A. That is correct. That is the way he saw it. Scotland could give a lead. That the Scottish struggle was being held back, more or less. The English movement was not nearly so advanced as the Scottish movement. His inspiration was the Irish struggle.

Q. Could you tell more about that? Was there anything in Ireland like

6. Crofters were small tenant farmers. They put up fierce resistance to the "Highland Clearances," i.e., attempts by the big landlords to drive them off the land during the industrial revolution.

the Scottish Shop Stewards' Movement or was there anybody fighting on the same antiwar issue as well as for Irish independence?

A. No, there was not that. But there had been the Connolly tradition, who had argued for a workers republic. The cry of the Connollyites was "Orange and Green will carry the day." The unity of Orange and Green, recalling the time when you had Protestants leading the Irish movement in days gone by. Even referring to the times—Connolly did, you know—when leading clergy and even popes were opposed to the Irish struggle and in favor of England. The idea was that Protestant and Catholic would unite.

I look upon that as one of the most important things that I could have done at that time. I think that John was thinking that way too, that the biggest contribution that we could make was to get this Protestant-Catholic unity on a working-class basis, on a class basis, fighting on class issues.⁷ I still think that. I think it's been neglected. I think that something should be done about it.

Q. The Scottish Workers Republican party—was that a democratic-centralist organization?

A. That's the funny thing; no, it wasn't. It was a ragtag thing. It never really materialized to any great extent. What happened was that when he didn't make any headway with the SLP at that time and he didn't want to join the Communist party, he had issued that pamphlet earlier on, I told you, he made that the name (the Scottish Workers Republic), the name of his party.

I wasn't happy about some of the

7. In his pamphlet *The Tragedy of Ireland: Scotland's Disgrace*, MacLean clearly subordinated Catholic-Protestant unity on economic issues to the national struggle for self-determination. At no time did he place the economic struggles of the conservatized Protestants, who were a small minority in Ireland, on a par with the struggle of the masses of nationalist Catholics. On the contrary, he wrote: "If the minority cannot stand up for themselves, let them emigrate." And again: "If the Ulstermen cannot tolerate an Irish Republic, let them take a taste of emigration."

people who joined it. I didn't think it could prosper at all. I left in August and John died in November. There were one or two people who used the name for some time afterwards.

Q. There was a time, wasn't there, when the SWRP put up twelve candidates?

A. Sixteen candidates. That was the SWRP. I knew some of the candidates, but I was very far from happy about most of them. (I wasn't there when they ran them.) One of them had been a theological lecturer for some time, a Protestant lecturer who suddenly became a revolutionary.

They were able to get good meetings. They were running sixteen candidates when John MacLean died. He was speaking in the fog; he was trying to speak for sixteen candidates in Glasgow. He got pneumonia and then he died.

Q. On what basis did people join the SWRP? Did they have to agree with a program?

A. They joined it first of all because they were revolutionaries and the idea of a Scottish revolution attracted a lot of them. They joined it and nearly all became speakers. There was a following but not a membership, you understand what I mean?

Q. Was there any idea from John MacLean about the SWRP's attitude towards internationalism?

A. They wanted to be part of an international, a communist international. They never ceased on that. John MacLean was all for internationalism. I think you should know that as late as 1921 Lenin sent an invitation to John MacLean to visit him in Russia. But he sent it through Gallacher.

We were having a meeting in the City Hall, an unemployed meeting, and someone came and told John that he was wanted at the back door of the City Hall. He went downstairs and when he came back he told me it was Gallacher. I said, "Well, what did he want?" He said, "It was an invitation from Lenin for me to go to Moscow." I said, "Are you going?" He said, "No."

The line he took was that he had applied for his passport and he had

been refused. He had been refused and he was entitled to his passport and he wasn't going unless he got that passport. I think that John was wrong, but then we can all be wrong on things.

Q. Can you tell us more about his election campaign in Gorbals?

A. In 1918 he was the official Labour candidate. He was in prison on hunger strike. He was released a week before the election polling day. A tremendous reception he got that night. But he couldn't speak because his chest was bad. He spoke on the eve of the election poll at four meetings.

He was a candidate again in 1922, but not the official candidate. You have got to remember that Gorbals was one of the first constituencies ever to elect a Labour MP in Scotland. There were only two elected in 1906 and Gorbals had one of them.

The MP was George Barnes. The reason why John MacLean was fighting was because George Barnes refused to leave the coalition government when the Labour party decided that he should leave it after the Armistice was signed. In 1922 Barnes said he would clear the way, he would withdraw if they adopted any candidate except John MacLean.

The problem was how they were going to get a candidate to stand against John MacLean. Ultimately, George Buchanan agreed to it. John became an unofficial candidate. The Scottish Workers Republican candidate, he called himself. Geordie Buchanan's mother came to John and asked him not to attack Geordie. So John told them if they couldn't vote for him they should vote for George Buchanan. He gave a lot of people a way out. I think John made a mistake there. They voted for George Buchanan, and by god almighty, they didn't make much progress after that.

Q. Could you tell us more about how you and MacLean were involved in the founding and building of the unemployed movement?

A. That was in November 1920 when we both took part in the building of it, and there were demonstrations every night. Every night, around the hotels, drawing attention to the

plight of the unemployed. We had a meeting once a week in the City Hall and on Sunday morning we marched to the churches and asked to be allowed in. But we never got into any.

We did this sort of activity and John got the jail, and then I carried on and I got the jail. When I came out, I joined the Communist party and I took the unemployed into the national movement. John didn't want to be attached to the national movement. We built a big conference for the whole of the West of Scotland, a very effective body that was.

Q. So the Scottish unemployment movement wasn't part of the national trade-union movement as a whole?

A. No it wasn't. There was a national unemployment movement built up by Wal Hannington in London and we weren't attached to it. But I was in favor of getting organized on a national basis and I took them into the national movement.

Q. What kind of demands did the unemployed movement make when led by John MacLean?

A. Oh, of course the big demand was, first of all, we were demanding proper pay from the parish councils. We made a very big fight on that and with great success too. Got some concessions. We got free use of the City Hall, got free baths for the unemployed. Small concessions. Then it more or less broke down when both John and myself were in jail. I came out before John and, as I said, I joined the Communist party in July 1922. It was I who took the leading part in organizing a West of Scotland district conference of the unemployed. Then I got them affiliated to the national movement.

Q. How big was the movement at that time?

A. There was no membership. There were only large demonstrations. It was after I had done this that we got a membership.

Q. The question today that the Scottish National party makes a big play of is North Sea oil and gas. Was there any similar issue then that John Mac-

Lean used to build the SWRP?

A. No. We didn't know about Scottish oil or gas. We did know about the plight of the Scottish people and we knew about the Irish struggle. We didn't talk about industrial development at all. The idea of a second industrial revolution never entered our heads.

Q. Finally, you mentioned James Connolly. Did MacLean have a close relationship with James Connolly?

A. He did know him. You have to remember that Connolly wasn't here from the early part of the century except coming to an occasional meeting in the Metropole Theatre. John MacLean joined the movement about 1902

or 1903. Connolly lived in Edinburgh and was coming to Glasgow regularly at that particular time. But he never met MacLean in the latter years, and, as you know, Connolly was executed in 1916.

John was in jail when the Rising took place. But we were convinced before the Rising that there was going to be trouble in Ireland and we were convinced that the Irish would not accept conscription. Jimmy MacDougall, who was one of our speakers, said that if Ireland accepted conscription, he would dye his hair green. But he wasn't required to do so. They didn't do it, mainly because of the Rising and the stand taken by the Irish movement against Redmond and them who did support the war in the main. □

to the transitory and hybrid nature of the economic phenomenon that it expresses on an institutional political level: the progressive internationalization of the holdings of big capital. During the past twenty years there has been a process of *European interpenetration of capital* that has gradually expanded in breadth. We have seen the birth of industrial groups whose holdings are no longer those of a "national" bourgeoisie, but are instead shared among the bourgeoisies of various European nationalities, no "national" faction commanding a controlling share. (Dunlop-Pirelli and Agfa-Gevaert are two examples.)

But while this process of European interpenetration of capital is incontestably going on, it is far from having reached the point of no return. In certain cases, it has failed. The Fiat-Citroën experience in the automobile industry is a case in point. That new European supertrust was dissolved. In other cases, the process has taken the form of a single, controlling "national" capital absorbing a number of firms. The absorption of the French pharmaceutical company Roussel-Uclaf by the German Hoechst Farben trust is an example. In most branches of industry, "national" monopolistic trusts are continuing to act by means of international cooperation among European firms rather than by means of a real fusing of interests.

Thus, the internationalization of capital within the Common Market began by going beyond the stage of "national" monopolistic trusts. American, European, and Japanese multinational firms have accumulated unquestionable power. But the internationalization of capital has not yet reached the point that capitalist groups organized around the axis of "national" bourgeois states have lost all influence or all capacity to react. *The result of the struggle between groups demanding a bourgeois state on a European scale and groups still attached to the national bourgeois state has yet to be decided.* That is the indispensable background to understanding the present crisis of the Common Market.

The Common Market is a supranational institution lacking real state power just at a time when the state has become an indispensable instrument not only for maintaining the

Which Way Out?

The Common Market in Crisis

By Ernest Mandel

[The following article is from the June 20 issue of *Inprecor*,* a new fortnightly publication of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

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Once again the Common Market is going through a serious crisis, probably the most serious since its formation. This crisis was manifested in the failure of the "common float" of the currencies of the nine member countries, in the British government's decision to renegotiate the terms of Britain's membership in the EEC, and in the Danish and Italian decisions to suspend free importation of commodities originating from Common Market countries. Earlier, the crisis had been expressed in the most dramatic fashion by the inability of the governments of the member states to work out a common position when

faced with the "oil crisis" or to negotiate a joint agreement with the oil-exporting countries.

To understand the origins of this crisis, one must first of all understand the real nature of the Common Market. The EEC is a *transitory and hybrid phenomenon* of international economic integration of nine imperialist countries (at the beginning, six imperialist countries). These countries decided to allow unlimited circulation of commodities and capital within their national borders. But they created neither a common bourgeois state, nor a common government, nor a common currency.

The institutions with which they endowed the Common Market are pseudostate institutions capped by a "commission" that has only consultative power, except in the strictly limited realms of circulation of capital and commodities. The real power in the Common Market rests with the "council of ministers." And, in practice, even this body lacks the power to enforce its decisions on any government that chooses to violate them.

The transitory and hybrid nature of the Common Market corresponds

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political and social power of capital, but also for permitting the realization and expanded reproduction of capital. We have always predicted that the fundamental contradictions of such an institution would break to the surface as soon as there was a generalized recession in capitalist Europe. It is exactly at the time of a serious economic recession that the intervention of the bourgeois state into economic life becomes decisive for saving the system.

Big capital of each of the member states of the Common Market is then confronted with a clear alternative: either create a real European superstate capable of working out an anti-crisis policy on an international scale, or fall back on an anticrisis policy on a national scale. In either case, the Common Market goes by the boards.

In the first case, it would be replaced by a federal capitalist state extending over all the capitalist countries prepared to take this step; it would have a common currency, a common government, a common policy on public works and employment, a common budget, and a common fiscal policy. In the second case, it would break up under the blows of a massive return to protectionism on the part of all (or most of) the "national" bourgeois states of Western Europe.

It is obvious that the European multinational trusts would react to a serious economic recession by demanding a superstate on a European scale, for the simple reason that it is only on such a scale that their interests in the "struggle against recession" could be effectively served. This would also apply to those trusts that are already internationalized from the standpoint of holdings of capital, and to those that are still controlled by the bourgeoisie of a single nation but whose field of action already goes too far beyond a "national" field even on the level of production. The Philips electronics trust, to take one example, could not be protected from the effects of a serious economic crisis by measures taken solely by the government of the Netherlands or solely enacted within the territory of that one country. For this trust, an effective "anti-recession" policy would have to be an "antirecession" policy at least within the nine Common Market countries as a whole.

Nevertheless, it is equally clear that in the absence of a real government

and a real state power extending over all the nine countries of the Common Market (or over most of them), the more severe an economic recession is, the more the bourgeoisie of each separate country will find itself obliged to act against recession on a purely national level. The real choice with

economic recession unless it had succeeded in transforming itself into a real European government by the time the recession came.

Crisis of the Common Market: Product of Recession

The events of the past six months confirm the accuracy of this analysis.

An economic recession is now under way in most imperialist countries. It is already serious in the United States (where the gross national product has fallen by 6 percent in the space of five months), and it has begun in Britain, Italy, and Japan. West Germany is teetering on the brink of recession. France is the only big imperialist country that has not yet been affected.

Unemployment is on the rise in all imperialist countries. It is likely that during the winter of 1974-75 the previous postwar record in the imperialist countries—which was 10 million, set in the winter of 1970—will be broken by a wide margin. The total number of unemployed in all the imperialist countries will probably approach 15 million.

Under these conditions, in the absence of a real government with real state power on the scale of the Common Market, it was inevitable that the bourgeoisie would move toward anti-recessionist measures on a national scale, that is, toward protectionist measures. This is what was done in a spectacular manner by Italy and Denmark. The governments of these countries imposed de facto limitations not only on imports in general, but also on imports originating from Common Market countries in particular.

It is sometimes asserted that this crisis might be "exceptional," that it might represent a "temporary accident" provoked only by the "oil crisis," which is said to have created significant balance of payments deficits in several European imperialist countries (especially Britain, Italy, and France).

This argument is incomplete and specious. In fact, the balance of payments deficits of some Common Market countries is almost completely "compensated for" by the no less spectacular balance of payments surplus in West Germany. The Benelux countries are also (still) enjoying a not unimportant surplus. The real nature



SCHMIDT: Refusing to foot the bill?

which the bourgeoisie would be faced would be, in effect, between "national" action or inaction, that is, between national action or no action at all. Given the relationship of forces between capital and labor in Western Europe today, it is unthinkable that any "national" bourgeoisie would stand by passively in face of the aggravation of an economic recession and a rise in unemployment. Under these conditions, passivity would provoke a social and revolutionary crisis of unprecedented gravity for the survival of the capitalist system.

That is why our prediction has always been that the Common Market would not pass the test of a serious

of the "balance of payments crisis" thus emerges in a wholly different light. The Italian, Danish, and British governments have been obliged to resort to protectionist measures *because of the refusal of the countries with large surpluses to pool (either wholly or in part) the exchange reserves of all the countries of the Common Market.* Such a "pooling" of exchange reserves is obviously unthinkable without a common currency, a common economic, monetary, and fiscal policy, and a common employment policy; that is, without a common government and a common "superstate."

West German Big Capital Faces Unhappy Choices

The nature of the dilemma with which European big capital is confronted is especially striking in the case of West German imperialism, today the most stable and prosperous of all imperialisms. Of all the great imperialist powers, West Germany has experienced the lowest rate of inflation, the most rapid expansion of exports, the most significant balance of payments surplus, and the lowest rate of unemployment (although the unemployment rate has increased seriously since 1970-72). When Helmut Schmidt succeeded Willy Brandt as Social Democratic chancellor, most observers stressed the "Atlantic" inclinations of the new government chief as compared to the "European" inclinations of his predecessor. But in a matter of just a few weeks—when Schmidt held his meeting with the new French president, Giscard d'Estaing—this estimation had to be abandoned.

German big capital now finds itself caught between two evils, and it is hard to decide which is the greater and which the lesser. If it opts for a "new push for the Common Market," it will have to absorb both the balance of payments deficits and the effects of accelerated inflation of three of its major partners—France, Italy, and Britain. The health and consolidation of the Common Market would then be purchased at the price of putting into effect the old slogan of the French bourgeoisie at the time of Poincaré and Clemenceau: Let the Krauts foot the bill! And this despite the fact that this time there is no mili-

tary or political force capable of backing up this demand.

But if Helmut Schmidt should decide to refuse to foot the bill, as he proclaimed he would during the ceremony installing him as chancellor, the consequences for Bonn will be no less disastrous. The protectionist measures would then threaten to spread from Italy and Denmark to France and Britain, and even to other countries as well. The cumulative effects of these measures (and of the retrenching measures they would provoke in turn) would deal a decisive blow to the single pillar of the "prosperity" of West German capitalism: soaring exports. (In the domestic market, sales of consumer goods are already on the decline.)

The partners of the German Federal Republic would then certainly succeed in "exporting" the recession to West Germany if West Germany did not



GISCARD: Revived Schmidt's "European" inclinations.

export its exchange reserves to its neighbors. The recession would create a serious social crisis, and the pressure to deal with this crisis by turning on the faucets of inflation of credit would become irresistible. But increasing inflation in order to ameliorate the crisis would worsen the balance of payments deficit and provoke the

evaporation of exchange reserves. Therein lies the dilemma.

The Role of the State in Interimperialist Competition

Some may reproach this analysis with having made concessions to the Kautskyist myth of "superimperialism." When we assert that several European imperialist powers could "peacefully fuse" without the reality being that one is absorbing the others by force, as German imperialism tried to do during the first and second world wars and French and British imperialism tried to do in the aftermath of the two world wars, are we not postulating the possibility of interimperialist contradictions being peacefully overcome instead of intensified? In reality, those who oppose our analysis on this basis are revealing a formal and empty schematism of thought that borders on sophism and is a thousand miles removed from a dialectical appreciation of objective reality. What Lenin counterposed to Kautsky was the thesis of the aggravation rather than amelioration of interimperialist contradictions *taken as a whole*, and not the thesis that the contradictions between each of the individual imperialist powers must always intensify. We believe that Lenin's thesis remains absolutely correct and conforms to the events now taking place. Interimperialist contradictions are in fact intensifying rather than easing, and this, it may be noted in passing, belies not only the theory of superimperialism, but also the theory that North American superimperialism's sheer weight would crush all its competitors, reducing them to pure and simple satellites.

Lenin never advanced the theory that interimperialist competition would necessarily have to go on among a number of imperialist powers that are eternally equal in strength. During his own lifetime, Lenin saw the elimination of two great imperialist powers: czarist Russia overthrown by the October Revolution and Austria-Hungary dismantled by the defeat of 1918. To assert that a fusion between a certain number of imperialist powers is impossible "because of the intensification of interimperialist competition" would be to lose sight of the fact that the fusion could be provoked exactly

by the intensified competition itself.

Let us look at the recent example of the "oil crisis." It provoked a general rush on the part of all the world's big trusts not only toward sources of oil and uranium, but also toward sources of other so-called raw materials. The manner in which the governments of the various imperialist countries maneuvered and are still maneuvering to facilitate achieving the goals of "their" trusts once again admirably confirms the correctness of the Leninist theory of imperialism and the state. But it is obvious that the stronger a state is politically, militarily, and financially, the more it can facilitate the access of "its" trusts to sources of raw materials. Now, while it is true that the West German state is financially powerful and that the French, British, and Italian states are moderately powerful financially, taken separately they are weak politically and virtually nonexistent militarily. The Japanese state, also very weak militarily, compensates at least partially for this weakness with a great concentration of political power and a consequent ability to maneuver and to make quick decisions. The results of all this were not long in coming. In the rush for rare raw materials from October 1973 to April 1974, American and Japanese trusts scored important gains at the expense of European trusts.

So the real import of the theoretical discussion can be understood. The "revisionism" is to be found not in our camp, but in the camp of those who oppose our thesis on the European interpenetration of capital. For what they are suggesting in reality is that the big European trusts are unable (or worse still, do not desire) to defend their interests in the interimperialist competitive struggle by utilizing state instruments adequate to the task. And what does this theory imply if not that these trusts are lined up behind American interests, that is, the thesis of ultraimperialism (or its superimperialist variant)?

What we are asserting, however, is that interimperialist conflicts and contradictions among American, Japanese, and European trusts are intensifying and becoming exacerbated. That is why there is a long-term tendency toward European interpenetration of capital and toward the creation of an imperialist superstate in Europe.

Those are the indispensable weapons that the European trusts need if they are to have some chance of success in the intensified competitive struggle.

In following this reasoning, we are making no concessions whatever to the myth of "territoriality." There are those who polemicize against our position by operating in fact with the abstraction of "trusts established on the territory of France, of West Germany, etc." forgetting that irreconcilable conflicts of interests have developed between the European trusts and their American counterparts and that the bourgeois state cannot remain neutral in those conflicts—nor can it stand above the fray as an "arbiter."

Either the bourgeois state defends the interests of the European trusts, no matter how ineffectively; that is, the interests of Philips, Siemens, ICI, Hoechst Bayer, Péchiney, Saint-Gobain, Fiat, Royal-Dutch Shell, British Petroleum, Thyssen, Daimler Benz, and so on, as well as the sectors of financial capital that support them. In that case the question that is posed is deciding *what* state instrument *can be the most efficient weapon* in this intensified interimperialist competition. Or else one denies that these groups either want or are able to endow themselves with a state to defend themselves against U. S. imperialism. (This sort of argument is extremely weak, being supported by no demonstrable empirical evidence.) And those who hold to that argument are led, whether intentionally or not, to the Kautskyist theory that there is an ultraimperialism that unites all the trusts and crushes all those who oppose them.

European Interpenetration of Capital Goes On

To estimate the future of the Common Market, then, it is appropriate to refrain from all superficial and short-sighted impressionism. The long-term tendencies on the economic, social, and political level must be grasped, as well as the contradictions within those tendencies. Just as in the past it was incorrect to affirm lightly that the economic integration of capitalist Europe had become "irreversible," so today it would be wrong to rush hastily to the conclusion that the Common Market is in the process of decomposition or that it is already dead.

In spite of the failure of the Fiat-Citroën merger (which, incidentally, poses the question of a Citroën-Renault or Citroën-Ford merger, for the European automobile trusts do not seem capable of getting through the current crisis in the automobile industry by functioning in an independent manner), and in spite of the crisis of the institutions of the EEC, European interpenetration of capital is continuing. In face of the passivity of bourgeois governments and the disarray of the institutions of the "community," European big finance capital has not ceased taking action. And nearly all its actions move in the direction of a greater and greater push toward European interpenetration of capital.

Thus, the "energy crisis" gave rise to a new European financial company to take its place among the many joint financial-banking groups created during the past decade. The Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, the Société Générale, the Schweizerische Kreditanstalt, the Midlands Bank, the Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank, and the Belgian Société Générale de Banque have created *Finerg*, whose goal is to facilitate the financing of large-scale investment projects in the energy field: creation of atomic reactors, oil prospecting in the North Sea, research on new sources of energy, and so on. This is a project that once more confirms the long-term economic logic that underlies the European interpenetration of capital: the growing inability of "national" trusts, even the strongest ones, to find sufficient capital and material assets to undertake some of the technologically advanced projects without whose realization the competitive race with U. S. and Japanese imperialism would be irredeemably lost.

In the negotiations with the semicolonial countries and the bureaucratized workers states, the big monopolistic European trusts are loudly demanding sufficient "European" governmental support to allow them to come away with the choice deals. While American diplomacy has paved the way for a spectacular reentry of the Rockefeller trust into the Egyptian market, European diplomacy has unquestionably scored some points in the Soviet Union, North Africa (steel, automobiles, and natural gas), Black Africa, and Brazil. So the cause is far from having been lost. More than

ever, the future of the Common Market depends on the outcome of a battle being waged by living economic, social, and political forces. That is, it depends on certain real relationships of forces and not on any predetermined fate or "iron law."

The Workers' Interests Are Not Those of Capital

In this grappling between real material interests, the working class and the workers' movement must above all preserve their political independence and not identify with any of the battling bourgeois groups. Neither "national interest" nor "the European ideal" are anything but disguises donned by various capitalist groups in order to lead the workers to abandon resolute defense of their own interests against those of big capital.

Those who oppose European interpenetration of capital and the creation of a European "superstate" in the name of defending the "national sovereignty" of the existing bourgeois states are identifying themselves with conservative and retrograde capitalist interests that will be unable to preserve their holdings (through a policy of austerity, deflation, and protectionism) except by seeking to reduce the buying power and standard of living of the working class. Those who call for a "European response" to the "American challenge" and who demand a "European state" to "block the advance of the multinationals" are in reality counterposing a plan to strengthen *European multinationals* in order to stop *American multinationals*. The working class has no interest in strengthening its own class enemy, nor in assuming that European supertrusts would be more "liberal" or "reformist" than the "national" supertrusts that exist today.

In its own way, the crisis of the Common Market expresses the growing incompatibility of the expansion of the productive forces and the survival of the bourgeois national state. We put forward only one historic solution to this incompatibility: the Socialist United States of Europe. To achieve the Socialist United States of Europe it is necessary to prepare the working class to seize upon each decisive weakening of its own bourgeoisie, on each sharp prerevolutionary

crisis, with a view toward creating a real revolutionary situation, that is, with a view toward struggling for the conquest of power. The socialist revolution can still be initiated on the scale of a single country. In fact, for the time being, because of the uneven development of the relationship of forces between the classes and because of the, as yet, national character of the state and repressive apparatuses, it is possible to initiate the socialist revolution only on a national scale.

But at the same time, the growing internationalization of capital (of the "employers" in the most immediate sense of the word) imposes on the European workers and workers' organizations a greater task of jointly cooperating, making alliances, and carrying out actions on a pan-European scale—even for the most immediate demands, like wage increases. In this way an international class struggle is little by little developing in the image of the international organization of capital. Revolutionaries must not merely take part in this interna-

tional class struggle. They must be its most lucid, energetic, and enterprising advocates, carrying out many initiatives of contact and collaboration on the level of factory delegates and combative trade-union militants of companies owned by the same multinational trusts or in the same branch of industry in the various European countries.

The combination of the two phenomena—revolutionary crisis breaking out first on a national scale and workers' struggles expanding little by little internationally—entails a dynamic of progressive interaction of revolutionary crisis on a European scale that will be superior to that of the periods 1917–1920, 1934–38, or 1944–47. That is what makes the program of the Socialist United States of Europe not only objectively necessary, but practically possible as well. And, to an ever growing extent, the Socialist United States of Europe will become a credible goal, first to the broad vanguard, and later to the toiling masses as a whole. □

Interview With Maria Velho da Costa

Women and the Portuguese Revolution

[The following interview with Maria Velho da Costa was obtained by Gerry Foley in Lisbon at the end of May.]

[Da Costa is one of the "Three Marias"—three Portuguese women accused of "pornography" by the Caetano dictatorship as the result of writing *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*.

[The Three Marias were acquitted of the charges shortly after the April 25 military coup in Portugal.]

[Maria Velho da Costa has not had the opportunity to check the edited transcript of the interview, which was conducted in English.]

Question. How did you get involved in writing Novas Cartas Portuguesas with Maria Isabel Barreno and Maria Teresa Horta? What purpose did you have in mind?

Answer. I must say that the purpose was not very different from the purpose I had in mind when I wrote other pieces of fiction: I didn't have any particular purpose. I didn't want to convey any particular message.

I can't say the same thing for an essay I wrote. Then I wanted to convey a message on the connection between our primary education and the ideology we have here.

But whenever I am working on literature, although all my emotional life, my impressions, my intuitions, my ideological positions are working at the time I am writing, I never wrote a book to convey a message. In this particular one I wrote with Teresa and Isabel, my position was the same. I wanted to find some meaning—that's what makes me write I suppose—but not exactly to convey messages.

Q. When you say find a meaning do you mean a sense of general principles or something that refers to a specific area of human life?

A. Both. You see, I think that art generally should be a specific form of research. Of course, what the researcher is politically and psychologically goes into the research work, but

I do not believe that art has the purpose of conveying a political, ideological, or psychological message. To do that, I think one should use other media.

Q. One of the things that was important in the book was the discussion of women's issues. Do you have an opinion on the role of women's issues in the revolutionary process that is going on in Portugal now?

A. I want to clarify the point that I do not think this book is specifically concerned with the problems of women. We have several important themes: literary creation, what it means to work in a group, the relationship between the sexes—whether of love or hate, or in the structures of the family. These are not specifically from a feminist or even a woman's point of view. And we treat the major national themes—emigration and overseas wars.

I think there has been a misunderstanding of the book. No translation of it is available and yet it has been associated with the feminist movement all over the world. This is because it was the feminist movement that helped us. But I think, even so, it would be false to say that this is a feminist book written by feminist women with a feminist purpose.

But you also asked me what I think the importance of feminist movements could be in the present political situation here.

Q. Yes. But not in such a limited way, not just feminist movements but the whole question of women's rights in Portugal. It seems to me that this is a pretty traditional society with many very acute problems.

A. I'm simplifying, but unlike the position of some of the most radical feminist movements that feminism will change the political and social face of the world, I think quite likely it will be the other way around. If the political and social face of the world changes, it will offer the only chance for the position of women and the specific oppression that women suffer to be reversed. But this will not necessarily happen.

That is, I think that only in a socialist society—one which takes into consideration in its cultural, educational, and work policies the specific condi-

tions of women—could women see their lives changed. Of course, women must work on their particular problems within those policies, but together with men. And not by building a movement of their own in total opposition to men.

Q. That is, you think that the specific problems of women will be solved in the course of the socialist revolution in this country and that they're fundamentally no different from other social questions?

A. Quite. And I think that the solution to some of those problems has not been found in other attempts at socialist revolution, because the revolutions themselves have lost their initial spirit. Most of the best-known have.

Q. Is that a criticism of the social code of the Soviet Union or China?

A. It might explain the point which has been reached in the Soviet Union up to now. But I must also say that it's not too late yet. I mean, when we think of the problems that Soviet Russia had to face, it's perhaps a bit too early to say that it has failed completely as a socialist revolution.

Q. Do you see any necessity for a separate organization of women within the framework of the socialist movement to press for women's issues and to defend the importance of taking them up?

A. Oh yes, definitely. Although I personally would not be particularly interested in that sort of work.

Q. That is, you regard yourself primarily as an artist and secondarily as a socialist activist?

A. I do not dissociate my qualities as artist from my qualities as socialist. But I definitely dissociate both from myself as a woman or as a feminist if you like.

Q. Do you have any opinion about the development of the feminist movement at this stage in Portugal?

A. I think there are two main lines: one that works as a pressure group within the socialist movement. That is called the Democratic Movement of

Women. They are doing quite useful work.

And another one is still at its very beginnings. It is very much the work of my two colleagues and I don't know what chances it has because its starting point is more inspired by the radical positions of the American and French women's movements.

Q. What about the participation of women in Portugal in the process so far? Has there been a mass involvement of women directly in this upsurge that has taken place since April 25?

A. It's not one of their main issues, but the Democratic Movement has said that they're for the independence of the colonies. However, they are more specifically concerned with the problems of women within the society.

Q. I think that perhaps I'm making an assumption that you do not make. My assumption is that before the coup, that is, traditionally in Portuguese society, women took a very small part in public life, even in union activity. Do you feel that that has changed in a dramatic way since the fall of the old regime?

A. I think that that is perhaps not a very accurate perception, because in the clandestine movements—and even as members of the Communist party, for instance—women have participated for quite a long time.

You probably have heard of the case of Catarina Eufemia, and she's not as unusual as it would seem from all the praise that's heaped on her. There were lots of women that had very firm positions, both working in the country and also in the factories. Certainly their contribution was not as great as that of men, but they have not at all been absent from the different stages of fighting against the regime.

Even now, in all groups there are more men participating than women. But I suppose it is nearly always like that when a social upheaval takes place in a country that has been dominated in large part by a fascist ideology.

Q. Would you care to comment on the question of abortion in Portugal right now? What is the status of that since the overturn, and what do you

expect to happen on that question?

A. It certainly is a very serious problem. Abortion is often done here in horrible conditions. And for lots of people, it is still the only way to avoid unwanted births. What will happen depends very much on how the Ministry of Health considers the problem. But it's also important that women express themselves on the subject. I also think that the problem should be considered within the wider framework of contraception and birth control.

Q. What do you think about the defense for your case? Do you think it was helpful or do you feel that there was perhaps some problem in that it was only the feminist groups that took it up and that the importance of the issue was not understood more widely?

A. Yes. For instance, the fight for freedom of expression, which should be one of the main issues of international defense, was very much put aside in favor of the feminist cause. As you know, there are many other books that have been banned and their authors sent into exile or imprisoned. Many others had to suffer a higher price than we did. And so, although I am grateful in a way for the support given us by the feminist movements, in a way I always felt that they were sort of overdoing it. I still feel this way. In the particular case of Portugal and the problems we were facing, it sometimes made me feel somewhat ridiculous to be so overprotected. This case had such a fuss made over it. There were other issues, which I could see with my own eyes, that were also of primary importance and that were not all considered internationally as such a sensational matter.

Q. Can you give me some examples of what things you consider more important that were not given the proper attention?

A. There is the case of the book of Mario Soares, *Portugal Bailloné* [Portugal Gagged], which was published in France. It never got even one millionth of the attention that our book gets, and yet, in its time, it was a very important blow to the regime. And the man was exiled once again.

Just for publishing that book.

Q. Do you intend to participate in Portuguese political life in this period when there is such a wide-ranging ferment?

A. Yes, certainly. I think whether one commits oneself or not, this is a particular moment when everybody does participate. Things are so clear now—I would call it a prerevolutionary period—that even if one does not take a position, it is politically meaningful.

Q. What do you mean when you say prerevolutionary?

A. I mean that what has happened here is not revolution. Political power and, most important, economic power are still in the same hands and will probably remain so for quite a time. But what happened in the streets and the way workers are acting at this moment—not accepting the orders of the armed forces or the parties which now have a place in the government—means that this may be the beginning of a very convulsive social situation.

Q. Do you have in mind by revolution a precise meaning? That the workers will take power into their hands sometime in the near future?

A. Yes.

Q. How do you conceive of such a revolution taking place? The workers directly taking control of the factories and operating them for themselves? Or do you have another kind of process in mind? Such as a parliamentary process?

A. I don't think that a real revolution could take place through parliamentary means. Not in a country like this. Not in the zone of economic influence where we are.

I think what has happened is this: A group of people in the armed forces—not exactly the generals or colonels as it was in Greece—who had been very close to and suffered from the overseas wars, and who belonged to rather low classes, acted. And the masses have answered with enormous force, a force so great that it is now very difficult for the democratic, more or less bourgeois parties in power to control it.

Q. Where do you see the leadership coming from for such a revolution?

A. That is difficult to answer. I can't see at the moment any one main leadership, though it might erupt or arise if the mass movement carries on with the spontaneity and force it is now showing as it strikes all over the country.

But at this particular moment, I see no movement and certainly not the parties that are in power now—I could not see them taking the leadership of the spontaneous movement of the working masses.

Q. That means specifically the Communist and Socialist parties?

A. Yes. □

Correction

The following corrections should be made in the translation of the article by Pierre Frank, "The End of Gaullism and Rise of the Masses," in the June 17 issue of *Intercontinental Press*:

On page 776, first column, the sentence, "The French presidential election provided evidence of the extremely favorable revolutionary perspectives facing France and, consequently, the whole of Western Europe," should read: "The French presidential election provided evidence of a situation pregnant with revolutionary perspectives facing France and, consequently, the whole of Western Europe."

On page 779, second column, the sentence, "The French CP is still linked to the Kremlin, but the latter, owing to a different world situation, deals directly with bourgeois governments that take their distance from Washington," should read: "The French CP is still linked to the Kremlin, but the latter, owing to a different world situation, finds without intermediaries bourgeois governments that take their distance from Washington."

On page 779, third column, the sentence, "While the Union of the Left is not an alternative solution for the bourgeoisie today (since no bourgeois current worthy of the name supports it), it can become one tomorrow, with or without bourgeois ministers, in the event that the stormy rise of mass struggles threatens the bourgeois order," should read: "While the Union of the Left is not an alternative solution for the bourgeoisie today (since no real (or effective) bourgeois current supports it), it can become one tomorrow, with or without bourgeois ministers, in the event that the stormy rise of mass struggles threatens the bourgeois order."

The author writes that, in addition, he would prefer the title to read: "The Collapse of Gaullism and Rise of the Masses."

What Role for Socialists in the Women's Movement?

[The following article appeared in the June 14 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Today, many of us women supporters of *Rouge* are organized in women's groups that are struggling against the oppression we are subjected to—on the job, in the home, and in the high schools and universities—because we are women. Our participation in the "liberation movement" frequently gives rise to criticism and mistrust on the part of early feminists:

"*Rouge* had nothing but scorn for the MLF [Mouvement de Libération des Femmes—Women's Liberation Movement]; now you are trying to win us back." "The women from *Rouge* come here [to the MLF] only to bore from within." "Have you come here as women or as supporters of *Rouge*?"

This last question has always amazed us, because it seems absurd to separate the struggle for women's liberation from the struggle for socialist revolution. However, these suspicions are easily explained by a glance at the way in which revolutionary groups have viewed the woman question.

The Workers' Movement and the Women's Struggle

The feminists are suspicious because they have been able to assess firsthand the attitude of the traditional workers' movement toward them.

The Communist party. There is no need to take up in any detail the CP's reactionary ideology on the family and the role of women. The CP has understood nothing about the oppression of women in the family, so that the question of organizing women has never occurred to them. Women are simply supposed to vote for the candidate of the left, the only way to reach advanced democracy and then socialism, which will enable the family to "blossom" and the woman to "reconcile more harmoniously her role as

mother and worker (!)."

They see an independent women's movement as serving no useful purpose. Their only response is the Union des Femmes Françaises [UFF—Union of French Women], a CP-dominated organization of the type Stalinists manipulate in the mass movement. We should not underestimate, however, the jolt the creation of MLAC [Mouvement pour la Liberté de l'Avortement et de la Contraception—Movement for the Freedom of Abortion and Contraception] gave certain local UFF groups.

LO and AJS. LO [*Lutte Ouvrière*—Workers' Struggle] and AJS [Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme—Youth Alliance for Socialism] share a total lack of understanding, in both theoretical and practical terms, on this question. Prisoners of their routinist interventions, they have failed to understand the importance of the struggle for abortion and contraception, and have no concept of the importance of taking part in the struggle of a movement like MLAC.

In its magnificent isolation, the AJS tranquilly ignores the radicalization of women—as it ignores a good number of other things. *Lutte Ouvrière*, however, is more pragmatic. They know that abortion and contraception are problems that affect women workers, as do the double workday and the superexploitation of women workers. In addition, *Lutte Ouvrière* does speak about abortion and contraception in order to gain a few votes at election time and to appear serious in their section in FO [Force Ouvrière—Workers Power, a trade-union federation]. But their refusal to become active in MLAC, their rejection of any independent organization for women, is proof of their theoretical and practical weakness. Although they cite "becoming rooted in the working class" as a high-priority objective, what they fail to understand is precisely the fact that an independent women's movement could only *strengthen the class struggle* and the rooting of revolutionaries in the working class.

Révolution! Two months ago *Révolution!* organized a national confer-

ence of more than 200 women workers, from which a platform of demands around the theme of the superexploitation of working women emerged. The exchange of information about women's struggles was undoubtedly fruitful (women workers from the Lip [watch factory] were there), but oddly enough the platform *said not a word* about the need to form an independent women's movement, although these are the same comrades who fought all year in the MLF neighborhood groups to split the movement *along the lines of a clear, class-struggle platform*. Instead of taking women's specific oppression as their starting point, all the groups formed around this political orientation ended up as tiny *Révolution!* action committees, reduced to those in political agreement with *Révolution!* In these circumstances, what sense do revolutionary women's groups make?

In the last analysis, the one thing that characterizes all these approaches is workerism. For a time we ourselves were not free of this concept. But what we have always said, and continue to be correct in saying and repeating, is that there can be no liberation of women without a socialist revolution, and that women will never see their struggles get anywhere unless they try to link up with the working class.

This orientation, while correct in principle, has in fact either led to doing nothing (*Lutte Ouvrière*, AJS) or to speaking solely to working women without understanding what an independent women's movement should be.

For an Independent Women's Movement

Today, after numerous hesitations and errors, we have come to understand *the absolute necessity of an independent women's movement*. The more we struggle against our oppression, the stronger becomes our will to make the socialist revolution. For the two are dialectically linked! The "sexist" feminists must understand the

necessity of addressing working women, the necessity of linking up with other anticapitalist struggles; they must understand that their battle against "guys" is a battle against the wrong target, that they must also be able to organize *with* men in certain struggles (such as in MLAC), that the struggle against our oppression is a concrete struggle against a system that makes use of and benefits from our oppression.

Revolutionists, on the other hand, must also understand that far from being a diversion from our class-struggle priorities, the existence of an independent women's movement is an indispensable tool for intensifying the class struggle. When women at Lip or Cerisay struggle against their boss and become conscious (often at a later time) that they are oppressed in the home, and that there is nothing "natural" about this, they become formidable militants. For they will no longer put up with any form of inferior status, any form of racism.

When women fight for day-care centers, not only do they call into question the enormous profit the system extracts from their unpaid labor, but also the crying lack of employment for those millions of "unemployed women" who are called "housewives." When they demand day-care centers, they are also raising the question of their children's education in our society, an individualistic education within the closed framework of the home, where repressed women repress their children. Women's struggles have an anticapitalist dynamic and an enormous power for undermining the system. This, moreover, is why the bourgeoisie has always fought them so violently.

Women: A Force for the Socialist Revolution

Revolutionists must also understand that there can be no genuine socialist society unless women are truly liberated.

The historical task for organized women during a period of transition will be the task of destroying the bourgeois family. Why them? Because they have everything to gain and nothing to lose (unlike men, who are privileged under the system) but their chains!

In China, women were in the van-

guard of the struggle against the return to a system of production based on the family, for they were defending their conquests: Access in a massive way to production (and this is no slight matter when millions and millions of women have been limited to domestic tasks) and the collectivization of agricultural labor were the only guarantees reinforcing the socialization of household tasks, the so-

cialization of child rearing, and thus the basis for the disappearance of women's inferior status.

Organized women are one of the social forces that will have the conscious task of destroying the patriarchal family in socialist society — one of the essential tasks in abolishing the domination of one human being over another and progressing toward communism. □

A Pesar de las Amenazas de Perón

Obreros Argentinos Lanzan Huelgas

Por Judy White

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "Argentine Workers Press Strike Struggles", que aparece en este mismo número de *Intercontinental Press*].

* * *

La amenaza de renuncia que hizo el General Juan Domingo Perón el 12 de junio, a menos que "la nación argentina" demostrara que apoyaba su política económica, no ha dado como resultado el esfuerzo pacífico de colaboración que el General había pedido a los patrones, los obreros y otros sectores de la población.

Todo lo contrario. Las semanas que siguieron han estado caracterizadas por la oposición de diferentes sectores al curso seguido por su gobierno.

El Sindicato de Obreros Fideeros y Afines (SOFA) ha dado un indicador de cuál es la respuesta de la clase obrera a la proposición de Perón. El 26 de junio cerca de 6,000 miembros de SOFA, que laboran en ochenta y siete fábricas de la Capital Federal y del Gran Buenos Aires, comenzaron un paro de setenta y dos horas para exigir aumento de salarios y para protestar por la suspensión de la personalidad legal de su sindicato. SOFA está afiliado a la tendencia sindical clasista que encabeza Agustín Tosco, de Córdoba.

Este paro regional es el episodio más reciente de la lucha de los trabajadores fideeros que comenzó el 6 de mayo, cuando fueron despedidos arbitrariamente veintiséis obreros de la fábrica Matarazzo de Buenos Aires, entre los que se encontraba todo el cuerpo de delegados.

Avanzada Socialista, semanario del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST, organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional), informaba el 28 de mayo de los acontecimientos que siguieron:

El 9 de mayo los trabajadores de Matarazzo ocuparon la fábrica para exigir que se reinstalara a los veintiséis despedidos y que se aumentaran los salarios. Ese mismo día los patrones firmaron un acuerdo en que concedían estas demandas.

El 13 de mayo, cuando los trabajadores llegaron a la planta, se encontraron con que estaba cerrada. Realizaron un acto a la puerta de la fábrica, que tuvo como consecuencia que fueran arrestados once trabajadores.

El 15 de mayo los trabajadores de Matarazzo organizaron una manifestación frente al Ministerio de Trabajo. Los patrones aceptaron dar un aumento de 200 pesos/hora (US\$0.20) y reinstalar a los despedidos.

El 17 de mayo seguían presos seis de los trabajadores que habían sido arrestados. Había muchos rumores de que los patrones no tenían la intención de cumplir el acuerdo del 15 de mayo. Se realizó una asamblea y los trabajadores decidieron no regresar al trabajo hasta que la empresa cumpliera sus promesas y hasta que fueran liberados sus seis compañeros de trabajo.

La lucha de Matarazzo continuó durante todo el mes de mayo y se prolongó hasta junio, ganando el apoyo de otras fábricas del ramo.

El 22 de junio, el diario bonae-

rense *La Opinión* informó que el 7 de junio se había concedido finalmente un aumento de 250 pesos/hora a los trabajadores de Matarazzo. Sin embargo, no se había liberado a los sindicalistas presos y por eso SOFA decidió continuar la huelga.

El 21 de junio el Ministro de Trabajo Ricardo Otero, dió la orden de desconocer la personalidad legal de SOFA. Su declaración se centró sobre las "medidas de fuerza" que había utilizado el sindicato para ejercer presión a favor de su lucha, aludiendo de paso a las "violaciones al Pacto Social" que implicaban las exigencias salariales del sindicato.

Por fin, el 26 de junio fueron liberados los seis detenidos, informó *La Opinión*. Pero una asamblea realizada el 24 de junio y a la que asistieron 110 delegados de ochenta y siete fábricas fideeras de la región de Buenos Aires, decidió iniciar un paro regional de setenta y dos horas para exigir que se devolviera la personalidad legal al sindicato, y que se extendiera el aumento de 250 pesos/hora que había conseguido Matarazzo a todos los obreros del ramo.

La importancia de la decisión de SOFA se aprecia más claramente cuando se la considera a la luz de una resolución del Ministro de Trabajo que se produjo justo el día anterior a la realización de esta asamblea. La prensa argentina daba detalles: Todos los paros obreros que se realicen con el fin de exigir aumento de salarios serán declarados ilegales automáticamente, bajo los términos del Pacto Social y de otras leyes que ya han sido establecidas. El arbitraje obligatorio es el único recurso en tales casos. Otero comunicó telegráficamente esta resolución a las autoridades de todo el país, para que entrara en vigor inmediatamente.

El ministro añadió que la violación de estas leyes podría ser sancionada, gracias a otra ley represiva — la Ley de Asociaciones Profesionales —, según la cual se puede suspender la personalidad legal de cualquier sindicato que participe en estas acciones "ilegales".

Las luchas de los docentes y de los trabajadores gráficos también amenazan con poner muy pronto a prueba la resolución de Otero. Estos dos sectores lanzaron huelgas importantes el mes pasado, pero no se han resuelto sus peticiones.

Otro reto que se ha planteado al

Pacto Social peronista ha sido el problema del aguinaldo semestral que se debe dar a los trabajadores argentinos a finales de junio. Debido al aumento en el costo de la vida, los trabajadores piden que se pague de una sola vez el aguinaldo completo, en lugar de que se les pague la mitad en junio y la otra mitad en diciembre. Tan sólo en el mes de mayo hubo un aumento del 3.3% el el rubro estacionalizado, según informó *La Nación* el 10 de junio.



JUAN PERON

Esta demanda ha recibido el apoyo demagógico de varios burócratas sindicales de alto rango, quienes la mencionaron a Perón y a Otero en la reunión que tuvieron con ellos el 17 de junio. El objetivo principal de esa reunión parecía ser recibir la bendición del General para las próximas elecciones nacionales de la CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo). *La Opinión* considera que estas elecciones ofrecen una apertura favorable para el diálogo entre la CGT y la CGE (Confederación General Económica, la principal organización de los patrones en Argentina), fortaleciendo la política del Ministro de Economía Gelbard y reafirmando la fé de la

CGT en el Pacto Social.

El 12 de junio Perón y la CGT atacaron de frente a la prensa burguesa. Evidentemente estaban molestos porque incluso los periódicos capitalistas publican a veces hechos que contradicen la versión oficial de lo que pasa en Argentina. Perón acusó a algunos "diarios oligarcas" de inventar problemas que tienen poco que ver con la realidad económica argentina.

"Siguen insistiendo sobre el problema de la escasez y del mercado negro". Pero, pontificó el General, "Siempre que la economía está creciendo y se mejoran los ingresos del pueblo, hay escasez de productos y aparece el mercado negro. Lo que subsistirá hasta que la producción se ponga a tono con el aumento de la demanda".

Atacando de nombre al diario burgués *Clarín*, la CGT llamó al gobierno a "tomar medidas directas contra los medios de difusión que se han convertido en agentes de la provocación y de la mentira".

Después de que se produjeron estas declaraciones fueron baleadas las oficinas del destacado periódico burgués anti-peronista *La Prensa*. El *New York Times* describió este ataque como la respuesta al discurso de Perón.

Estos acontecimientos provocaron una reacción en la Cámara de Diputados. Varios partidos burgueses han defendido la libertad de prensa y han pedido que se nulifiquen las órdenes de clausura que hay contra varias publicaciones de izquierda, para dar consistencia a su exigencia de que se ponga fin a la persecución contra la prensa burguesa no peronista.

Mientras tanto, aparentemente por razones de salud, el 29 de junio el General tuvo que retirarse en realidad de la presidencia, pasando temporalmente el poder a su esposa, la vicepresidente de la república, María Estela Martínez de Perón, quien probó su temple en su reciente viaje a Europa, donde defendió valientemente la política anti-obrera de su esposo en una conferencia de la Organización Internacional del Trabajo, en Ginebra. □

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La Campaña Contra Confucio Apunta Hacia la Juventud Rebelde China

Por Les Evans

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "Anti-Confucius Drive Hits at Rebel Chinese Youth", que apareció en *Intercontinental Press* el 27 de mayo].

* * *

Después de los supuestos seguidores de Lin Piao en el Ejército de Liberación Nacional, el blanco principal de la campaña "contra Confucio" que está llevando a cabo Pekín, son los millones de "jóvenes cultos" e intelectuales que fueron deportados al campo a finales de la Revolución Cultural. El hecho de que el gobierno haya escogido a Confucio, el prototipo clásico del intelectual chino, como símbolo de la actual campaña contra el supuesto elitismo de la juventud, se debe a la necesidad de acallar a los intelectuales disidentes.

En 1966, cuando Mao Tsetung trataba de dislocar y destruir al sector de la dirección del partido que se aglutinaba en torno al entonces jefe de estado, Liu Shao-ch'i, oportunistamente llamó a la juventud estudiantil a "hacer la revolución" contra el aparato del partido en nombre de la democracia socialista y de la igualdad. Esto llevó a que cerraran todas las universidades y a la organización de millones de gentes en los Guardias Rojos, que comenzaron su vida política como instrumento de la fracción maoísta de la burocracia. Muchos de estos jóvenes, sin embargo, querían llevar a la práctica lo que Mao predicaba, y empezaron a atacar a los maoístas tanto como a los liuistas en lo que había comenzado como una simple pugna interburocrática. Mao utilizó al ejército, entonces dirigido por Lin Piao, para asegurar el mantenimiento del control burocrático. El ejército se hizo cargo de la situación y finalmente disolvió a los grupos de Guardias Rojos. Entre mediados de 1967 y fines de 1968, los Guardias Rojos fueron desmovilizados y sus miembros radicalizados fueron deportados en masa a remotas áreas, para que fueran "reeducados" por el campesinado. Pero no fue fácil controlar a

estas masas. Ahora los jóvenes quieren regresar a sus hogares después de cuatro o cinco años de trabajo rural; sus parientes que viven en las ciudades, incluso miembros del partido, son una fuente más de resentimiento y de descontento.

La profundidad de la separación entre la juventud y el régimen se puede apreciar por la cantidad de personas que fueron enviadas al campo, y el consecuente atraso en la educación superior. Un comunicado de Hsinhua del 22 de diciembre de 1973 decía: "En los últimos cinco años, más de ocho millones de jóvenes cultos han abandonado las ciudades chinas para ir a radicar al campo".

Algunos investigadores occidentales han tratado de explicar este movimiento masivo de la población — un 5% de la población urbana — por una falta de oportunidades de trabajo en las ciudades. Hay varios hechos que desmienten esta interpretación. Actualmente la industria pesada china está creciendo a un ritmo del 9% anual, aproximadamente, mientras que la población sólo crece al ritmo del 2%; la industria está creciendo casi el doble que la agricultura, lo que quiere decir que los empleos aumentan más rápidamente en la ciudad que en el campo, que tradicionalmente ha tenido un problema de sobrepoblación en relación a los trabajos. Más aún, esta medida ha sido utilizada anteriormente por el régimen para lograr objetivos parecidos, como en 1957-58 y después en 1963, cuando se ordenaron desplazamientos hacia las áreas rurales. En esas dos ocasiones, las migraciones ocurrieron cuando había un gran crecimiento industrial, pero se estaba realizando una campaña represiva contra los disidentes intelectuales (la campaña "antiderechista" del verano de 1957 y la purga que siguió al pequeño deshielo intelectual de 1962).

La prensa maoísta pone poco empeño en ocultar las funciones represivas de las deportaciones. No se dice que la juventud culta esté siendo enviada

al campo para elevar el nivel cultural de las áreas rurales, como se hizo en Cuba durante la campaña contra el analfabetismo. Se dice, en cambio, que los estudiantes representaban un peligro para el régimen y una amenaza de "restauración capitalista". Un comunicado de Hsinhua del 3 de febrero, por ejemplo, explica las deportaciones de la siguiente manera:

"El estudiante Sun Hai-yan del Departamento de Ingeniería Aplicada de la Universidad Tsinghua dijo: 'El Presidente Mao llama a los jóvenes cultos a que vayan al campo a integrarse con los obreros y los campesinos. Esta es una medida contra las antiguas concepciones de las clases explotadoras que prevalecieron durante miles de años, y una crítica de Confucio y Mencio. Lin Piao, discípulo de Confucio, despreciaba a los obreros y a los campesinos y el trabajo manual; decía que los jóvenes estaban haciendo "trabajos forzados" en el campo. Esto lo hacía para tratar de obstaculizar las medidas fundamentales del Presidente Mao contra el revisionismo y para impedir que preparara a los herederos de la causa revolucionaria del proletariado. Lin Piao quería envenenar a nuestros jóvenes para que fueran sus herramientas para restaurar el capitalismo".

Entonces, por un lado, los jóvenes que protestan porque los envían al campo, son acusados de despreciar a los obreros y campesinos y de ser "herramientas para restaurar el capitalismo", mientras que los que se someten reciben el dudoso título de "herederos de la causa revolucionaria del proletariado". Pero después de años de "proletarización" por los "campesinos pobres y campesinos medios de la capa inferior", parece que el régimen no considera que muchos de los millones de deportados merezcan entrar al aparato burocrático, que es el "heredero" de Mao. El comunicado de Hsinhua del 22 de diciembre que citamos más arriba, revelaba que de esos 8 millones de personas, sólo 60,000 han sido admitidas al Partido Comunista. El PCCh tiene cerca de 32 millones de miembros; esto es, aproximadamente uno de cada 18 habitantes adultos de China. Entre los "herederos revolucionarios" que han sido enviados al campo, sólo uno de cada 133 ha sido suficientemente reeducado como para calificar.

Las universidades, que fueron cerradas en 1966, volvieron a funcionar

en 1970, con un número de estudiantes radicalmente reducido. Se redujeron los años de estudio de cuatro o cinco a sólo tres, uno de los cuales se dedica al trabajo productivo. De esta forma, la educación universitaria ha sido reducida a la mitad de lo que era antes de la Revolución Cultural. Teóricamente, esto debía permitir a China duplicar el número de estudiantes por año. Esto no ha sucedido.

La nueva generación de estudiantes, que la prensa describe como "obreros, campesinos y soldados", está compuesta casi en su totalidad por miembros probados de la Liga de Jóvenes Comunistas. Un comunicado de Hsinhua de fecha 29 de marzo de 1974, revelaba que el 70% de la generación que se graduará en 1974 en la Universidad Tsinghua de Pekín son miembros del partido (45% eran ya miembros cuando entraron a la Universidad; los demás fueron admitidos cuando estaban estudiando). Esto no tiene comparación con el 0.7% de miembros del partido que hay entre la juventud deportada. Actualmente, se exige a todo el que quiere entrar a la universidad que cumpla dos años de trabajo productivo antes de que se pueda considerar su solicitud. Luego tienen que ser recomendados por el organismo del partido del lugar donde trabajan y ser admitidos por el de la universidad a la que quieren entrar. El único criterio que se toma en cuenta para aceptarlos o no, es la ortodoxia política.

Un comunicado de Hsinhua del 30 de diciembre de 1973 informaba que el número total de estudiantes universitarios que se graduaron en China en 1973 era de 29,000, en comparación con 200,000 del año escolar 1962-63; esto es, sólo el 14.5% de la cantidad de estudiantes que se graduaron hace 10 años. El número total de estudiantes graduados, dado el aumento de la población, apenas alcanza el nivel que tenía en 1951-52, cuando se graduaron 18,000 estudiantes. (*China: A Handbook*, Yuanli Wu, editor. New York: Praeger, 1973, p. 698.)

En el número de noviembre-diciembre de 1952 de la revista *China Monthly Review*, que se publica en Shanghai, se decía que en esos momentos había 220,000 estudiantes universitarios en China. El tiempo de estudio

era entonces de cuatro o cinco años. Si actualmente se gradúan al año 29,000 estudiantes, con un curso de tres años, podemos suponer que el número total de estudiantes está entre 80,000 ó 100,000, la mitad de lo que era hace veintidos años. Y no estamos considerando el millón de estudiantes universitarios que perdió China (tomando como base la cantidad de 1963) cuando se pararon las universidades durante cinco años. El país no es tan rico en personal calificado como para soportar esta pérdida sin sufrir un daño considerable.

Se puede defender la utilidad de unir el estudio con el trabajo productivo en una sociedad socialista, para evitar que el estudio se convierta en algo abstracto y divorciado de la realidad. Pero esta posición no tiene nada en común con el desvanecimiento en una vida de trabajo rural de la gran mayoría de los jóvenes más inteligentes. El ataque contra la juventud, como lo fue en la Unión Soviética bajo Stalin, es un signo inconfundible de la incapacidad de la casta burocrática autoritaria para ganarse o asimilar a los jóvenes rebeldes de la nueva generación.

Sugerir que las ideas "capitalistas" encuentran el campo más propicio para su desarrollo entre los jóvenes que ni siquiera habían nacido cuando se destruyó al capitalismo, sería, de ser cierto, la admisión de la bancarrota del régimen maoísta.

El "elitismo", como un problema aparte de la restauración capitalista, emana de los privilegios materiales y del poder, no del "aprendizaje". No son los estudiantes chinos los que reciben altos salarios y detentan el poder sobre los demás, sino los viejos burócratas del PCCh. Sobre este punto, la prensa china, que encuentra capitalistas y espías por todas partes, guarda un profundo silencio.

Si bien el régimen maoísta dice que quiere enseñar a la juventud la virtud del trabajo duro, se opone a que los jóvenes se conviertan en obreros industriales. Este es un indicador bien claro de la función represiva de la campaña para mandar a los jóvenes al campo. El campesinado ha sido históricamente, a pesar de su comprobada capacidad de lucha contra el imperialismo extranjero y por la reforma agraria, la fuente principal del egoísmo localista y de la mentalidad del pequeño propietario, no del

socialismo. Este es uno de los problemas más profundos y una de las mayores dificultades en la administración de un estado obrero de un país subdesarrollado y una de las fuentes de la degeneración burocrática cuando, como en la Unión Soviética bajo Stalin, el atraso y los horizontes culturales limitados del campesinado fueron explotados por la burocracia como un arma contra las ciudades con su base proletaria y su fermento intelectual. Mao envía a los jóvenes a que los reeduquen los "campesinos pobres y campesinos medios de la capa inferior", no la clase obrera.

La prensa presenta frecuentemente informes sobre la vida de los jóvenes deportados. A pesar de que esto tiene como objeto mostrar la lealtad de los antiguos estudiantes al régimen y contar con una apreciación del progreso que hayan tenido, son notables porque casi siempre provienen de las regiones más remotas y aisladas, donde los horizontes del mundo y de la vida que habían sido abiertos por el conocimiento y la cultura en una preparatoria o universidad urbana, deben parecer ciertamente lejanos.

Un comunicado de Hsinhua del 27 de octubre de 1973 describe cómo 400 estudiantes de educación media que fueron evacuados de Shenyang en 1970 "han construido una nueva población en una playa deshabitada en el noreste de China, en la provincia de Liaoning, y convirtieron la tierra salina de ese lugar en fértiles campos". A pesar de que esa área está deshabitada, los jóvenes no están totalmente aislados, ya que reciben ocasionalmente la visita de sus nuevos instructores: "Los campesinos viejos los educaban en la lucha de clases contándoles los sufrimientos que padecían en la vieja sociedad y comparándolos con la felicidad de hoy en día". El artículo añadía que "algunos de los más avanzados habían sido admitidos en el Partido Comunista de China o en la Liga de Jóvenes Comunistas".

Un comunicado del 15 de febrero de 1974 informa de un grupo de jóvenes "que han recibido el beneficio de la reeducación a través de pastores pobres y pastores medios de la capa inferior" de los pastizales de la frontera norte de China:

"Desde 1968, 1,100 jóvenes cultos de las ciudades de Pekín, Huhehot y Silinhot han venido a establecerse en Abaga Banner, en la región autó-

noma de la Mongolia Interior. Determinaron echar raíces en los pastizales y mejorar su situación, estudiaron asiduamente las obras de Marx, Engels, Stalin y el Presidente Mao en asociación con la realidad. Frecuentemente pedían a los pastores pobres que les contaran de su antigua miseria en contraste con su feliz vida presente. También estudiaron la historia de la lucha de clases en esta área ganadera y cómo se emanciparon los pastores".

De vez en cuando aparecen "ejemplos modelo" de jóvenes que han hecho el bien en el campo, frecuentemente después de largas estancias en las áreas rurales. En un comunicado del 20 de septiembre de 1973, Hsinhua destacaba el caso de Hsing Yentzu, que fue elegido al Comité Central del Partido en el Décimo Congreso, después de haber sido "educado por el partido y por viejos campesinos pobres y campesinos medios de la capa inferior" durante los últimos quince años mientras trabajaba en una comuna "convirtiendo una gran área alcalina en tierra fértil".

Una de las acusaciones más frecuentes contra Lin Piao, es su supuesta descripción de las deportaciones como un disfraz para "trabajos forzados". Esto sugiere que esta opinión está bastante extendida en China y que el régimen siente la necesidad de atribuírsela al más prominente villano de hoy para desacreditar a otros que hayan planteado esa acusación.

Evidentemente, los opositores de Mao en este sentido no incluyen sólo a los mismos jóvenes, sino a un número cada vez mayor de padres, quienes se oponen al triste futuro que espera a sus hijos y a la larga separación que les ha sido impuesta por la campaña campesinadora. El régimen ha respondido dando un giro muy ingenioso a la propaganda anti-Confucio. Confucio, se dice, era un ardiente defensor de la familia y de la piedad filial; por tanto, oponerse a la separación de las familias es un signo muy peligroso de tendencias confucianas.

Dos de los jóvenes más dóciles de una comuna de la provincia de Honan, recibieron la oportunidad de exhibirse sobre este tema en una entrevista con el reportero de Hsinhua, el 5 de febrero de 1974. Hu Hsin y Chu Tung-hui declararon conjuntamente:

"Confucio predicó la idea reaccionaria de que 'mientras los padres viven, el hijo no debe alejarse de ellos'. Durante miles de años, las clases explotadoras defendieron esto vigorosamente. Lin Piao y compañía hicieron todo lo posible para evitar que los jóvenes cultos se integraran con los trabajadores y campesinos y para sabotear el trabajo de establecer a los jóvenes cultos en el campo. Su objetivo era confinar a los jóvenes a sus casas y divorciarlos de los obreros y campesinos y de la práctica de los tres grandes movimientos revolucionarios, para utilizarlos como herra-



LIN PIAO

mienta en la subversión de la dictadura del proletariado y para la restauración capitalista".

Evidentemente, Hu y Chu han aprendido bien la lección; pero no pudieron evitar un pequeño sentimentalismo al final: "A pesar de que ahora estamos lejos de nuestros padres, estamos más cerca de la línea revolucionaria del Presidente Mao".

A pesar de las repetidas referencias de que hay que "integrar" a los antiguos Guardias Rojos con los "obrerros y campesinos", en la práctica, el objetivo parece ser mantenerlos alejados de los obreros. Mientras que en la prensa china hay cientos de artículos sobre jóvenes cultos que se van al campo, no hay ningún caso en el que esos jóvenes se hayan convertido en obreros industriales. En lugar de esto, se da gran importancia a algunos casos de jóvenes que han sido enviados a comunas y que rechazaron el ofrecimiento de sus padres de conseguirles trabajo en una

fábrica y arreglar que regresaran a los centros urbanos. El 5 de enero, el *Diario del Pueblo*, de Pekín, por ejemplo, publicó en la primera página una carta escrita por un joven culto, Chai Chun-tse, en respuesta a una carta de su padre, bajo el titular "Se atrevió a romper con las ideas tradicionales". El comentario de Hsinhua es el siguiente:

"En agosto, el joven recibió una carta de su padre, en la que éste le decía que algunas fábricas iban a integrar nuevos trabajadores y le pedía que regresara a la ciudad y solicitara trabajo. En su respuesta, el joven criticó la idea de su padre y reiteró su determinación de quedarse y ayudar a la construcción de un campo socialista". En la carta a su padre, Chai Chun-tse escribió:

"Nuestro objetivo es eliminar la propiedad privada y acabar con las viejas ideas. Esas ideas le conceden más importancia a la industria que a la agricultura, a la ciudad que al campo y ponen en primer lugar los intereses personales, que están basados en la propiedad privada".

Se informaba que el padre había confesado su error y había alentado a sus otros hijos a seguir los pasos de Chai Chun-tse. En un editorial adjunto, el *Diario del Pueblo* decía:

"Queremos ver que más jóvenes revolucionarios critiquen a los viejos revolucionarios y a más viejos revolucionarios que acepten la crítica y dirijan a los jóvenes a marchar según la línea revolucionaria del Presidente Mao".

Las implicaciones de que un estado obrero impulse la idea de que volverse obrero de fábrica es un ejemplo de mentalidad de "propiedad privada" casi no tienen que ser explicadas. Y éste no es un caso aislado. Un intercambio de opiniones pareció entre un padre y su hijo apareció, por ejemplo, en el *Diario de Liaoning*, el 20 de diciembre de 1973. En este caso, el padre, un cuadro del partido, sugirió a su hijo que podía conseguirle trabajo en una mina de carbón y arreglar que fuera transferido a la ciudad. El hijo contestó:

"Padre, realmente no puedo explicar cuánto me molestó leer tu carta . . . Comprendo muy bien tus intenciones, pero me adhiero firmemente a la concepción que te expliqué hace un año, que es que mi [perspectiva] subjetiva debe ser complemen-

tada con las necesidades objetivas de la revolución del proletariado . . . El deseo subjetivo de ser obrero de fábrica parece estar de acuerdo con la situación objetiva de mi familia, la mía propia y con mis intereses personales. Sin embargo, no va de acuerdo con los intereses más fundamentales y grandes de mi familia y los míos propios. Este interés fundamental es eliminar el sistema de la propiedad privada y romper con las viejas concepciones". (Citado en *China Quarterly*, enero-marzo de 1974, pp. 211-12.)

Detrás de la mistificación de la "propiedad privada" en un país en el que ésta se acabó hace veinte años, está la necesidad de golpear a los cuadros del partido que utilizan sus influencias para lograr que sus hijos regresen a casa. Como esos cambios no son voluntarios, sino que dependen de que los aprueben los organismos del partido de los dos lados de la transferencia, esta campaña sugiere la existencia de descontento entre las capas bajas de la misma burocracia. Los jóvenes cultos que no tienen padres influyentes no pueden regresar a las ciudades a pesar de sus deseos subjetivos.

El régimen también ha tratado de presionar a sus cuadros con ejemplos apropiados de padres que han alentado a sus hijos a que se vayan al campo. Algunos de los discursos de padres que han aparecido en la prensa china, si bien no son muy cariñosos, no dejan ninguna duda sobre cuál es el curso de conducta que se debe seguir. Se informó sobre este tema que Yu Jen-min, un obrero de muchos años, dijo a su hijo: "Al ir al campo estás repudiando a Lin Piao y a Confucio. Debes esforzarte en el estudio del marxismo-leninismo-Pensamiento Mao Tsetung, aceptar modestamente la reeducación de los campesinos pobres y luchar resueltamente contra las ideas tradicionales de las clases explotadoras". (Hsinhua, 16 de marzo de 1974).

Uno de los giros más ominosos de esta campaña contra Confucio, es su permanente alabanza de la "certeza revolucionaria" de los antiguos filósofos legalistas y del primer emperador chino, Chin Shih-huang, que reprimió a los intelectuales confucianos disidentes enterrando vivos a cientos de ellos y quemando sus libros.

Bajo un régimen stalinista que reescribe la historia a su antojo con el

objeto de encontrar analogías con su política actual, el recuerdo favorable de las quemadas de libros y de las ejecuciones de intelectuales durante la

antigua tiranía, sólo puede interpretarse como una terrible amenaza contra los jóvenes disidentes que siguen expresando sus opiniones. □

Venezuela

Perspectivas para los Revolucionarios

[En esta ocasión estamos reproduciendo una parte del artículo "Aluvión de Dólares y Miseria Creciente", que apareció en *Revista de América* (abril-mayo de 1974). En él se reflejan las concepciones del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—sección venezolana de la Cuarta Internacional) y de la JS (Juventud Socialista—organización juvenil del PST)].

* * *

EL MOVIMIENTO OBRERO

Según datos oficiales, hay en Venezuela cerca de medio millón de obreros industriales. El joven proletariado venezolano comenzó a adquirir fuerza a partir de la década del 50 cuando se inició el proceso de industrialización para sustituir importaciones. Ya cuenta en su historial con grandes batallas como la protagonizada por los obreros de la Siderurgia del Orinoco (SIDOR) en la huelga salvaje de 1971.

Hace poco, en la semana anterior a la asunción del nuevo presidente, los trabajadores hospitalarios protagonizaron una huelga por aumentos salariales que paralizó los hospitales de Caracas. Los docentes han postergado medidas de fuerza hasta que el nuevo presidente fije una política en relación a los salarios. Ya nadie puede desconocer que el movimiento obrero, pese a su debilidad numérica y organizativa, es una fuerza importante, llamada a cumplir el rol fundamental en la transformación de Venezuela.

La primera en reconocer esto es la propia burguesía venezolana. Tanto COPEI¹ como Acción Democrática

ca² buscaron fortalecerse en el movimiento obrero intentando lograr apoyo electoral para sus planes económicos.

Cuatro son las centrales que agrupan al movimiento obrero venezolano. Tres de ellas, importantes y una cuarta (la CGT), bastante débil. La más fuerte es la Central de Trabajadores Venezolanos (CTV), dirigida por una burocracia que responde al partido Acción Democrática; le sigue la Central Unica de Trabajadores Venezolanos (CUTV), con influencia del MEP³ y del Partido Comunista; y por último, CODESA controlada por la burocracia copeyana. El régimen patronal apoya a estas direcciones burocráticas como un reaseguro para evitar que los trabajadores luchen por sus derechos.

Esta división en la dirección del movimiento obrero existe también a nivel de los gremios y de las fábricas, donde hay varios sindicatos tra-

lizando una política de relativa independencia frente al imperialismo. Dictó una amnistía para los guerrilleros.

2. *Acción Democrática (AD)*: partido fundado en 1944. Ejerció el gobierno entre 1945 y 1948 (presidencias de Rómulo Betancourt y Rómulo Gallegos) y desde 1959 hasta 1969 (presidencias de Betancourt y Raúl Leoni). Intimamente ligado a los intereses monopólicos imperialistas, dirigió una dura represión contra las guerrillas castristas.

3. *Movimiento Electoral del Pueblo (MEP)*: partido organizado a raíz de una disidencia en el seno de AD en 1967. Constituía el ala "izquierda" de ese partido burgués. En las últimas elecciones formó parte de la Nueva Fuerza, un intento de reeditar la experiencia de la Unidad Popular Chilena, con mucho menos éxito electoral que su modelo.

ban el desarrollo de las luchas obreras.

Sin embargo uno de los planes de la burguesía es el de unificar a las direcciones sindicales para poder controlar más férreamente al movimiento obrero y utilizarlo en su política de "enfrentamiento" al imperialismo y de desarrollo capitalista. Es así como desde fines del año pasado se ha iniciado un proceso hacia la "unidad".

Rompió el fuego Francisco Olivo, presidente de la CTV, cuando en su mensaje de fin de año anunció que "el año entrante se concentrarán los medios para lograr la unificación de todos los medios sindicales de Venezuela". William Franco, presidente de CODESA, y Cruz Villegas, de la CUITV, hicieron declaraciones similares y se ha fijado el mes de octubre como fecha del Congreso de la Unidad.

Así el interés de la burguesía de controlar a los trabajadores coincide con el de la burocracia sindical, que pretende fortalecer su aparato. Sin embargo esta unidad por arriba y en forma burocrática refleja también las luchas obreras que se hacen presentes en la vida política de Venezuela. Los trabajadores se encuentran ante una situación contradictoria: la burocracia propugna la unidad para sus fines, pero la unidad puede ser un arma decisiva en manos de auténticos luchadores. Es por ello que numerosos activistas sindicales y el PST venezolano, exigen que la unidad se concrete pero no mediante "Congresos" con dirigentes digitados sino por medio de un Congreso de Bases, es decir, con delegados elegidos en asambleas fabriles y reclaman también que esta unidad sirva para impulsar un plan de lucha por: 1) Aumento inmediato de salarios del 30%; 2) Por un salario mínimo y móvil de 800 Bs (US\$200); 3) Discusión de los contratos colectivos de trabajo en forma anual (actualmente son cada tres años) y 4) Por un seguro a los desocupados pagado por las enriquecidas arcas del Estado. (*Voz Socialista*, 15 de enero de 1974, quincenario del trotskismo venezolano).

La inflación desatada a principios de año ha provocado un creciente malestar en los trabajadores y el pueblo en general. El proyectado aumento del transporte en un 100% ha provocado que todos los sectores laborales y estudiantiles se pronunciaran obligando al gobierno a suspender

momentáneamente el aumento. Las perspectivas de creciente inflación y las reacciones de gremios de cuello duro (hospitalarios y docentes) permiten prever que este año habrá nuevos enfrentamientos laborales y que los aumentos de salarios anunciados por el nuevo gobierno no harán más que postergar los conflictos.

Es en estas próximas movilizaciones, donde los activistas harán diariamente la experiencia con las direcciones burocráticas y donde el partido revolucionario forjará sus primeras armas. La crisis del guerrillerismo y del reformismo encarnado en el PCV, facilitará el surgimiento de una nueva vanguardia obrera, clasista y revolucionaria, capaz de postularse como una dirección de alternativa para los trabajadores y las masas venezolanas.

EL MOVIMIENTO ESTUDIANTIL

Unos pocos datos ilustrarán la importancia que tiene en Venezuela la juventud en general, y el estudiantado en particular. El 52% de la población tiene menos de 17 años (más de seis millones de personas). Si tomamos en cuenta la cantidad de habitantes que no alcanzan a los 30 años, encontramos que asciende al 80% (más de nueve millones y medio). No tenemos datos precisos sobre el total de liceistas (estudiantes secundarios), pero se calcula que a mitad de año ingresarán 100,000, con lo que la población secundaria sumaría más de medio millón. En la Universidad Central de Venezuela estudian 50,000 alumnos.

Pero al mismo tiempo, la tremenda crisis del sistema educacional se refleja en el hecho de que sólo el 2% de la población que tiene entre 17 y 30 años, cursa estudios superiores.

El nuevo presidente ha declarado tener un plan para incorporar a 450,000 niños a la enseñanza primaria. Pero esto no cubre las reales necesidades de acceso a la educación ni la falta de posibilidades de que los egresados de las escuelas primarias accedan a los liceos. El problema no termina aquí, ya que la estructura educacional al servicio de la burguesía es incapaz de dar cabida en la universidad a los estudiantes que egresan de los liceos. En el último período, el número de preinscriptos en la universidad fue de 29,000 contra un

cupa de admisión de 8,000, por lo cual 21,000 preinscriptos deberán esperar un año para tener una nueva oportunidad de ingresar. Con el agravante de que la situación se repite año tras año. Hay preinscriptos que llevan más de cuatro años tratando de llegar a la universidad.

Hasta este año, no hubo movilizaciones frente a este problema. La explicación hay que buscarla en la crisis del movimiento estudiantil, tanto liceista como universitario, que se vió sumido en la desorganización después del fracaso del guerrillerismo y del reformismo. Al desaparecer los organismos estudiantiles, como la Federación de Centros (universitarios) y el Comité Unificador (liceistas), los estudiantes se encontraron sin canales por los que encauzar sus luchas reivindicativas, y las autoridades tuvieron amplio margen para aplicar sus planes.

Sólo este año hubo una movilización de preinscriptos, que logró un semitriunfo, al obligar al ministro de Educación a declarar que ingresarán todos los postulantes y al Consejo Nacional de Universidades a ampliar la lista de ingresantes.

EL COMIENZO DE LA RECUPERACION DEL MOVIMIENTO ESTUDIANTIL

Los primeros síntomas de la recuperación estudiantil se evidenciaron en las elecciones de delegados estudiantiles ante el Consejo universitario. La lista de izquierda organizada por el MAS⁴ ganó las elecciones, logrando más de 8,000 votos.

A comienzos de este año, en la Universidad Simón Bolívar (la más científica de Caracas) se realizaron elecciones de centro estudiantil. Sólo dos listas cumplieron los requisitos

4. *Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS)*: en diciembre de 1970, 22 de los 51 miembros del Comité Central del PCV y 74 de los 75 miembros del Consejo Central de la Juventud Comunista resolvieron separarse del partido stalinista y constituir el MAS. Sus figuras principales son Pompeyo Márquez (secretario general) y Teodoro Petkoff. Llevó al independiente de izquierda José Vicente Rangel como candidato a la presidencia. Ha surgido de las elecciones como tercer partido, después de AD y COPEI.

para presentarse: una impulsada por el MAS, y la otra, organizada por la Juventud Socialista (organización juvenil del *Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores*). Mientras la primera sostenía posiciones reformistas, como por ejemplo, "lograr soluciones a los problemas estudiantiles que sean factibles y, por lo tanto, aceptables para las autoridades", la segunda postulaba el control estudiantil de la enseñanza, apoyar y ligarse a las luchas obreras y populares y una nueva forma de organización más democrática, la Asamblea de Delegados.

La lista del MAS obtuvo 824 votos, contra 324 de la Juventud Socialista. Estos últimos fueron en su mayoría, votos de los alumnos recién ingresados a la universidad y su importancia radica en que era la primera presentación de la JS, mientras que el MAS tenía ya la dirección del centro.

También en los liceos comenzó la reorganización estudiantil, mediante asambleas de delegados de cursos en unos casos, y de centros de estudiantes en otros. Y también aquí tuvo un papel importante la JS, que impulsó este proceso y logró extender el nuevo tipo de organización a los principales liceos de Caracas. La reorganización y las luchas libradas en distintos establecimientos han permitido el surgimiento de un organismo que intenta nuclear a todos los liceístas venezolanos. Se trata de la Comisión Pro-Federación Liceísta, organizada por los principales centros y asambleas de delegados que funcionan en Caracas. Activistas independientes y de la JS colaboran en la construcción de esta herramienta fundamental para el éxito de las luchas estudiantiles. Lamentablemente, el resto de la izquierda no ha comprendido la importancia de la Pro-Federación y no han participado en su tarea.

Todos estos síntomas preannuncian un nuevo despertar estudiantil, capaz de enfrentar a los planes de la burguesía que aspira a formar técnicos para su intento de desarrollar el capitalismo y esconde ese propósito bajo el rimbombante título (creación del nuevo gobierno) de "democratización de la enseñanza". Y preannuncian también que ese despertar ha de unirse a las luchas obreras y populares que comienzan.

LA IZQUIERDA

El Partido Comunista venezolano

lano ha sido uno de los más importantes de América Latina, y al igual que sus gemelos, tuvo como norte de su política la colaboración de clases, la búsqueda desesperada de sectores burgueses nacionalistas con quienes aliarse bajo la política del Frente Popular. Así, abandonaron la guerrilla y aceptaron la legalidad, pero no para desarrollar las luchas obreras y po-



POMPEYO MARQUEZ

pulares sino para aliarse con los sectores más "progresistas". Esta política dividió al PC. Pompeyo Márquez, Teodoro Petkoff y la Juventud Comunista abandonaron al PC y formaron el MAS. En el país de los jóvenes el PC se transformó en un partido de viejos. En las últimas elecciones el PC apoyó al candidato del MEP para presidente y presentó su propia lista para parlamentarios, obteniendo 49,455 votos contra 103,591 logrados cinco años antes, en 1968.

El resultado electoral ahondó la crisis del PC. Eduardo Machado, el viejo dirigente, afirmó que el error del PC fue no haber apoyado a COPEI, mientras que el sector encabezado por Jesús Faría sostiene que fue correcto haber apoyado al MEP. De este modo, lo que queda del poderoso PC se desgasta en la disputa sobre cuál debe ser el burgués a quien apoyar.

Ninguna experiencia saca del fracaso del Frente Popular chileno el stalinismo venezolano, que ha perdido toda influencia entre los estudiantes y que ha quedado reducido a casi nada en el movimiento obrero.

El MAS, que en las elecciones del

9 de diciembre pasado sacó 200 mil votos llevando como candidato al independiente José Vicente Rangel, nació de la división del PC rechazando los planteos de Frente Popular y la "revolución" por etapas. Esta opción socialista despertó la simpatía de la juventud venezolana que ha conocido la experiencia del reformismo y el guerrillerismo. Sin embargo, el MAS no se planteó formar un partido leninista y ha empezado a revisar las premisas básicas del marxismo revolucionario. Comenzó por desconocer el rol dirigente del proletariado aduciendo que en Venezuela su debilidad numérica lo ponía en igualdad de condiciones con otros sectores, como por ejemplo los estudiantes y la pequeña burguesía, siguió cuestionando el criterio leninista de formación de partido para considerarse un movimiento, y ahora, revisando el rol del Parlamento burgués, afirma que sus parlamentarios harán cumplir al Congreso su "verdadera función", como si su verdadera función no fuera la de proveer una fachada "democrática" a la opresión de clase.

Estas posiciones hacen que el MAS avance por el peligroso camino de desconocer que las movilizaciones obreras y los organismos que esas movilizaciones hagan surgir son los lugares fundamentales de trabajo para los revolucionarios. Al no ver que la función de los parlamentarios socialistas es la de realizar agitación dentro del Congreso para demostrar a las masas que no deben depositar ninguna confianza en él, el MAS se desliza por la peligrosa pendiente del reformismo.

LAS PERSPECTIVAS

Sobre la base de estos elementos, podemos volver sobre los análisis parciales de las corrientes de izquierda venezolanas que citábamos al principio de este artículo. Es cierto que Carlos Andrés Pérez dirigió la represión y también es cierto que AD y COPEI tienen un acuerdo de hecho para aprovechar las ganancias petroleras para desarrollar al país y reducir la porción de ganancias de los grandes monopolios imperialistas. No es descartable que se tomen algunas medidas antiimperialistas y la nacionalización de las empresas petroleras parece ser prácticamente un hecho.

Pero así como es erróneo pensar

que el gobierno ha de tomar un rumbo ultrarrepresivo, también lo es creer que los ingresos petroleros en manos de la burguesía nacional le permitirán cambiar el carácter semicolonial de la economía y superar sus brutales contradicciones insolubles bajo el régimen capitalista.

Estamos en el comienzo de una etapa contradictoria, ya que los grandes ingresos permitirán cierta estabilidad de la burguesía; pero al mismo tiempo, alentarán a los trabajadores a reclamar mejoras acordes con la situación de prosperidad.

El acuerdo entre AD y COPEI, basado en esa misma prosperidad y en el objetivo común de desarrollar la economía capitalista, mantendrá el parlamentarismo y un margen de libertades que podrán ser utilizadas por los trabajadores para fortalecer sus luchas.

La burguesía, que necesita utilizar al movimiento obrero como base de apoyo en su política de chantaje al imperialismo, propugna una unidad sindical bajo el control de su burocracia adicta. No obstante, esa unidad podrá ayudar a los trabajadores en sus movilizaciones.

Las masas obreras y populares de Venezuela, que tienen una valiosa experiencia sobre el fracaso de las corrientes guerrilleras y reformistas, están ante una situación muy compleja, pero también plena de posibilidades.

Los resquicios legales podrán ser utilizados para impulsar las movilizaciones. Los fabulosos recursos con que contarán el Estado y los patrones abrirán la posibilidad de lograr aumentos salariales, así como de reclamar la apertura del acceso a la educación. Las posibles medidas contra el imperialismo reclamarán una posición correcta, de apoyo a tales medidas pero no al gobierno burgués. Cada movilización exigirá la formación del frente único obrero o la unidad de acción de todas las fuerzas antiimperialistas. La nacionalización del petróleo pondrá sobre el tapete la exigencia del control obrero, y lo mismo deberá suceder en cada caso en que sea nacionalizada una empresa imperialista.

El plan de la burguesía, que pretende utilizar las grandes ganancias del negocio petrolero en su exclusivo beneficio y negociar con el imperialismo sin romper con él, podrá fracasar gracias a la lucha de clases. Im-

pulsarla, organizarla y dirigirla es la gran tarea reservada a los revolucionarios.

Pero, para ello, el proletariado necesita una herramienta insustituible: el partido revolucionario, formado en las propias luchas de los explotados. La nueva etapa de ascenso que se

abre reafirma la urgente necesidad de construirlo. En esa tarea está el Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores de Venezuela, el partido trotskista que comienza a postularse como la nueva dirección de alternativa que requiere el movimiento obrero, estudiantil y popular. □

Después de la Derrota de la Huelga Postal

La Junta Portuguesa Impone la Censura

Por Gerry Foley

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "Portuguese Junta Institutes Press Censorship", que apareció en *Intercontinental Press* el 1 de julio]

* * *

Después de haber aplastado la huelga de los trabajadores postales el 20 de junio, con la ayuda del Partido Comunista, el gobierno del General Spínola lanzó un nuevo ataque contra las libertades que le habían arrancado las masas portuguesas durante el reavivamiento que se produjo des-

formó el 22 de junio desde Lisboa el corresponsal del *New York Times* Henry Giniger.

"Las restricciones, que serán coordinadas por un comité de siete oficiales de las fuerzas armadas, son más severas de lo que se había indicado hace algunos días".

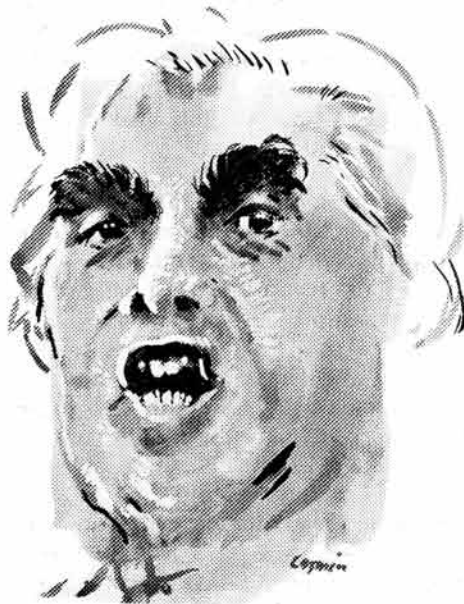
Las nuevas regulaciones consideran ilegal "incitar a la desobediencia militar, a huelgas, a manifestaciones que no hayan sido autorizadas, así como ofender al Presidente de la República, a los miembros del Consejo de Estado y del Gabinete".

La posible amplitud de la nueva censura está indicada por las siguientes previsiones: "Será sancionable la publicación de 'noticias falsas', cuando esto se haga para contrariar los objetivos generales del Gobierno".

Los voceros del gobierno dijeron, destacó Giniger, que estas reglas no tenían la intención de limitar la "efectiva libertad de expresión" ni "el cambio general de la dictadura que derrocaron las fuerzas armadas en abril", sino que estaban designadas únicamente para evitar que algunos grupos o individuos no especificados "perturben la opinión pública por medio de agresión ideológica que obstaculice su programa [del gobierno]".

Las nuevas regulaciones de la censura no sólo son suficientemente elásticas para que el gobierno las utilice para suprimir cualquier expresión que considere que le estorba; también son claramente discriminadoras.

"El infringir las nuevas regulaciones", informó Giniger, "será castigado con multas de hasta \$20,000 y con la suspensión durante sesenta días de la publicación que haya cometido el delito. Las personas individuales tam-



ALVARO CUNHAL

pués del golpe de estado del 25 de abril.

"El nuevo gobierno portugués, que se enfrenta a una guerra que sigue en África y a una vacilante economía, publicó hoy severas restricciones sobre todos los medios de difusión", in-

bién podrán ser procesadas por cortes militares".

Estas multas y las suspensiones temporales no recaerán tan duramente sobre los ricos que apoyan a la derrocada dictadura, quienes ciertamente se animarán a resurgir con cada limitación de los derechos que las masas arrancaron, como lo harán sobre los grupos de izquierda y los editores y periodistas que están a favor de la clase obrera.

Giniger señaló que la promulgación de estas reglas "enfatisa el poder de las fuerzas armadas, a pesar de la existencia de un Gabinete civil", gabinete que, explica, "incluye a comunistas, socialistas y políticos de centro-izquierda. Entre éstos está el Ministro de Información, el socialista Raul Rego, que también es el editor de *República*, el único diario de oposición que había en Portugal cuando estaba el viejo régimen". *República* sigue siendo, bajo este nuevo régimen, el más liberal de los diarios de Lisboa.

Resultará, desde luego, muy irónico, si el editor del único diario que se atrevió a oponerse a Caetano se convierte ahora en el cómplice e impulsor de estas medidas que pueden, de hecho, proscribir cualquier oposición contra el nuevo régimen. Pero esto parece inevitable, si Rego permanece en el gobierno provisional. En la medida en que este régimen no sea nada más que una cubierta para la Junta Militar, su posición será cada vez más difícil, ya que tiene que responsabilizarse por decisiones sobre las que no tiene ningún control. Esto es, darse en el gobierno es no sólo una traición de los que ha dicho ser sus principios políticos, sino que es un ridículo auto-engaño, así como también, desde luego, un engaño para las filas de su partido.

Los dos ministros comunistas que hay en el Gabinete también están protegidos, desde luego, por las nuevas regulaciones, de la misma manera que lo están sus colegas socialistas y burgueses. En consecuencia, es de suponerse que cualquier grupo de izquierda que denuncie a los ministros del PC será reprimido en base a las nuevas regulaciones por llevar a cabo una "agresión ideológica" que puede "obstaculizar" el programa del gobierno.

En estos momentos ya no cabe la menor duda de que el Partido Comunista es esencial para que se man-

tenga el dominio burgués sobre la situación en Portugal. Esto quedó ampliamente demostrado con la primera confrontación general entre el nuevo régimen y un sector clave de la clase obrera que se puso de pie para exigir los derechos que le habían sido negados por la dictadura.

"El Partido Comunista, que tiene dos miembros en el gobierno — el Secretario General del Partido, Alvaro Cunhal, Ministro sin cartera, y Avelino Pacheco Gonçalves, Ministro de Trabajo — dirigió una campaña contra los trabajadores postales", escribió Giniger el 20 de junio desde Lisboa. "Apoyando al gobierno y a las fuerzas armadas, los comunistas advirtieron a los trabajadores contra exigencias 'irreales' que juegan a manos de las 'fuerzas reaccionarias. . .'

"Incluso, los comunistas organizaron ayer por la noche una manifestación frente al correo central.

"'Fascistas', gritaban los manifestantes a los trabajadores postales, 'regresen al trabajo, están saboteando la democracia'".

Educados en las concepciones reformistas, la mayoría de los activistas del Partido Comunista que se movilizaron para romper la huelga de los trabajadores postales, posiblemente sí creían que eran estos trabajadores los que estaban poniendo en peligro la democracia, al plantear a la burguesía "progresista" y a su gobierno exigencias "irrazonables".

Pero ahora resulta claro, dada la secuencia de los acontecimientos, que fue precisamente la derrota de la huelga de los trabajadores postales lo que dió ánimo a la Junta para lanzar un nuevo ataque contra las libertades democráticas que ganaron las masas como resultado del golpe de estado del 25 de abril y de la aguda escisión entre la clase capitalista que éste representó.

Spínola tiene que moverse tan rápido como pueda para tratar de restaurar algunos de los bastiones del dominio capitalista que fueron rotos por el ascenso de masas. En primer lugar, tiene que restaurar la unidad y la autoridad de los oficiales.

Durante dos meses, la burguesía ha carecido de un aparato militar en el que pueda confiar. En particular, grupos de soldados y marinos han defendido sus derechos democráticos uniéndose a las manifestaciones contra la guerra colonial y contra las

primeras acciones represivas de la Junta. Como el dominio capitalista depende, fundamentalmente, de la existencia de un cuerpo disciplinado de hombres armados que defiendan los intereses de la clase privilegiada, ningún régimen burgués puede seguir tolerando esa crisis de la autoridad arbitraria en el ejército.

El fermento democrático en las fuerzas armadas es todavía más peligroso para el régimen de Spínola, debido a la continuación de la guerra en Africa. En estas condiciones, el sentimiento que existe entre las fuerzas armadas de que es necesario retirarse inmediatamente de las colonias, podría cristalizar rápidamente en un movimiento organizado que no sólo haría imposible que la Junta mantuviera los intereses vitales del capitalismo portugués en las llamadas provincias de ultramar, sino que también acabaría con cualquier esperanza de restaurar el ejército como una fuerza represiva en el mismo Portugal.

En segundo lugar, Spínola debe restaurar el monopolio político de la burguesía sobre los medios de difusión. Después de las fuerzas armadas, el segundo bastión importante de la clase dominante es su dominación ideológica. Para mantener su posición, la minoría dominante debe convencer a la mayoría de la sociedad de que domina en interés de todos, suprimiendo todos los hechos y argumentos que puedan indicar lo contrario.

En consecuencia, ninguna clase capitalista puede tolerar por mucho tiempo el tipo de fermento democrático y de libertad de prensa que ha existido en Portugal desde el golpe. No puede permitir que la prensa realice su trabajo honestamente, informando a una audiencia masiva sobre los puntos de vista y las actividades de los grupos de izquierda. Esta libertad de prensa es todavía más peligrosa en estos momentos en que el anticomunismo y la ideología burguesa están profundamente desacreditados en Portugal, y no hay ninguna barrera efectiva que evite que las masas vean sin prejuicios las ideas y los programas de los revolucionarios. Para mantener el dominio capitalista, es necesario restaurar estas defensas esenciales de la sociedad burguesa antes de que el proceso de cuestionamiento penetre demasiado hondo en las masas.

El General Galvão de Melo, miem-

bro de la Junta, comenzó el contraataque, con su discurso del 27 de mayo. "La libertad", dijo el General, no significa "liberar terroristas sin patria y convertirlos en héroes nacionales", así como tampoco significaba que el pueblo podía expulsar a los viejos opresores de sus posiciones de riqueza y poder ("alentando asesinatos, insultos gratuitos, abusos físicos, saqueos de casas"). No quería decir "reportajes vergonzantes e irrestrictos, en los que los mismos que transmiten se permiten las actitudes más impropias". No quería decir ofender los "valores de la familia y la moral". En pocas palabras, "libertad", no quería decir nada que cuestionara el orden burgués, el que Galvão de Melo y la Junta están decididos a defender.

Al mismo tiempo, como representante de las fuerzas capitalistas, la Junta ha mantenido los logros salariales de los trabajadores en un nivel mínimo. Incluso los capitalistas "progresistas" no aceptaron conceder las exigencias de los trabajadores que estuvieran decididos a sacar ventaja de la nueva libertad para revertir la erosión que la alta tasa de inflación de Europa occidental ha causado en su nivel de vida, para no decir nada sobre resarcirse de la superexplotación que padecieron durante los largos años de la dictadura.

Los obreros exigían un salario mínimo establecido de 6,000 escudos (US\$288 aproximadamente) al mes. El gobierno concedió sólo 3,000, y esto sólo para los empleados públicos y los obreros industriales, dejando fuera del beneficio a los trabajadores domésticos y a los trabajadores agrícolas, categorías muy numerosas en una economía atrasada como la de Portugal. Más aún, los nuevos contratos concedidos a algunos sectores clave del proletariado industrial, no excedían mucho del salario mínimo.

Por ejemplo, a los obreros metalúrgicos de Lisboa les dieron 4,500 escudos. Este arreglo fue anunciado, durante la segunda semana de junio, en una reunión sindical a la que yo asistí. No había mucha gente en la asamblea, que estaba totalmente dominada por un grupo del PC, que tenía una mayoría absoluta. Sencillamente se informó de las provisiones del contrato. Ni siquiera se pusieron a votación. Ese mismo grupo impuso una moción en la que se alababa

a la "Junta de Salvación Nacional" y a su "programa".

Por los informes de Giniger, parece que los trabajadores postales simplemente estaban planteando la exigencia de los 6,000 escudos, que había sido lanzada por muchos obreros después del colapso del aparato represivo.

"Los trabajadores postales pedían el doble [del mínimo de 3,000 escudos]—y una semana de trabajo de 35 horas. No se les concedió ninguna de estas dos cosas".

La derrota de los trabajadores postales probablemente no puede ser atribuida a la fuerza del aparato del Partido Comunista que, a pesar de que está creciendo rápidamente, todavía no es hegemónico.

La razón por la que no se podía mantener la huelga parece ser esencialmente la fuerza de la autoridad política de la Junta y de sus aliados reformistas.

"Lo que los hizo [a los trabajadores postales] retroceder", escribió Giniger el 20 de junio, "fue la creciente impopularidad de la huelga en todo el país, y la amenaza del gobierno de enrolarlos en el ejército y obligarlos a trabajar".

Esto es, en tanto que no se cuestionara la autoridad política de la Junta, los trabajadores postales no tenían otra alternativa que sucumbir ante su aislamiento y su propia confusión.

Por otro lado, como la Junta no puede conceder las demandas más sentidas de las masas portuguesas, está en peligro constante de perder el control del proceso, a pesar del apoyo total del PC. En particular, mientras haya un margen importante de libertades democráticas, existe la amenaza permanente de que un grupo revolucionario dé la dirección necesaria a las movilizaciones de masas, que puedan hacer estallar las contradicciones políticas de la Junta y del gobierno provisional.

El régimen es particularmente vulnerable sobre la cuestión de la guerra colonial. Ya un grupo de soldados escribió una carta, que fue publicada en *Flama*, la principal revista ilustrada del país, llamando a sus parientes y amigos a que exigieran que las tropas regresen inmediatamente a Portugal. Y la actitud de estos soldados, que conocen mejor a los generales "democráticos", no era de confianza total en el régimen. "Cualquier

de nuestros seres queridos que esté leyendo esta carta debe pedir a la Junta de Salvación Nacional (fuerte, para que los escuche) que retire nuestras tropas inmediatamente".

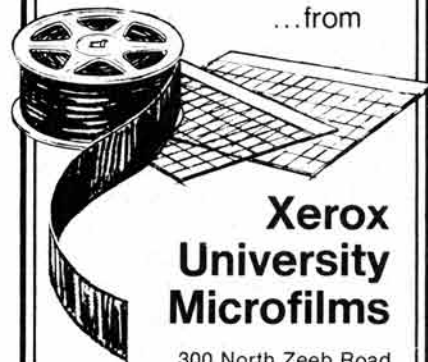
Sobre la base de ese llamado, incluso un pequeño grupo revolucionario podría comenzar a organizar un amplio movimiento por el retiro inmediato, movimiento que podría tener un gran impacto sobre el pueblo portugués.

Ese movimiento podría servir como foco del descontento y cuestionamiento que ha surgido en la sociedad. Comenzaría a presentar un reto general a la dominación política de la Junta y clavaría una cuña en el gobierno de coalición colaboracionista de clase. Podría forjar un vínculo irrompible entre las masas y las filas de ejército y prevenir, de esta manera, la reimposición de la autoridad arbitraria.

Lanzaría un ataque contra la autoridad política de la Junta y de los reformistas en su punto más débil, y evitaría que concentraran su influencia para romper las acciones militantes, como la huelga de trabajadores postales. □

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López Propone un 'Pacto Social'

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "President-Elect Proposes 'Social Pact'", que aparece en este mismo número de *Intercontinental Press*].

* * *

El presidente electo de Colombia, Alfonso López Michelsen, está pensando por anticipado. A pesar de que no tomará posesión del cargo hasta el 7 de agosto, ya ha tomado medidas para forzar a la clase obrera colombiana a pagar la inflación que ha estado sufriendo el país. Se espera que en 1974 la tasa de inflación exceda el 16%, que ha sido lo habitual en los últimos años, según López Michelsen.

El plan del presidente electo es imponer a las masas colombianas un "Pacto Social" a la Perón, según informó el 21 de junio el diario argentino *La Opinión*.

El Pacto Social argentino es el acuerdo de congelación de precios y salarios que suscriben conjuntamente el gran capital, la burocracia sindical y el gobierno.

Su implementación ha ido acompañada de una serie de leyes represivas dirigidas contra la clase obrera argentina, todo esto envuelto en la demagógica promesa de hacer de Argentina un país más independiente de la dominación del imperialismo norteamericano.

A mediados de junio, López Michelsen se reunió en Bogotá con representantes del gran capital colombiano y de la burocracia sindical, para comenzar un proceso similar. Cuando informó a la prensa sobre estas reuniones, aceptó modestamente que "no se hacía la ilusión de poder instrumentar un acuerdo tan eficaz como en la Argentina".

Sin embargo, ese mismo periódico informa que López dijo: "Pero si podemos hacer un gran esfuerzo para responder a las promesas que se han hecho a tanta gente, que apenas tiene con qué comer y cuya capacidad de compra ha disminuido, al extremo que los propios productores empiezan a sentir cómo la inflación les está

disminuyendo las ventas".

Quizás Michelsen tenía en mente el nombre que Perón dió a su Pacto Social—la Gran Paritaria—cuando se dirigió a los capitalistas y a la clase obrera para explicarles por qué Colombia necesita el pacto:

"Los industriales se están cubriendo, con los precios que proyectan, de los efectos de una inflación futura. Ellos consideran que mi propósito es subir los salarios y antes de conocer claramente mis propósitos, se protegen su-

biendo los precios".

A la clase obrera se dirigió en los siguientes términos: "No he dicho que voy a congelar los salarios. Lo que me propongo es devolverle al salario su poder real de compra . . . No he dicho tampoco que voy a bajar el costo de la vida, pues hay precios represados".

Los analistas de los periódicos colombianos predicen que López Michelsen tendrá ciertos problemas en su intento por imponer el pacto:

El control burocrático sobre la clase obrera colombiana no es tan amplio como lo es en Argentina. Además, estos analistas afirman que los sectores organizados se encuentran profundamente divididos y no representan al conjunto de la fuerza obrera. □

DOCUMENTS

Appeals Describe Effort to Starve Bukovsky

[We print below two appeals from Nina Bukovskaya on behalf of her son, Vladimir Bukovsky. Bukovsky was arrested in January 1971 after he had obtained and sent abroad copies of the psychiatric "diagnoses" of six dissidents being held in mental hospitals in the Soviet Union.

[On January 5, 1972, he was tried in Moscow (under Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code—"especially dangerous crimes against the state") and received the twelve-year sentence he is now serving (two years in prison, five years in a strict-regime labor camp, and five years in exile).

[He served the two-year term in Vladimir prison, a notoriously harsh jail to which many political prisoners are sent. In 1973 he was transferred to a labor camp in the Perm region to continue serving his sentence. Nina Bukovskaya, in her February 27, 1974, appeal (*Intercontinental Press*, April 1, 1974), told of the brutal treatment he was receiving in the camp and of the deterioration of his health because of the harsh conditions he was subjected to (he suffers from rheu-

matism, a heart condition, and a liver ailment). She expressed her alarm at that time over the fact that the authorities were planning to send him back to Vladimir prison, where the starvation diet would destroy him.

[As *Intercontinental Press* reported in its June 24 issue, Bukovsky has in fact been transferred back to Vladimir prison, where he is now being held in solitary confinement. However, before his transfer there, the Perm labor-camp authorities subjected him to further particularly severe treatment, which Nina Bukovsky describes in these documents.

[It should be noted that in 1973 the Stalinist authorities in the Soviet Union offered Bukovsky his freedom if he would cease his activities in opposition to their repressive rule. He refused such "freedom" unless the six dissidents whose psychiatric "diagnoses" he had sent abroad were also released. The authorities refused to accept these conditions.

[The translation of the appeal to the International Red Cross is by Carol Lisker, and that of the complaint to

Deputy Prosecutor Rekunkov is by Pat Galligan. Both translations were done for *Intercontinental Press*.

* * *

Open Letter to the International Red Cross

Dear Friends:

I, the mother of Vladimir Bukovsky, who has already languished in captivity for four years, appeal to you whose mission is charity. Who Vladimir Bukovsky is, and why the authorities of my country have sentenced him to seven years in prisons and camps with the next five years in exile in the North—this you should know from the Western press, in which much has been said about him recently.

Now my son is on the verge of death. He is seriously ill, reduced to complete physical exhaustion. For three months, the chief of the camp, Pimenov, held him in solitary confinement and brutally starved him, allegedly as punishment for a breach of regulations that was not made known. I have just now become aware of the details of Vladimir's living conditions in prison camp, in the so-called punishment isolator at the beginning of February of this year.¹ Vladimir was sick and lay in bed. The camp doctors officially excused him from work. Being ill, he could not and should not have arisen early in the morning at the signal to get up along with the rest of the prisoners who were not sick. And for this the camp administration put him in the punishment isolator. Fully aware that he was sick, they illegally put him on starvation rations, where one is given only bread and water every other day; and on alternate days, hot food almost devoid of caloric value—three grams of fat in twenty-four hours, no sugar at all, etc.

I later learned that while he was on these starvation rations of hot food every other day, the camp chief, Pimenov, illegally and brutally held him in solitary confinement.

1. A punishment isolator, colloquially referred to as *shizo* (*shtrafnoy izolyator*), is a prison within a Soviet labor camp. Bukovsky was sent to the prison and then to a solitary confinement cell within the prison.

For three months, day by day, they were deliberately and systematically starving my son to death. During this time, the camp administration continuously forced the weakened Vladimir to go to work, and when he refused, they punished him by taking away the last benefit—the right to purchase provisions worth a miserable two rubles a month in the camp store.

As I found out, other prisoners at Camp 35 wrote complaints about this to supervisory departments, and, not having obtained any results, staged a hunger strike with my son, demanding that he be transferred to a hospital. But even this did not help. Only on May 8 did the administration finally release Vladimir from the solitary cell to general quarters. However, contrary to law and elementary human decency, they did not send him to a hospital; and judging from the replies of the officials, they do not intend to. The necessary medicines for a disease of the liver, which I sent to my son, were returned to me, although the camp chief confirmed that the camp did not have them. Vladimir's letters are not allowed to get through to me. My categorical demands to grant me a visit with my son—in order, perhaps, to say good-bye forever—remain unanswered.

I appeal to you, workers of the International Red Cross, with a fervent request—visit my sick son, give him aid, and supply him with the necessary medicines.

Many of you, I am sure, also have children, and your heart cannot remain indifferent to a mother's plea.

Nina Bukovskaya

Moscow
18 May

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Complaint to Deputy Prosecutor Rekunkov

To: Deputy Prosecutor Comrade Rekunkov, Office of the Public Prosecutor of the RSFSR.

cc: Director of the Division of Administrative Organs of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

In addition to my statement to the Central Committee of the CPSU sent to you on May 15, I am reporting:

On May 8 my son, Bukovsky, was freed from the solitary confinement

cell, almost two weeks earlier than scheduled. As everyone knows, being freed ahead of time from solitary confinement is possible only in the case of a prisoner's illness (Article 54 of the Executive Labor Code). However, they did not place my son in a hospital, but are holding him in the camp barracks and, according to the information available to me, are forcing him, a sick man, to go out to work. He cannot and should not work in such a condition; but because he does not work, the administration punishes him. The head of ITU [Corrective Labor Administration], Pimenov, is continuing to allow additional illegal practices in relation to my son. For example, my son is virtually deprived of correspondence. The ITU authorities confiscated his April letter, which he wrote from the solitary confinement cell after a two-month lapse in correspondence. I am sure that my son was trying to inform me in his letter of the precarious state of his health as a result of this nearly three-month-long, inhuman starvation in the *shizo* and the solitary confinement cell. Never in any of his letters has my son written anything that is not allowed, from the point of view of the law, and naturally he will not do so. In the month of May I did not receive one single letter from my son. Thus, I have not had any kind of news from him in almost three months. I ask you to explain to me which article of the law has made a provision for this.

Further: I asked the ITU head, Pimenov, to grant me an early meeting with my son. By law it is supposed to be at the end of June of this year before I may see what they have done with him and what his condition is. His days may already be numbered. However, on May 23, Pimenov informed me that he had deprived my son of his regular visit, but the law forbids denying a prisoner two visits in a row.² It is absolutely clear to me that they do not wish to, in fact cannot, show me my son. They have most likely done something horrible to him. They also do not want to give me a chance to find out from my son about the unlawful things that

2. The visit she was to have had with Bukovsky in late February was also forbidden by the camp authorities.

they are doing to him.

Another thing is also clear to me. The uninterrupted chain of unfounded—judging from the scandalous fact of my son's placement in the *shizo*—and blatantly illegal punishments is paving the way for some kind of new severe repression against my son. In February this led to the *shizo* and the solitary confinement cell. What have they decided to do with him now? Where will my son be sent for certain and agonizing death? And for whom is this agonizing death necessary?

I ask you immediately to take all measures to stop the illegalities in ITU VS 389/35 in relation to my son.

I ask you to let me have a meeting with my son as soon as possible.

I ask you to order that my son immediately be placed in a hospital.

Now, Comrade Rekunkov, the responsibility for the life of Vladimir Bukovsky lies with you personally.

But maybe he is already dead? If so, then tell me.

Nina Bukovskaya

May 26, 1974

achieve this, the solidarity should be directed at:

—Demanding respect for those human rights that have been so bloodily trampled. Putting an end to the shootings and tortures of trade-union and political prisoners. Ending the state of civil war. Demanding release of the political prisoners: Luis Corvalán, Clodomiro Almeyda, Anselmo Sule, Fernando Flores, Pedro Felipe Ramírez, and unionists like *compañeros* Pedro Cornejo and Rolando Vásquez—national leaders of the CUT who are today imprisoned at the Chacabuco concentration camp—and of all political and trade-union prisoners.

—Demanding respect for the right of asylum and safe-conduct for CUT leaders Luis Figueroa and Rolando Calderón.

—Demanding reestablishment of democratic rights, which the junta has eliminated in our country: freedom of the press and information, legalization of banned mass organizations and political parties, restoration of the rights of trade unions and labor and the right of assembly, reestablishment of university autonomy, etc.

—Demanding an end to the firing of workers, the rehiring of those who have been cleared of charges, and respect for the labor of every Chilean *compañero*.

—Condemning the fascist junta's return of Chile to a state of submission and shameless dependency on North American imperialism. The Chilean people, whose patriotism and dignity have been trampled by the junta, today witness with indignation the surrender of the most esteemed national conquests, the justice of which was confirmed by all the political parties of the Popular Unity government.

On this May Day we call on the labor movement to heighten its solidarity with the Chilean people and its organized workers, strengthening their broad and united antifascist resistance whose object is to bring down the usurping junta—the very existence of which is an affront to the civilized world—and to return Chile to her legitimate rulers: her working class and popular masses.

For an end to the fascist crimes in Chile!

*Unity and solidarity!
WE WILL WIN!*

Overseas Commission
United Federation of Workers

Intercontinental Press

Appeal by Chilean Union Federation

[The following is a translation of the May Day statement issued in the name of the Chilean CUT (Central Unica de Trabajadores—United Federation of Workers). It appeared in the May 11 *Boletín Informativo* of Chile Democrático, the Rome-based coalition of all former parties of the Popular Unity government and the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Paris

Compañeros:

The United Federation of Workers of Chile (CUT), whose overseas commission functions from Paris, addresses the entire union movement on the occasion of the May 1 celebration of the international workingman's holiday.

As is publicly known, a fascist military junta has been installed in Chile with the support of imperialism. The junta has laid waste the conquests of the people and the organized working class, which had been won through long years of struggle. Its crimes, tortures and abuses, and reactionary economic policy today are striking all the workers and popular masses.

The assassinations of President Allende; ex-Minister of the Interior José Tohá; General Alberto Bachelet; David Miranda, general secretary of the Chilean Miners Federation; Segundo Manco, national leader of the bakers; Guillermo Alvarez, leader of the San Antonio Maritime Workers; José Córdova, longshore leader from Iquique; the provincial general secretaries

of the CUT from O'Higgins and Iquique—*compañeros* Juan Almonacid and Sergio Díaz; and of thousands and thousands of activists of the popular movement and Chilean union organization, tragically reveal the bestial and criminal character of the Chilean fascist military men.

Today in Chile there are at least 25,000 trade-union and political prisoners. Ordinary workers are continually arrested and assassinated without the actions being formally recorded. They are simply reported to have "disappeared." The economic policy of the usurping junta has meant a 65 percent reduction in buying power for the workers and an increase in unemployment of 250 percent.

Today's popular resistance to the Chilean dictatorship is being carried out under these conditions.

Each day unity among all the workers and the entire people increases. Each day, the fascist military men increasingly resort to repression in order to maintain themselves in office and to smash the opposition from the immense majority of the country. After six months of dictatorship, it can be objectively stated that not only the popular and labor movements are against fascism, but also the entire people, since the policy of the dictatorship strikes all equally.

The CUT, the single organization that embraces all Chilean workers regardless of their politics or religion, makes a call to workers and to the entire labor movement for the May Day rallies—that international solidarity with the just cause of the Chilean people become the central focus of this glorious workers' event. To